



COMPULSORY MADRASAH EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAM IN PASURUAN REGENCY: BETWEEN PUBLIC POLICY AND POLITICAL ORDERS

Safara Akmaliah, Muhammad Adnan, Laila Kholid Alfirdaus

¹Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Diponegoro

*Email: safarakmaliah@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Research on the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program in Pasuruan Regency was conducted to reveal the relationship between public policy and the power of a particular religious group. A qualitative approach was applied to this research, by presenting facts that had been collected through several reports and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, the fact findings are analyzed based on the principles, concepts and theories of public policy. Research also relies on the results of existing research, especially research with similar material objects and similar perspectives. The focus of this research is to analyze the background of policy making, the dynamics of policy making, and program implementation. The results of this study indicate that the purpose of establishing the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program is to instill religious values to build morality and overcome crime. This research also confirms that regulations related to compulsory education at madrasah diniyah in Pasuruan Regency were formed because of the closeness between policy makers and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a social organization. NU is the dominant force in social, cultural, and governmental politics. This research also clearly finds indications of policy exclusivity. The stipulated program only contains the interests of one group, thus reducing the power of other groups as elements that also live in the public sphere. Another implicative aspect is the increasing implementation of madrasah diniyah in Pasuruan district which is followed by an increase in the quality of teachers.

Keywords: *Madrasah Diniyah, Public Policy, Regional Regulations, District Head Regulations*

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

The Reformation Era was marked by changes in the pattern of government from centralized to decentralized. These changes have implications for the opening of space for the public in general to be involved in regional development, such as political processes, as well as the process of making legal instruments at the regional level. Community participation in law-making can be seen from the intensity of involvement of community organizations in influencing the formulation process of Regional Regulations, as well as the monitoring and evaluation process when these regulations are implemented by the Regional Government (Syamsudin Haris, 2004). The changing era from centralization to decentralization provides a new landscape of citizen-government relations (Ulya, 2014). Communities that are represented in organizations are starting to be involved in the process of making public policies in the regions, especially Islamic-based social organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) because they have a large number of followers.

The formulation of public policies based on Islamic teachings in the form of regional regulations often appears after the Reformation (Imam Subkhan, 2007). This phenomenon is closely related to the stipulation of Law Number 24 of 2004 concerning regional autonomy.

In addition, a fundamental change in the Reformation era was the birth of regulations that concretely regulate community involvement, this shows the state's recognition of the existence of community groups (Ulya, 2014). From a public policy perspective, Reformation changed the planning system from an autocratic-technocratic approach to participatory empowerment. This opens opportunities and opportunities for social organizations after before, namely the New Order era, they did not play much role in the framework of regional development (Amitai Efzioni, 1982).

Strengthening public participation in the formulation of public policies has influenced the spirit of transforming religious values through public policies in several regions. For example, the Province of Aceh, which started implementing Islamic law since the ratification of special autonomy, was followed by the enactment of Islamic rules in Pamekasan Madura with the issuance of the Surat Edaran Bupati No. 450/2002, Regional Regulation No. 7/2005 concerning the prohibition of distribution and sale of liquor in Tangerang. In West Java, there are 31 Regional Regulations based on Islamic rules, and in West Sumatra there is Regional Regulation No. 11/2001 concerning the eradication and prevention of immorality (Taufik, et al., 2004). The policy with Islamic nuances is a transformation of religious values in the public sphere, although it tends not to pay attention to pluralism.

Andriansyah argues, public policy is a rule that has been established and transformed into law that must be obeyed, so that violators will receive legal sanctions in accordance with what has been determined (Taufiqurakhman, 2014). James E. Anderson defines public policy as a series of actions that have a specific purpose, followed and implemented by an actor or group of actors to solve a particular problem. (Islamy, 2007). Carl J. Federick defines public policy as a series of actions proposed by a person, group, or government in a certain environment where there are obstacles and opportunities in implementing the proposed policy in order to achieve certain goals (Agustino, 2008). Referring to the views of some of these experts, public policy is formed as a mechanism for solving a problem that arises from the public environment so that it must be followed and obeyed by the public, and has evaluation space to assess the level of success in solving a problem.

