

THE RESISTANCE OF THE YELLU COMMUNITY TO FORMAL ISLAMIC EDUCATION: SAUTUBAH TRADITION IN YELLU VILLAGE, SOUTH MISOOL, RAJA AMPAT

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Abstract

The Yellu community's resistance to formal Islamic education in the sautubah tradition has caused problems in the community while at the same time ruling out formal education. The Yellu community, who firmly adheres to the Sautubah tradition, refuses ustadz alumni of Islamic educational institutions to give Friday and Eid sermons. This paper aims to examine the relationship between the sautubah tradition and formal education that causes unrest in the Yellu Misool community of Raja Ampat. First, describe community resistance in the sautubah tradition towards alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions. Second, analyze community resistance factors in the sautubah tradition of alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions. Third, analyze the impact on the resistance. This research data was collected using qualitative methods. The researchers conducted in-depth interviews with community leaders and priests of Yellu Misool village, Raja Ampat. In addition, documents related to the Sautubah tradition were searched to complete the required data. The study results show community resistance to formal Islamic education in the practice of sautubah. People who are allowed to become Friday preachers are only those who have been trained by custom (special). This condition denies the scientific qualifications of academics, ustadz, Kiai, scientists, and scholars to become preachers. As a result, public unrest increases when the two groups each have fanatical supporters. In line with that, this paper suggests the need for a correlation between community traditions and fiqh literature in practicing religion. The local government is needed as a mediator in resolving conflicts between the people of the sautubah tradition and alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions

Keywords: yellu community, sautubah tradition, formal islamic education.

INTRODUCTION

Yellu is the name of a village that comes from the local Misool language, which means two hills. Yellu is one of the five villages in the

South Misool District, Raja Ampat Regency. Yellu is a densely populated village with a Muslim majority of 1,700 people and 213 families. The population of South Misool, based on BPS data of Raja Ampat Regency, is 4,175 people with a land area of 91.16 km²

and the sea is 2,216.97 km², so the population density in this district is 45.80. There are five mosques of worship in each village, but no churches or other houses of worship were found (Ampat, 2019: 3-17).

Sautubah (Arabic sermon tradition) is not only a Friday sermon tradition for the Yellu Misool Raja Ampat community but is also described as community resistance to formal Islamic education. The tradition of *sautubah* is maintained in implementing Friday prayers in which it does not accept other sermon teachings. It is rooted in people's habits that hinder the transformation of formal Islamic education. *Santri* or religious scholars are not allowed to deliver Friday sermons due to differences in the learning methods. *Santri* must obey the *sautubah* tradition, a belief in Yellu society.

The Yellu community does not allow someone to become a Friday preacher if they have not met special education and training according to this community traditions and have not been selected by the village priest. Maul explained, "*Father, people cannot easily give any sermon in this village. You have to use the permission of the village priest, there is a traditional event, such as training for one month of fasting, and then you can go up the pulpit*" (Maul, interview, 20/7/2020). Naharudin pointed out that a tradition will survive if it has social and religious functions in people's lives and preventive efforts to prevent the extinction or fading of the community's traditions. The community's commitment and belief can maintaining existing traditions (Naharudin, 2019: 101). In line with Sumarmi, each tribe in Indonesia has certain local wisdom for their environment (Sumarmi, 2015: 43).

So far, studies of resistance tend to look at three things. *First*, traditional resistance studies tend to maintain art-based traditions (Adzkia et al., 2016: 91; Lodra, 2020: 308; Hariyanto, 2018: 1). *Second*, a study of traditional resistance rejects change as actors of customary power (Wahyuni, 2019: 1; Muhammad, 2017: 149; Mustofa, 2019: 71). *Third*, the study of resistance tends to maintain a religion-based tradition believed by the local community (Samiyono, 2013: 251; Yumitro & Prasetya, 2018: 335; Ahmad, 2018: 1). The study of the three resistances tends to maintain a partial tradition and has not seen how to maintain a belief tradition

while at the same time maintaining control over the procession of an existence of a tradition.

This paper aims to complement the shortcomings of previous studies that have not paid attention to the diversity of resistance based on religion and having power over customs and society. In particular, this paper shows that the resistance of the *sautubah* tradition shows a unique phenomenon practiced by the Yellu community by maintaining traditional training and rejecting recognition held by formal Islamic educational institutions.

