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**POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
AND THE REACH OF THE STATE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

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YOUTH AND POP CULTURE IN INDONESIAN ISLAM

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NEW TREND OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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Jamhari Makruf

New trend of Islamic Education in Indonesia

Abstrak: Seiring dengan jatuhnya rezim Orde Baru pada 1998, sistem pendidikan Islam memperoleh momentum untuk berkembang. Indikasinya, pertama, jumlah madrasah dan pesantren dengan manajemen modern tumbuh pesat di kota-kota besar. Kedua, kebanyakan madrasah dan pesantren mencoba mengkombinasikan porsi yang seimbang baik dalam pengetahuan sekuler maupun Islam. Ketiga, muncul sekolah Islam, sebuah genre baru dalam sistem pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. Berbeda dari madrasah dan pesantren yang berada di bawah pengawasan Departemen Agama, sekolah Islam yang menekankan ajaran Islam praktis berada di bawah administrasi Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Para sarjana selama ini menilai bahwa Indonesia menganut sistem pendidikan yang dualistik. Pertama, sistem pendidikan Islam, yang terdiri dari pesantren dan madrasah, yang telah dipraktikkan selama berabad-abad dan menjadi institusi pendidikan Islam pertama di Indonesia. Menyusul masuknya pengaruh gerakan revivalisme Islam pada permulaan abad ke-20, bermula di Timur Tengah dan menyebar ke Indonesia, sistem madrasah mulai diperkenalkan ke Indonesia oleh kaum Muslim reformis. Dalam perkembangannya, institusi pendidikan Islam dalam semua tingkatan berada di bawah administrasi Departemen Agama. Kedua, terdapat sistem pendidikan sekuler yang berakar dalam tradisi pendidikan modern yang dibawa ke Indonesia oleh Pemerintah kolonial Belanda. Sistem pendidikan ini, mulai dari Sekolah Dasar sampai tingkat universitas, kemudian diwarisi pemerintah Indonesia dengan menempatkannya di bawah supervisi Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa hadirnya Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional telah me-

ngeluarkan Indonesia dari sistem pendidikan yang dualistik. UU tersebut meletakkan pesantren dan madrasah sebagai bagian integral dari sistem pendidikan nasional. Artinya, berdasarkan regulasi tersebut, madrasah juga memiliki peran yang sama dengan sekolah sekuler dalam kaitan wajib belajar sembilan tahun, serta berhak atas dukungan penuh dari Pemerintah, terlepas apakah itu madrasah negeri atau swasta.

Selain itu, artikel ini terutama sekali memberikan gambaran peta pendidikan Islam di Indonesia kontemporer yang mulai berubah. Ini ditandai antara lain dengan munculnya institusi pendidikan Islam yang tidak berafiliasi dengan organisasi massa yang mapan, seperti Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah. Karakteristik utama institusi tersebut adalah kecenderungannya untuk mengembangkan ideologi keagamaan salafi. Pesantren Hidayatullah, berdiri pada 1976, disebut sebagai perwujudan dari pemahaman Islam salafiyah. Pandangan ini direpresentasikan dalam ajaran-ajaran yang dikembangkan oleh Ustad Abdullah Said yang menginginkan berdirinya Jamaah Islamiyah, yang mengimplementasikan penuh ajaran Islam dalam kehidupan masyarakat.

Sekolah Islam juga menjadi nomenklatur baru sistem pendidikan Islam di Indonesia pada abad ke-20. Sekolah Islam tumbuh bersamaan dengan terjadinya santrinisasi dan Islamisasi, khususnya pada akhir 1990-an. Dukungan terhadap Sekolah Islam terutama datang dari Muslim kelas menengah. Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar adalah sekolah Islam tertua dan salah satu yang paling terkemuka. Didirikan antara lain oleh Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Prof. Dr. Hamka), salah seorang tokoh Muhammadiyah dan Ketua MUI, pada 1960-an, Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar berkembang pesat dan berhasil memiliki sejumlah cabang di berbagai kota besar di Indonesia, bahkan kini telah pula memiliki Universitas al-Azhar Indonesia (UAI).

Sejak 1990-an, berdiri Sekolah Madania, yang memiliki hubungan dengan Paramadina, sebuah lembaga yang didirikan Nurcholish Madjid. Sekolah Madania adalah lembaga pendidikan Islam pertama yang memelopori pengembangan gagasan pluralisme dan multikulturalisme di sekolah.