Since 2014, Pasuruan Regency has had a compulsory madrasah education policy that applies to Muslim students aged 7 to 18 years. This policy is contained in Article 31 of Pasuruan Regency Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2014 concerning the provision of education, further strengthened by Regent Regulation no. 21 of 2016. As the first district to pioneer this policy, this local regulation seems very exclusive because it only contains NU's interests. NU's involvement is very visible in the policy formulation process, through its networks in the executive and legislative institutions NU has the power to influence the policies of the Pasuruan Regency Government.

Thomas Dye has several theories that can be referred to as a scalpel to peel public policy formulation. In the context of the madrasah diniyah compulsory education policy established by the Pasuruan Regency Government, Thomas Dye's group theory is very relevant to use. According to this theory, public policy is the result of struggles between groups. Finally, influence or amount becomes very important, apart from that access to policy makers also determines success in the birth of public policy. This theory is also called

pressure theory, because it questions the role of pressure groups and lobbies against policy makers (Taufiqurakhman, 2014).

NU as a social organization is a form of an organized group and has a significant role in political processes, one of which is in Pasuruan Regency. NU in Pasuruan fulfills two main requirements in Tomas Dye's group theory. First, the large number of masses in providing political support, the votes of its citizens determine the victory of Gus Irsyad in the executive branch and the Partai Kebangkitan Bersama (PKB) in the legislature. Second, NU has access to policy makers, shown by Gus Irsyad's position, apart from being a regent as well as being a structural administrator of the Pasuruan Regency PCNU, so his closeness to NU is not just a political matter. NU's influence was very intact in the formation of the compulsory education program for madrasah diniyah, bearing in mind that this policy was a proposal from the Pasuruan Pengurus Cabang NU (PCNU), and Gus Irsyad's victory could not be separated from the intervention of kiai and NU members..

The above argument is very interesting initial data to view the extent of NU's involvement in the formulation process to the determination of compulsory madrasah education policies in Pasuruan Regency. The question is what is the background of the policy formulation? what are the dynamics in setting these policies? and how is the policy implemented? This research was conducted to examine the factors behind NU's involvement in the establishment of mandatory madrasah education regulations in Pasuruan Regency, as well as the extent to which the implementation and impact of this public policy

METHOD

This research uses library research methods or literature studies. This method is related to collecting library data, reading and taking notes, and processing writing materials (Zed, 2014). The reference literature is the result of research that has a similar perspective, namely the role of community organizations in the formulation and determination of public policies. In addition, government output reports are also a source of data collection.

The approach in this research is descriptive qualitative by describing phenomena that occur in society and drawing conclusions about these phenomena (Yusuf, 2015). This research also conducted in-depth interviews with several actors related to the research focus, so that the qualitative approach can also be intended as a paradigm, because the purpose of this approach is to look deeper into the subject according to their empirical experience (Horison, 2009).

RESEARCH RESULTS

Claims of Santri City and Existence of Madrasah Diniyah

The title of the santri city owned by Pasuruan Regency is not just a cultural symbol, but a complete picture of how santri become an identity in political and social spaces. The culture of the Pasuruan Regency students is supported by several aspects. First, demographically, 97% of Pasuruan's population is Muslim. Second, according to data from the Pasuruan Regency Ministry of Religion, 4.4% of the pesantren in East Java are spread across this region. Third, there are several names of kiai who have high bargaining power in the national

arena, such as KH. Nawawi as one of the founders of NU, and KH. Abdul Hamid whose name has been well-known and respected by many religious and political figures. Fourth, Pasuruan Regency has the fourth largest number of Islamic boarding schools in East Java with a total of 40,892 students in 2013 (Ministry of Religion, 2013). Among them are the two oldest Islamic boarding schools that have been established since the Dutch Colonial period, namely the Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School which was founded in 1718 AD, and the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School since 1800 AD. Apart from these several aspects, the role of religious organizations such as NU is also very significant. NU in Pasuruan Regency is the largest and most influential social organization. NU is a place for most people to self-actualize and organize. Of course this is directly proportional to the level of public obedience to the kiai in Pasuruan Regency, so that the mass of the organization can also be directed to become a solid political mass when NU is involved in practical political mechanisms.