Accordingly, this paper answers three questions; (a) what is community resistance in the *sautubah* tradition towards alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions?; (b) why does this community resistance occur in the *sautubah* tradition against alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions?; (c) what is the impact of community resistance in the *sautubah* tradition towards alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions in the life of the Yellu community?. The answers to these three questions enable the understanding of the rationale used as the basis for the rejection of formal Islamic education in the surrounding community.

The study of community resistance in the *sautubah* tradition to formal Islamic educational institutions is based on an argument that every community group has a tradition that has been practiced for generations which are believed that the religious teaching should not be changed. Due to limited opportunities, not many people have been given a chance as Friday preachers. Only certain people have been recognized by the Village Imam and have been nurtured according to the *sautubah* tradition. A preacher who graduated from a formal Islamic educational institution, who does not conform to the *sautubah* tradition, is not allowed to give Friday sermons at the Yellu community mosque. Belief in the truth of the series of implementation of the *sautubah* tradition has become a factor in the rejection of students or graduates from formal Islamic educational institutions.

Literature Review

Formal Islamic education is defined as a structured and tiered educational unit under the guidance of the Minister of

Religion, which provides general education with the peculiarities of the Islamic religion at the primary, secondary, and higher education levels (Darlis, 2017: 84-103). The definition states three things, basic level Islamic education in the form of Madrasah *Ibtidaiyah* and Madrasah *Tsanawiyah*. The secondary education level is in Madrasah Aliyah, and the higher education level is in the form of a university. In line with the legitimacy of the education system in Indonesia, Rasyid stated that Islamic education is an integrated part of the national education system (Rasyid, 2015: 127-139). Islamic education providers are mainly Islamic boarding schools, which have transformed in the form of modernization in mastering foreign languages, entrepreneurship, the use of information and communication technology, and other competencies (Athoillah & Wulan, 2019: 25).

Forms of formal Islamic education can be found in three things. *First*, Islamic educational institutions in the form of *pesantren* provide education by combining traditional and modern aspects in curriculum, objectives, methods, and institutional management (Kamal, 2018; Husmiaty Hasyim, 2015: 57). In addition to using the traditional system with *sorogan* and *bandongan*, the learning method also uses the classical approach. *Second*, Islamic education is held in modern *pesantren* with a complete curriculum system with classical learning methods (Maksum, 2016: 81; Sugandi et al., 2017: 99). This form of *Pesantren* not only functions as a center of education for scholars but also develops entrepreneurial skills and strengthens the community's economy (Hermanto et al., 2020: 1).

Third, formal Islamic education can be found in madrasas that have used a religious and a general lesson curriculum with a classical learning system. The learning method used no longer uses the *sorogan* and *bandongan* systems. Do not even use the *Kitab Kuning* or the *Kitab Gundul* in conducting Islamic education (Pratama, 2019: 95; Kasman, 2018: 47; Al-Falah et al., 2019: 37).

Tradition Resistance

Tradition resistance is defined as a form of effort to maintain the tradition or community habit from generation to

generation to a new culture (Jalil, 2019: 113; Karmila, 2016: 143). The definition reveals two things. *First*, traditional resistance is interpreted as a community activity to maintain tradition in a community that always practices it in daily life as a defense against the entry of new cultures that emerge in society (Wahyuni, 2019: 1; Hariyanto, 2018: 1; Zaini, 2017: 1).

In line with this, maintaining traditions based on religious rituals is also rife in various parts of Indonesia as the embodiment of religion practiced by the Sekarbela community in the haul and birthday ceremonies of the prophet (Ahmad, 2018: 11). In contrast to the view above, Rahmawati shows the opposite phenomenon, which fights and defends against traditions and cultures that have long restrained the existence of women (Rahmawati, 2019: 109), making women second-class and marginalized (Turaeni, 2010: 257). *Second*, traditional resistance is interpreted as a community activity from generation to generation, which is deliberately practiced as an effort to ward off foreign cultures that have begun to enter and influence society (Ahmad, 2018: 12; Yumitro & Prasetya, 2018: 335; Muhammad, 2017: 149; Thaib, 2018: 138).