Akhirnya, keberagaman lembaga pendidikan Islam menggambarkan dinamika Islam di Indonesia yang tengah mencari bentuknya. Meski terdapat fakta tentang adanya pesantren yang menganut semangat fundamentalisme, harus dicatat bahwa itu hanyalah fenomena kecil. Mayoritas institusi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia faktanya tetap mengusung spirit Islam yang moderat.

New trend of Islamic Education in Indonesia

الخلاصة: مع سقوط نظام "الطريقة الجديدة" للرئيس السابق "سوهارتو" عام ١٩٩٨، حصل نظام التعليم الإسلامي على فرصته للتطور. ما يشير إليه، الأول عدد المدارس الإسلامية بإدارته المعاصرة ينمو بصورة ملحوظة في المدن الرئيسية، والثاني معظم المدارس الإسلامية تسعى في التوازن بين المواد العامة والدينية، والثالث ظهور المدرسة الإسلامية كان نمطا جديدا في نظام التعليم الإسلامي. وهذه المدرسة الإسلامية التابعة لوزارة التعليم القومي تختلف عن المدارس الإسلامية التي تحت إشراف وزارة الشؤون الدينية حيث تركز على التعليم الإسلامية العملية.

كان العلماء يعتقد بأن إندونيسيا يبني نظام تعليمها على الثنائية، والأول يوجد نظام التعليم الإسلامي الذي يتكون من المدارس الإسلامية أو ييسانترين التي تأسست على تقاليد التعليم الإسلامي المتوارثة منذ القرون وأصبحت أول مؤسسة تعليمية إسلامية في البلاد عقب تأثير حركة التجديد الإسلامية في بداية القرن العشرين التي بدأت في شرقي الأوسط، ثم انتشرت في إندونيسيا حيث بدأ نظام التعليم الإسلامي بانتشاره على أيدي أنصار الحركة التحديدية. وفي تطورها تحولت إدارتها إلى وزارة الشؤون الدينية. والثاني نظام التعليم العام الذي يبني على نظام التعليم الحديث جاء به إلى إندونيسيا الاستعمار الهولندي. هذا نظام التعليم يبدأ من المرحلة الابتدائية حتى المرحلة الجامعية، ثم ورثته الحكومة الإندونيسية وأصبحت تابعة لإدارة وزارة التعليم القومي.

تشير هذه المقالة إلى أن ظهور القانون رقم ٢٠ سنة ٢٠٠٣ بشأن نظام التعليم القومي أخرج إندونيسيا من نظام التعليم الثنائي المذكور. وقد جعل القانون المدرسة الإسلامية جزء لا يتجزأ من نظام التعليم القومي. بناء على ذلك، فالمدرسة الإسلامية لها نفس الدور الذي تلعبه المدرسة العامة في تعليم اجباري على تسع سنوات ولها حق كامل في الحصول على تأييد الحكومة سواء كانت تلك المدرسة حكومية أم أهلية.

بالإضافة إلى ذلك، هذه المقالة تركز على وصف خريطة تعليمية إسلامية في إندونيسيا الحديثة التي يبدأ تطورها. هناك ثلاثة أقسام في نظام التعليم الإسلامي المعاصر، الأول المدارس الإسلامية التقليدية والمعاصرة، والثاني المدارس الإسلامية الحكومية والأهلية، والثالث المدارس الإسلامية المعترفة كنمط جديد في نظام التعليم الإسلامي من قبل المجتمع الإسلامي في المدن.

كان ظهور نزعة جديدة في تطور مؤسسات التعليم الإسلامي في المدارس الإسلامية التي لم تكن تابعة لإحدى المنظمات الشعبية المعروفة مثل نخضة العلماء (Nahdlatul Ulama) والمحمدية (Muhammadiyah) والبرسيس (Persis)، من اهتمام خاص للمقالة، ومن الصفات الأساسية لهذه المؤسسات نزعتهم لنشر مذهب السلفية. والمدرسة الإسلامية "هداية الله" (Hidayatullah) التي تأسست عام ١٩٧٦ تمثل في هذا الصدد وجوداً لمذهب السلفية الإسلامية. ما يدل على ذلك آراءه وفكره ينشرها الاستاذ عبد الله سيد الذي يرغب في إنشاء الجماعة الإسلامية، وهي فكرة تشير إلى التطبيق الكامل للتعاليم الإسلامية في حياة المجتمع.