Geertz defines santri as a group or variant of society in Java who adhere to Islamic teachings. Obedience in this context means having concern for Islamic doctrine, especially regarding moral and social interpretation, so that it influences one's behavior in social life. (Geertz, 1981). If referring to this view, the concept of santri is not exclusive or only refers to students who carry out activities to study at Islamic boarding schools, but rather a community group that adopts and implements Islamic values in a devout manner. This view is relevant to be used as a basis for interpreting the title of the santri city of Pasuruan Regency. The word santri in this nickname is a symbol that the people of Pasuruan adopt and implement moral and social values from Islamic teachings. Means of adoption through inherited social rules, teachings of religious leaders, education in Islamic boarding schools or madrasas of diniyah made by educational institutions or those that stand independently are managed by the community.

The existence of madrasah diniyah or hereinafter referred to as madin in Pasuruan Regency has a close relationship with the culture of the santri. Madin according to Regional Regulation of Pasuruan Regency No. 4 of 2014 is a community-based education that aims to deepen the understanding and practice of Islamic teachings properly and correctly. Meanwhile, according to the Ministry of Religion, madrasah diniyah is an educational institution that uses the classical system and is provided for students whose religious studies are not fulfilled in formal schools (Departemen Agama RI, 2000). The important point is that the existence of madin as an educational institution is aimed at solving problems related to the lack of religious values taught in formal schools in general. As non-formal education managed by the community, madin functions to care for and maintain religious teachings that have lived and are embedded in social space. Its existence is a manifestation of efforts to maintain the culture of students in Pasuruan Regency itself. Apart from that, almost every pesantren in Pasuruan Regency also organizes their non-formal education through madrasah diniyah.

There are three classification levels in madin, namely diniyah Awaliyah, Diniyah Wustha, and Diniyah Ulya. Diniyah Awaliyah is the most basic level, oriented towards perfecting the religious education that has been obtained from formal schools such as reading and writing the Koran and practicing worship. Diniyah wustha is the middle level, the

curriculum is equivalent to madrasah or religious-based formal schools. The last level is diniyah ulya, the focus of learning is equated with the curriculum of Islamic boarding schools (Departemen Agama RI, 2003).

The people of Pasuruan were familiar with madin long before the mandatory madrasah diniyah education policy was issued by the local government in 2014 and 2016. In 2009 there were 1,173 madrasah diniyah, this number is equivalent to 13.57% of the total madrasah diniyah in East Java Province. The Pasuruan District Education Office in the same year conducted a survey of 110 madrasah diniyah, of which 75% were managed by the community and 25% were managed by Islamic boarding schools directly. The survey focuses on the number of madin students who also attend formal schools. The results show that there are 9,608 pupils who attend formal school out of 14,905 madrasah students (Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten Pasuruan, 2010).

The number of such educational institutions increased over time. In 2013 there were more than 1250 madin in Pasuruan Regency (Kementerian Agama Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2013). This increase is suspected because the establishment of madrasah diniyah can be carried out personally or institutionally. In addition, the existence of madin provides space for the wider community to be involved in the implementation of religious-based education. Madin is also an alternative for people who do not choose Islamic boarding schools or madrasahs as a space to get religious education, so that their presence in the community is strong.

Madin in Pasuruan Regency has different conditions. Some have buildings to carry out the teaching process, some join or cooperate with madrasahs or Islamic boarding schools to borrow buildings in the afternoon, some are held at the homes of local community leaders. Based on the report from the Pasuruan District Education Office, 82.2% of Madins held their education in the afternoon, 11.8% at night, and the remaining 3.6% held education in the morning (Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten Pasuruan, 2010). The teaching and learning process in the madin which is held in the morning as a whole is the madin which is managed by the Islamic boarding school, the students are the santri of the Islamic boarding school and the people who live around the Islamic boarding school.