Three forms of traditional resistance can be found. *First*, traditional resistance can manifest in maintaining religious ritual habits that have long been practiced in local communities (Ahmad, 2018: 12). Traditional resistance shows the existence of normative values that are strongly held by the local community. *Second*, traditional resistance manifests as a form of resistance to a new culture that is not in accordance with the habits of the local community (Samiyono, 2013: 251; Harahap & Zaenuddin, 2020: 98). The habits of the local community are threatened by the presence of a new culture that is considered to have no prevailing norms in society. *Third*, traditional resistance shows an attitude of maintaining local community habits that have economic value against changes in government policies that tend to harm local communities (Khanifa, 2018: 50). The resistance of local community traditions that have economic importance has become the basis of people's lives. It is not easily shifted by changes driven by the government through policies that tend to harm the local community.

Sautubah Tradition

Sautubah comes from the Misool language, which means to deliver the sermon, interpreted as an adult Muslim who wants to give a Friday sermon using Arabic text and has been approved by the *syara'* judge and Village Imam (Tamher, interview, 25/7/2020). This phenomenon also reveals that *sautubah* is a tradition that shows sermon activities that the community has long practiced since the presence of Islam for the first time in Yellu village (Sapua, interview, 26/7/2020). In addition, Nur stated that a prospective preacher must first receive rigorous education and guidance for the whole month of Ramadan (Indria Nur et al., 2020: 6635-6648). These three views conclude that *sautubah* is a Yellu community tradition that provides a prospective preacher special treatment as a requirement to become a sermon officer.

Three forms of the *sautubah* tradition could be found; *first*, *sautubah* is a tradition since Islam was present in the Misool area, especially Yellu village. It is used to educate anyone in the community who has the potential to become a Friday and Eid preacher (Tamher, interview, 25/7/2020). *Second*, the *sautubah* tradition tightens the conditions for a Muslim who wants to become a sermon officer. They have to fulfill some conditions: Muslims must complete the Qur'an under the guidance of the Qur'an teacher, get the blessing of the Qur'an teacher, and get the blessing of the Village Imam (Sapua, interview, 26/7/2020). *Third*, the *sautubah* tradition obligates the candidates to learn the art of reading Arabic text every day for a whole month. In addition, during Ramadan, the candidates must be fasting and perform the five daily and tarawih prayer. When it is the time to pray, they must stand in the back row of the Imam of the Mosque (Nur, 2020: 2).

RESEARCH METHOD

The resistance of the Yellu community in the *sautubah* tradition as a defense activity and local tradition resistance against formal Islamic education was chosen as the subject of discussion for three reasons. *First*, the resistance of the Yellu community in the *sautubah* tradition is a process of traditional religious education that is still

being maintained. *Second*, the resistance of the Yellu community in the *sautubah* tradition explains the existence of cause and effect that requires a complete understanding of the phenomena that occur. Resistance arises for reasons that need to be explained. *Third*, the resistance of the Yellu community in the *sautubah* tradition became the basis for a series of consequences that occurred. This result requires mapping to provide a comprehensive understanding. The three reasons for choosing the Yellu community resistance issue in the *sautubah* tradition as the subject of discussion in this paper are expected to provide a complete understanding for problem-solving purposes.

This qualitative research explores in-depth information about the procession of the *sautubah* tradition. In addition, to dig up information about the Yellu Misool community's rejection of preachers who came from formal Islamic educational institutions. The researcher also observes a series of training implementations and fosters the *sautubah* tradition. Secondary data is extracted from research, journals, and documents related to the *sautubah* tradition activities. All the data generated can illustrate that the *sautubah* tradition rejects preachers from formal Islamic educational institutions and only allows preachers who have been educated and guided by the local *Syara'* Judge.

Respondents selected as data sources came from groups of religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the community who were directly involved in the process of education and training of prospective preachers to become a khatib (*sautubah* tradition). Respondents in this study were Village Imam, Deputy of Village Imam, Mojim (muezzin), and Teacher of the Qur'an. They were selected as respondents based on their duties, who were entitled to determine the khatib officer. In addition, other respondents were Khatib officers, Khatib who just participated in the *sautubah* tradition, and ten people from Yellu Misool village who participated in witnessing the *sautubah* tradition procession.

Interviews were conducted with religious leaders, traditional leaders, and community members by applying health protocols, and some online interviews with other people using cell phones. The

interviews aim to seek information regarding the reasons for the refusal of graduates from formal Islamic educational institutions to give sermons at the Yellu Misool mosque. Secondary data sources are mapped thematically relevant to the research.