أصبح إنشاء المدارس الإسلامية تسمية جديدة في نظام التعليم الإسلامي بإندونيسيا في القرن العشرين وهو صميم الاهتمام لهذه المقالة. قد تمت هذه المدارس مواكبة لمحدث الأسلمة خاصة في أواخر التسعينيات، وتأسيس جمعية للمثقفين الإسلاميين الإندونيسيين (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia/ICMI) التي نالت تأييداً سياسياً من الحكومة أصبحت دعامة ثانية لنمو المدارس الإسلامية في إندونيسيا. والدعم للمدارس الإسلامية يأتي من قبل الجيل الجديد للمسلمين الإندونيسيين الذين يطلق عليهم باسم المسلمين من الطبقة المتوسطة الإندونيسية. كانت المدرسة الإسلامية "الأزهر" من أقدم المدارس الإسلامية وأشهرها التي أسسها الحاج عبد الملك كريم أمر الله المعروف بـ Prof. Dr. Hamka وهو من كبار الشخصيات في جمعية المحمدية ورئيس مجلس العلماء الإندونيسي في الستينيات. وقد تطورت هذه المدرسة ولها عدد من فروعها في بعض المدن الرئيسية الإندونيسية، بل الآن لها أيضاً جامعة الأزهر الإندونيسية (Universitas al-Azhar Indonesia/UAI).

قد تأسست المدارس الإسلامية الأخرى منذ التسعينيات، منها المدرسة "مدانيا" (Madania) التي لها صلة بـيرامادينا (Paramadina) وهي مؤسسة أنشأها نورخالص ماجد (Nurcholish Madjid). وتعتبر هذه المدرسة أول المدارس الإسلامية لها المبادرة في تطور فكرة التعددية والتعدد الثقافي فيها. ومنها المدرسة الثانوية "إنسان شينديكيا" (SMA Insan Cendikia) التي شيدت في عام ١٩٩٦ على أساس الفكرة من قبل العلماء العاملين في هيئة البحث والتطوير والتطبيق التكنولوجي (Badan Pengkajian, Pengembangan, dan Penerapan Teknologi/BPPT). وتهدف هذه المدرسة إلى تخريج كوادر العلماء الذين هم العلوم الإسلامية والعلوم العامة. قد وجدت المدارس الإسلامية في خارج جزيرة جاوة، منها المدرسة "شرف الملكة" (Serambi Mekkah) المشهورة في سومطرة الغربية، حيث لم تمثل المدرسة الإسلامية النموذجية فحسب، لكنها أيضاً تقوم بتطوير الممارسة الدينية التي انتشرت في مجلس التعليم الديني في الجامعة وهو من ناحية سياسية أصبح مركزاً لأنصار حزب العدالة والرفاهية (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS).

خلاصة القول، أن مختلف المؤسسات التعليمية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا المذكورة تعبر عن ديناميكية إسلامية في إندونيسيا التي تبحث عن الذات، خاصة في سياق عصر المعاصر والتطور الحديث، بالرغم من أن بعض المدارس الإسلامية تتسم بروح أصولية، لكنها ظاهرة ضعيفة، وأغلبية المؤسسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا في الواقع تبقى على روح الإسلام المعتدلة.

Change in ideas of knowledge in complex societies and the means by which such ideas are transmitted result from continual struggle among competing groups within society, each of which seeks domination or influence... Thus the forms of knowledge shaped and conveyed in education systems... must be considered in relation to the social distribution of power.

Dale Eickelman

(1978), "The Arts of Memory: Islamic Education and Its Social Reproduction". *Comparative Studies in Societies and History*, pp. 485-516.

Introduction

Indonesia has a unique education system. In addition to secular education system, where most of the students enjoy their education, there also exists Islamic education system for some of Muslim children. Both mainstreams of education system are under the supervision of two different ministries. On the one hand, the secular schools from elementary to university levels are supervised by the Ministry of National Education (MONE). On the other hand, Islamic educational institutions for all levels are under the administration of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA).¹ Given the two mainstreams of education, Indonesia is regarded by some as adopting dualistic education system.