Madrasah Diniyah Compulsory Education Program: Background and Its Implementation

Education is a mechanism designed to provide positive input to the development of society. Through education, moral values and knowledge are instilled to be further implemented in order to build a better social order. Therefore, education is a vital basis that must receive special attention. In accordance with this context, education as a material basis in its implementation has a great responsibility for the sustainability of a human civilization, so it is necessary to set policies that can be implemented carefully (Suwarno, 2016). Education has a big role for a country, because educational institutions are a place to educate citizens so that they are useful and make a positive contribution to the country (Tabrani & Samsul Arifin, 1994). Success in politics, economics, social, culture, and religion is based on

the success of education. Even though education is a subtle, invisible force, everyone needs and feels its influence (Suwarno, 2016).

The Pasuruan Regency Government places education as an important space for building social order, both formally and non-formally. The existence of public education organized by the state is considered to be lacking in contributing to the development of religious morals through the given religious knowledge. As a region where 97% of the population is Muslim, the government considers it necessary to pay attention to the implementation of community-based education in the form of madrasah diniyah. Even though the existence of madrasah diniyah has long lived in the midst of Pasuruan society, the government considers it necessary to have a more specific and binding legal framework to regulate its implementation.

Rules related to compulsory education at madrasah diniyah are stipulated through Regional Regulation no. 4 of 2014 concerning the Implementation of Education in Pasuruan Regency, and further confirmed by Peraturan Bupati No. 21 Tahun 2016 tentang Wajib Belajar pendidikan Madrasah Diniyah. In article 31 of Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2014 the government requires every citizen aged 7 to 18 years who is Muslim to attend madrasah diniyah. Whereas in article 6 of the Peraturan Bupati No. 21 Tahun 2016 states that madrasah diniyah education is mandatory for students at the formal basic education level who are Muslim. These two regulations become the legal basis that binds Pasuruan residents to be involved in the implementation of madrasah diniyah education. The district head's regulation began to be implemented in 2017, in conjunction with the implementation of a full day school as stipulated in Permendikbud No. 23 of 2017.

The background for the establishment of these rules is the existence of moral degradation that has occurred in Pasuruan Regency. Irsyad Yusuf as the regent who initiated the regulation stated that there is a need for good local wisdom-based character education to tackle the moral degradation of the Pasuruan people. Irsyad Yusuf added that Pasuruan is the area with the fourth highest distribution of drugs in East Java (Irsyad Yusuf, 2020). In addition, Sudiono Fauzan as the Chairperson of the Pasuruan Regency DPRD also made a similar statement, that it is mandatory to follow madin regulations to tackle promiscuity, it is hoped that children can take advantage of their time to study and gain religious knowledge (Sudiono Fauzan, 2020).

The decline in morality and the high crime rate are the main reasons for establishing this program. Data from the Pasuruan Regency Central Statistics Agency (BPS) show that the crime rate in Pasuruan Regency was quite high in the 2014-2016 period, and the number continues to increase. As an area titled the city of santri, of course this fact is contradictory because santri are synonymous with obedience to religious rules. Crime which is increasing every year indicates the need for an evaluation of the implementation of religion-based education, so that regulations related to the implementation of compulsory madin education are specifically stipulated through Peraturan Bupati No. 26 of 2016.

Tabel 1 Crime Rate in Pasuruan District Year 2014-2016

No.	Jenis	2014	2015	2016
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1	Pembunuhan	5	5	9
2	Perkosaan	0	4	4
3	Pencabulan	1	11	16
4	Curanmor	39	49	42
5	Narkoba	30	97	151

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Pasuruan Tahun 2018

The Pasuruan Regency Government's belief about moral improvement can be carried out through religious education in line with people's beliefs. Religious education is considered to be able to provide solutions to social problems, so that the existence of madrasah diniyah in the midst of society is fairly strong. Apart from madin, Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an (TPQ) also lives in the Pasuruan community, but is considered less able to deal with social problems because it only teaches Al-Qur'an reading and writing. Madin has specific differences from TPQ, because there is a curriculum that is equated with madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools, so that students can learn religious values through books that are also taught in these two institutions..