Data analysis used the analysis technique of Miles and Huberman (1990) (Basrowi & Suwandi, 2008: 210) by means of data reduction, data display, and data verification. The collected data selection and sorting are based on thematically relevant data. Data on resistance, resistance factors, and the impact caused are carried out by presenting data and citing narratives to maintain the originality of the data. Data verification is done by triangulation of data sources. All of these stages are the basis for concluding the study results.

DISCUSSION

Form of Resistance of the Yellu Community in the Sautubah Tradition

The people of Yellu Misool have been practicing *sautubah* as a tradition of preaching in Arabic since the first entry of Islam in Yellu Misool village. The community, *santri*, or *ustadz* alumni or graduates of *pesantren* and formal Islamic educational institutions are not allowed to become a preacher at the village mosque. The Yellu Misool community only allows khatib officers to carry out the *sautubah* (raising sermon) tradition for those who have graduated from special education and training from the local *Syara'* Judge. As Maul said that *santri* or *pesantren* alumni were refused to become preachers at the Nurul Huda Yellu mosque, only certain people could give sermons at the Yellu mosque (Maul, interview, 24/7/2020). Many students and the community have been able to become preachers but were not given the opportunity by the Village Imam and *Syara'* Judge to deliver the Friday or Eid sermon.

The emergence of rejection of something new can be understood as part of the community's love for local values (Widiana, 2016: 198-215). *Sautubah*, is not just a Friday sermon tradition for the Yellu Misool people of Raja Ampat but also resistance from the Yellu Misool community towards formal Islamic education. The tradition of *sautubah*, rooted in people's habits, has hindered the transformation of

formal Islamic education. *Santri* or religious scholars are not allowed to give Friday sermons due to differences in the learning methods. *Santri* must submit to the *sautubah* tradition, a belief in the Yellu Misool community.

The community's resistance in *sautubah* as a tradition of preaching Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and Friday sermons practiced in Yellu village has been going on for a long time. The implementation of the Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and Friday sermons is controlled by the *Syara'* Judge, which consists of the Village Imam and six members who have the authority to determine the preacher on duty at the Yellu village mosque. There are three forms of resistance from the Yellu Misool community in the *sautubah* tradition against formal Islamic educational institutions alumni. *First*, the *sautubah* tradition only allows khatib who have obtained the legality of khatam Qur'an by the teacher of the Qur'an recitation in Yellu Village. *Second*, the *sautubah* tradition refuses to use the local language as well as the khatib in Malay, except for Arabic, which has been passed down from generation to generation. *Third*, the *sautubah* tradition can only be carried out by preachers who have attended special education and training during Ramadan by *Syara'* Judge. Alumni from formal Islamic educational institutions by *Syara'* Judge are considered not to have completed the Qur'an, have not been able to carry out Arabic sermons according to the *sautubah* tradition, and have not attended special education and training for sermons (custom) for one month.

The Yellu community, driven by *Syara'* Judge, strictly observes the *sautubah* tradition. The strict implementation of the *sautubah* makes khatam Qur'an the main requirement to become a preacher. People who have completed the Qur'an must receive recognition and permission from the Qur'an teacher. Without the consent of the Qur'an teacher, a person cannot be recognized as a candidate for a preacher. After getting approval and blessing from the Qur'an teacher, he then asked for permission from the Village Imam (H. Salalu Sapua, interview, 26/7/2020).

An equally important requirement is that a preacher master the Arabic language used in preaching. The Arabic text used in the

sermon has been written on a specially rolled, long piece of paper. In addition to these requirements, a prospective preacher must first undergo intense training strictly for a whole month (Rajak Tamher, interview, 25/7/2020). Alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions and the general public who can preach but do not meet the requirements of the *sautubah* tradition will not be allowed to carry out Eid and Friday sermons in Yellu village (H. Abu Bakar Lodji, interview, 25/7/2020).

The Yellu community, driven by *Syara'* Judge in carrying out the *sautubah* tradition, has shown its existence as the holder of power over implementing the *sautubah* tradition. The three main requirements for a preacher in the *sautubah* tradition that must be fulfilled are the completion of the Qur'an, the Arabic language, and going through a special education procession (custom) that has been passed down from generation to generation. *Syara'* Judge, as the holder of control in implementing the *sautubah* tradition, has the authority to determine who can be allowed to carry out *sautubah*. Other community groups do not have the right to regulate and carry out traditional *sautubah* activities. Alumni of Islamic boarding schools do not have the right to carry out Friday sermons, even though others consider them capable and worthy of being a preacher.