As a public policy, the rules for compulsory education at madrasah diniyah are a manifestation of the attachment of the Pasuruan people to the Pasuruan Regency Government, because they are coercive and binding to implement. Therefore, it is common to refer to public policy as a relationship between government units and their environment (Leo Agustino, 2008). Borrowing James E. Anderson's point of view in viewing public policy, there are several categories in classifying policies, including substantive policies and procedural policies. Substantive policies are rules regarding what the government will do, while procedural policies are rules for how substantive policies are implemented (Suharno, 2013). Peraturan Bupati Kabupaten Pasuruan No. 4 of 2014 and Peraturan Bupati no. 21 of 2016 contains these two classifications. Substantively, the two legal regulations explain what the Pasuruan Regency Government will do, namely the obligation of the community to attend madrasah diniyah. Procedurally, the two legal products contain an implementation mechanism to realize the substance to be achieved.

When the government makes public policies, at that time the government also seeks to allocate values to society, because each policy contains a set of values (Taufiqurakhman, 2014). The government of Pasuruan Regency through the madrasah diniyah compulsory education rules is trying to pursue religious values in order to get a bigger portion through a community-based education system. Society as a material object of instilling values is bound to follow and implement these rules. The bond is in the form of sanctions or consequences that will be borne by the community itself if they do not implement it. Article 50 Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2014 states that one of the requirements for admitting formal school students in Pasuruan Regency is to attach a diploma or certificate of graduation from a madrasah diniyah. This article is a limitation that cannot be overcome, because in order to be able to carry out formal education, students are required to have a diploma from a madrasah diniyah. Society is ultimately forced to comply, with irreversible consequences.

While participating in learning at the madrasah diniyah, students will receive a diploma or certificate which will later be used to register at formal public schools. This tightening has made the development of madrasah diniyah very rapid, both in terms of numbers and implementation mechanisms. After the enactment of Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2014 and Peraturan Bupati No. 21 of 2016, the number of madrasah diniyah in Pasuruan Regency is growing rapidly. In 2015 the number of madin was 1285, then it became 1497 in 2017, and increased again to 1527 in 2018.

Madin compulsory education rules seek to allocate values to overcome existing social problems. In essence, a policy that seeks to achieve a value will have consideration of what will be sacrificed to achieve that value (Taufiqurakhman, 2014). In that context, the madin compulsory education regulations require the Pasuruan Regency Government to also pay attention to other aspects such as supporting infrastructure, educator welfare, and procedural mechanisms such as the appointment of a responsible institution. The logical consequence is that the government will disburse a larger budget and mobilize resources to maintain program stability.

The Pasuruan Regency Government allocates a budget for infrastructure development such as road access and infrastructure facilities. In addition, budget allocations are also disbursed to provide incentives for teachers. Funds are budgeted directly from the APBD of Pasuruan Regency through the Office of Education and Culture in the field of Religious Education (Pergurag). Incentives are given to teachers with the condition that they must have 30 students.

Before this rule was enacted and implemented, madrasah diniyah teachers only received a salary of Rp. 50,000 or even only got produce from the guardians of the students. After implementing the program, teachers receive an incentive of IDR 300,000 plus IDR 15,000 – IDR 25,000 per student. The additional Rp. 15,000 to Rp. 25,000 earned was a regional operational assistance called BPPDGS (Private Teacher and Diniyah Organizing Assistance). If you do the calculations, the minimum income for a madrasah diniyah teacher with 30 students is IDR 750,000. Nurul Hidayah as a teacher at Madrasah Diniyah Al-Falah admitted that the incentive policy had a positive impact on the welfare of her and her colleagues as teachers (Nurul Hidayah, 2020). Nevertheless, this incentive policy on the one hand did increase the level of teacher income, but on the other hand it caused an unequal acquisition between teachers with a smaller number of foster students.