The resistance shown by the Yellu community towards alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions is a traditional resistance to maintaining religious ritual habits that the local community has long practiced. In this context, it shows the existence of normative values that are strongly held by local communities (Ahmad, 2018: 5).

Factors of Resistance of the Yellu Community Against Formal Islamic Education Institutions.

The *sautubah* tradition that the Yellu Misool community has maintained is believed to be a legacy of Islamic teachings according to the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad, which must be preserved until the end of life. The Yellu people have accepted the *sautubah* tradition since they first learned about the teachings of Islam that entered Yellu village.

The teachings of Islam received by the ancestors of the Yellu community in the *sautubah* tradition from the beginning have used Arabic and were carried out from generation to generation. The use of Arabic is believed to be original sacred teaching and should be preserved as their parents carried out the tradition. Rajak Tamher stated that the *sautubah* tradition is a noble work that has been carried out by the parents and ancestors of the Yellu village community (Rajak Tamher, interview, 25/7/2020). To conduct the training of the preacher who can speak Arabic in a series of organizing *sautubah*, requires no small amount of funds. The prospective preacher prepares the funds for consumption costs, which will be served to guests who witness the training procession for prospective preachers until the preacher goes up to the pulpit to deliver the sermon. H. Abd. Jalil Bahale stated that in addition to the consumption funds for a month of training, thanksgiving, and prayer together, prospective preachers must prepare funds for the purchase of equipment for prospective preachers, including *ganes* (white cloth), *turban bus* (white turban), *pip kapyo'* (coin), and *bani'yang bus* (white robe) the clothes worn by the khatib for the first time ascending the pulpit on Eid al-Fitr (H. Abd. Jalil Bahale, interview, 28/7/2020).

After the Eid al-Fitr sermon, the series of *sautubah* traditions, the preacher will be holding hands (shakes) with the Village Imam, all members of the *Syara'* Judge, and all congregations. After a short break, it was followed by a thanksgiving ceremony for the new preacher and a joint prayer led by Village Imam as a sign that the preacher had been officially inaugurated. Ruhban Uyara stated that after praying together, the Village Imam, *Syara'* Judge, and the entire extended family and congregation will take the preacher around the village to be introduced to the general public and to pray for the entire community accompanied by *hadrat* music, *tifa* blows (Papuan drums), and *kateb dabus* (stabbed in the chest with a sharp iron/sharp knife) (Ruhban Uyara, interview, 25/7/2020). This series of *sautubah* traditions is a sacred part that cannot be separated from previous activities.

Several members of the Yellu village community are alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions and Islamic boarding

schools who have returned from overseas. They can preach as been known by *Syara'* Judge but have not been given permission and even refused to preach in Yellu village. This refusal is a community resistance in the *sautubah* tradition against formal Islamic educational institutions. This resistance can be classified into three factors. *First*, alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions understand that a preacher is not obliged to use Arabic texts. *Second*, *Khatam* Qur'an is not a requirement to become a preacher. *Third*, the timing of the training to become a Khatib allows it at any time and does not have to set the fasting month as a training month. As one of the formal Islamic education institution alumni, Maul stated that learning to become a preacher in a *pesantren* is enough to memorize the mandatory words and prayers in reading the sermon (Maul, interview 20/7/2020). These three factors serve as the basis for the community to refuse formal Islamic educational institutions alumni to preach in Yellu Misool village.

The Yellu Misool community did not allow the formal Islamic educational institutions alumni to go up to the pulpit for Friday and Eid sermons. The understanding of the Yellu community is based on the *sautubah* tradition, which requires that every khatib must obey the customs that have been passed down from generation to generation. A *Syara'* Judge must determine the preacher following the criteria for the traditions of the Yellu community. The community's rejection of formal Islamic educational institutions' alumni from becoming khatib is based on the understanding that alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions disagree with the rules of *sautubah*. Alumni, *ustadz*, and *santri*, who are from Islamic educational institutions, understand that the requirements for a Friday and Eid preacher do not have to complete the Qur'an. A Friday preacher does not have to be able to speak Arabic, and someone who wants to learn to be a Friday preacher does not have to do special training. Also, they believed that, at certain times, it is not obligatory to exercise in Ramadan. Differences in views between people who adhere to the *sautubah* tradition and those of formal Islamic educational institutions alumni, scholars, and students are the basis for the Yellu community's rejection of alumni of formal

Islamic educational institutions who are contrary to their ancestral traditions.