Another problem before this rule was enacted was the weak management of madrasah madrasah because more than 30% of madrasah leaders only graduated from elementary or junior high school. Madrasah diniyah is often implemented without good and clear planning, so that 55% of madrasah diniyah do not have medium-term planning documents or Madrasah Diniyah Work Plans (RKMD). The implication is that some madins do not have a clear educational program, the curriculum used tends to follow the wishes of the madrasah diniyah principal or teacher. Such problems were relatively minimal when the mandatory madrasah diniyah regulations were implemented because the district government began to be actively involved in fixing management problems and teacher welfare. The government began to require madin to use a predetermined curriculum. There are three curricula that can be used,

namely the curriculum made by the Ministry of Religion, the Islamic boarding school curriculum, and the output curriculum from LP Ma'arif NU.

The government appointed two government agencies to be responsible for administering madrasah diniyah, namely the Ministry of Religion of the Pasuruan Regency, the PD Pontren section, and the Pasuruan Regency Education and Culture Office, the Pergurag division. The two institutions have different main tasks and functions. PD Pontren is in charge of issuing establishment permits, while Pergurag handles the operational budget allocation sector. The Pasuruan Regency Government also formed a Madrasah Diniyah Working Group (KKMD) in order to build coordination between madins at the sub-district level. KKMD is responsible for supervising and fostering the implementation of madrasah diniyah in each sub-district. The government also disburses operational funds of IDR 5,000,000 annually to KKMD to carry out supervisory and coaching duties.

The government of Pasuruan Regency through the compulsory education policy for madrasah diniyah has had a positive impact on the implementation of madrasah diniyah. Starting from supporting infrastructure, binding regulations so that the number increases rapidly, as well as better management mechanisms such as curricula and administrative regulations. Nevertheless, this policy, if viewed carefully, is a legal product that represents the strength of one community group, namely NU. How could it not be, LP Ma'arif as an autonomous NU body covers 768 institutions from 1527 madrasah diniyah in Pasuruan Regency. In addition, the proponents of the compulsory madin education policy were NU kiai who were members of the PCNU or LP Ma'arif.

Policy in NU's Embrace

NU is an organized group and has a significant role in the political process in Pasuruan Regency, so that NU's space to influence the formulation of public policy is very large. Irsyad Yusuf stated that LP Ma'arif as an autonomous NU body was the spearhead of holding compulsory Islamic education (Irsyad Yusuf, 2020). LP Ma'arif through the PCNU submitted his proposal to Irsyad Yusuf to immediately establish a compulsory madrasah diniyah education program. Irsyad, who is also PCNU's structural administrator, responded to this and conveyed it directly to the Pasuruan Regency DPRD for further regional regulations to be drafted.

Yusrin, deputy chairman of LP Ma'arif NU, Pasuruan Regency, said that the clerics submitted the proposal through the executive branch, then the district head submitted it to the DPRD. After the proposal regarding the program was submitted, all faction members in the DPRD were gathered at PCNU to approve the program proposal (Yusrin, 2020). Apart from that, the Chairperson of the Pasuruan Regency DPRD also said that it was his duty to accept the proposals of the kiai as a politician who was born from the womb of NU, as an effort to nurture NU people, especially among the kiai (Sudiono Fauzan, 2020). This statement shows that NU's political power within the Pasuruan Regency Government is very strong. NU kiai in Pasuruan Regency move politically through the Partai Kebangkitan Bersama (PKB), and PKB is an incumbent party whose victory has never shifted since the Reformation era in Pasuruan Regency.

Irsyad Yusuf formally stated that the formation of the compulsory Islamic school education program was the realization of his vision and mission. Politically, this program is an effort to take care of his voice so that he will reap another victory in the next period (Irsyad Yusuf, 2020). It opened up space and stronger bonds with NU as its mass base. In the end, the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program not only talks about the government's responsibility in providing proper education, but also has a political spectrum that is mutually beneficial between the parties proposing it.

LP Ma'arif NU Pasuruan Regency is the institution that has the greatest interest in the implementation of the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program. This institution has made a discourse to protect the existence of madrasah diniyah since 2013. The foundation is the statement of the kiai who think that the national education system does not accommodate religious sciences in its curriculum (Yusrin, 2020). In addition, Ma'arif Prison has 768 madrasah diniyah, so the government's involvement in the implementation and upbringing of madrasah diniyah is very profitable.