In this context, the Yellu community considers that some formal Islamic educational institutions' alumni, *ustadz*, *santri*, and scholars are threats that must be rejected. They bring new understandings that are not in accordance with the *sautubah* tradition. This is in line with Samiyono and Harahap that traditional resistance arises due to the threat of a new culture that is not in accordance with the norms prevailing in society (Samiyono, 2013: 252; Harahap & Zaenuddin, 2020: 98).

The Impact of Community Resistance in the Sautubah Tradition on Alumni of Formal Islamic Education Institutions

Haderes, as one of a series of *sautubah* processions, was held three days before Eid al-Fitr by the prospective preacher by visiting the house of the Village Imam to practice the Arabic language sermon, which a large family attended to listen to the sermon. After the practice, all guests were treated to drinks and cakes while discussing *haderes* procession. The whole series of *sautubah* tradition processions start from one's intentions and desires to become a prospective preacher, completing the Qur'an, obtaining permission from the Qur'an teacher and the Village Imam, moral development, reading Arabic texts, and procedures for ascending the pulpit, which must be active in the mosque for a whole month in Ramadan. Furthermore, the Arabic sermon, *Haderes*, thanksgiving and prayer, traveling to the community accompanied by *hadrat* music, *tifa* beats, and *kateb dabus* are the *sautubah* tradition that has long been maintained by the people of Yellu Misool village.

Mr. Lantogah tells his experience when doing *sautubah*: "*In the past, when I wanted to give a sermon, people had to watch their attitude and behavior. Suppose you speak well and do not make mistakes or do things that are not good. Prayers are maintained, fasting cannot be canceled, and reading Arabic at the imam's house is always practiced. So the haderes time has gone smoothly*" (Lantogah, interview, 26/7/2020). However, some Yellu villagers no longer want Arabic sermons to be held in the village.

Some Yellu villagers want a change so that the Arabic sermon is carried out using

Indonesian. They consider that the *sautubah* tradition is no longer worth maintaining. Most people do not understand Arabic, so they do not understand what the preacher is talking about on the pulpit. As Tamrin Muin said that we do not understand Arabic, but we still follow and listen to the sermon because worship is obligatory for a Muslim to be held in the mosque (Tamrin Muin, interview, 20/7/2020). The tradition of *sautubah* using Arabic in Friday sermons, Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha impacts the anxiety of some Yellu people.

The people of Yellu Misool village that have been following this culture have their own attitude in responding to the implementation of the *sautubah* tradition procession. Their attitude can be classified into two groups. *First*, people want the *sautubah* tradition that uses Arabic sermons to be changed into Indonesian sermons. *Second*, people still want to maintain the *sautubah* tradition use Arabic sermons.

The *sautubah* tradition, which is still practiced by the community, confirms that its existence is still valid in the community. The first group are people who have received education in overseas areas. Meanwhile, the second group are the fishing community, the administrators of Syara' Judge, and the Village Head.

The Yellu village community groups who still firmly maintain the *sautubah* tradition feel that the tradition they maintain is an Islamic tradition and a noble act that comes from the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Meanwhile, community groups who want the *sautubah* tradition to be changed from an Arabic sermon to an Indonesian language sermon consider that implementing the *sautubah* tradition does not have to be carried out in the village. According to them, most people do not understand Arabic, so when the preacher delivers the sermon in Arabic, the Friday congregation does not understand what the preacher is saying. The Friday congregation only listened to the preacher without knowing what the sermon meant.

The phenomenon of the two groups of people with different views has an impact on social interactions that are not harmonious. This disharmonious relationship has implications for the general anxiety of the

community in Yellu Misool village, Raja Ampat.

CLOSING

The findings of this study reveal that although the government has recognized formal Islamic educational institutions as a national education subsystem, the facts show that the outcomes of formal Islamic educational institutions have not been fully accepted in the Muslim community themselves. There was even a clash of religious understandings held strongly by traditional communities in the *sautubah* tradition. In addition, community leaders and village priests tend to maintain traditions based on religious beliefs while maintaining power and respect for the procession of the existence of tradition.

This study is limited to the response of traditional communities to alumni of formal Islamic educational institutions. It has not revealed the response and understanding of the Yellu village community to the outcomes of non-formal Islamic educational institutions and compared the two institutions in the Yellu Misool village community, Raja Ampat, West Papua.

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