NU in general and Ma'arif Prison in particular benefit socially and economically from the implementation of the madrasah diniyah compulsory education policy. People increasingly trust NU because it has the power to access profitable political spaces, this becomes social capital to further strengthen NU's mass line. Economic benefits are obtained through operational funds which are allocated monthly to madrasah diniyah institutions under the auspices of LP Ma'arif, in addition to that, through regent regulations, santri guardians are required to make donations in the form of funds according to their respective abilities. Of course, this is very helpful in financing and saving funds from LP Ma'arif.

The impact of NU's immense strength in Pasuruan District has reduced the role of other community organizations. Aufin, the secretary of PD Muhammadiyah Pasuruan Regency stated that if the power of NU dominates, the hope is that the Regency Government can provide equal portions and opportunities to other social organizations (Aufin, 2020). Muhammadiyah as a large community organization only has 38 madrasah diniyah in Pasuruan, so the impact of the implementation of the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program is very unequal. The unequal number of madrasah diniyah under the auspices of NU and non-NU shows that the policy is not objective because it does not provide equal benefits.

Thomas Dye's group theory states that public policy is the result of struggles between groups (Taufiqurakhman, 2014). Theoretically, public policy will appear as a legal product that embraces each group, but at the same time the power of the dominant group will minimize the interests of other groups. Dominant power according to Thomas Dye is determined by two conditions, namely the influence of the mass quantity and access to policy makers. At this point, NU in Pasuruan has both conditions, so that its role in proposing policies can reduce the power of other mass groups. The most obvious benchmark can be seen from the impact received when the policy is implemented. The group that gains the most is the dominant force, while the group that gets the smallest advantage is the reduced force.

Madrasah diniyah compulsory education rules are a form of internalization and transformation of Islamic values in people's lives with a political power approach. Apart from all the polemics that accompany it, this can be seen as a structural da'wah effort by NU as a religious organization. Structural da'wah itself is a da'wah mechanism through and being in power (Sukayat, 2015). Structural da'wah activities move to instill Islamic teachings by utilizing existing social, political and economic structures to make Islamic values a principle of social life.

CONCLUSION

The dynamics in determining the madrasah diniyah compulsory education program in Pasuruan Regency has resulted in a legal product, namely Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2014 and Peraturan Bupati No. 21 of 2016. Basically, this policy is a response from the Pasuruan District Government regarding the clerics' unrest over the lack of distribution of religious knowledge in formal schools. Apart from that, the crime rate which increased from 2014 to 2016 was also the main reason why the program was published. In general, the policy aims to form a social morality based on religious education in order to overcome the decline in moral values and the high crime rate in Pasuruan Regency. The Pasuruan Regency legislature believes that with the implementation of the compulsory education program for madrasah diniyah, children will not have free time to carry out activities that are less useful or lead to criminal acts.

Prison Ma'arif, Pasuruan Regency, has had a formula regarding the establishment of compulsory education for madrasah diniyah since 2013. LP Ma'arif considers it necessary to involve the government in organizing madrasah diniyah so that there is an increase in quality in the management aspect, in addition to the existence of binding legal aspects that can strengthen the existence these non-formal educational institutions in the midst of modernity. Through the PCNU, LP Ma'arif opened a space for communication with the executive and legislative bodies. The domination of NU's power in the political map of Pasuruan Regency indirectly binds policy makers to roll out the red carpet for echoed proposals. In a short time and without much consideration, the legal framework for compulsory madrasah education was immediately established. The program was implemented in its entirety in 2017. The positive implication in its implementation is the increasing quality of Madrasah Diniyah administration, such as infrastructure improvements, operational funding assistance and incentives for teachers, as well as training to improve the quality of teaching resources. However, as a public policy the program is less objective and exclusive. The group that benefits the most is NU because madrasah diniyah is a religious education with NU culture. NU is the organization that has the most madrasah diniyah with a total of 768. With this number, the dominant distribution of operational costs goes to Ma'arif LP as an autonomous NU institution.

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