The Islamic education system constitutes pivotal and inseparable part of national education system. Islamic educational institutions, throughout their history, have contributed significantly to the development of Indonesian education. Besides producing Muslim scholars, they have developed also Islamic tradition in Indonesia. In spite of these contributions, however, the Islamic education does not become the center in the development of national education system. The marginalization of Islamic education by the colonial administration, followed by the subsequent government of independent Indonesia, resulted in Islamic education being regarded as the *second class* of education system. Amid such a situation, however, the Islamic education system has gone through significant developments.

Following the collapse of Suharto regime in 1998, Islamic education system gained momentum to develop itself, as illustrated by the following indicators: First, the number of *madrasah* (Islamic school) and *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) with modern man-

agement have grown progressively in big cities. Second, most of *madrasahs* and *pesantrens* have been recently trying to combine a balanced portion of both secular and Islamic knowledge. Third, there has emerged *sekolah Islam* (modern Islamic school), a new genre of Islamic education system in Indonesia. This kind of school, which constitutes the later development of *madrasah* and *pesantren*, has distinctive characteristics. As will be discussed later, *sekolah Islam* is under the jurisdiction of MONE, and it emphasizes practical Islamic learning.

Those developments have brought Islamic education system into a new atmosphere. *Madrasah*, *pesantren*, and *sekolah Islam* have not been considered as marginal education anymore. Recently, the three kinds of Islamic educational institutions become urban phenomena, and some of them being regarded "favorite schools" for Indonesian middle class Muslim community. This constitutes a new trend of Islamic education in Indonesia, which gains wide opportunity to develop following the reformation era.²

As far the recent development of Islamic education system in Indonesia is concerned, there are significant questions to discuss. The questions would be addressed not only to a number of factors which have made *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* still exist and keep improving, but also to matters concerning the issues on their ways to formulate their role amid the rapid changes which occur in Indonesia. Needless to say, Islamic education institutions have now been facing more complex challenges. In addition to bear a duty to produce Muslim scholars, they have to participate also in building social, political and cultural system of new Indonesia. Consequently, it is imperative to relate Islamic education system with such modern issues as democracy, civic values, civil society, good governance, and radicalism, especially within the context of new mapping of Islamic education system in Indonesia.

Escape from Dualistic System

As has been mentioned earlier, Indonesia adopts dualistic education system (Karel Steenbrink 1986: 1-9). On the one hand, Islamic education system, one of the two important education systems in Indonesia, is rooted in the tradition of Islamic learning, which has been practiced for centuries. Historically speaking, *pesantren* is considered the first Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. It is within this educational institution that such *naqliyah* knowledge as

al-Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *'ilm al-tawḥīd*, *fiqh*, history of Prophet Muhammad., and *mantiq* (logics) are learned traditionally. Here, memorizing texts — especially texts of *al-Qur'ān*, *sunnah*, and the works of *'ulamā'* — was the most common method in the learning process. However, in line with the gradually growing influence of Islamic revivalism movement in the beginning of 20th century, which began in the Middle East and followed by its subsequent spread to Indonesia, *madrasah* system began to be introduced by Indonesian reformist Muslims. For long time before independence, both *pesantren* and *madrasah* constituted two significant institutions in the context of Indonesian Islam. After independence, as has been discussed earlier, these two institutions have not only continued to exist but also gone through rapid development and become inseparable parts of national education system.

On the other hand, secular education system is rooted in the tradition of modern education brought to Indonesia by the Dutch colonial rule, which gradually introduced schools to indigenous people, especially aristocrat groups. In addition to teach secular courses and certain skills beneficial for worldly life, the Dutch schools also promised job offers for their alumni to become colonial government employees. Furthermore, they issued certificates for the graduates to prove that they have finished certain level of education or mastered certain skill.

This historical legacy has been maintained by Indonesian's independent government. The Islamic education system has been accommodated by giving its management authority to MORA. Meanwhile, the management of secular education system has been entrusted to MONE. It is explicitly mentioned in the Law of Education and Learning System No. 4, 1950 — which was revoked by the Law No. 12, 1954 —, that “going to religious schools accredited by the Minister of Religious Affairs would be considered as completing compulsory education,”³ the detailed regulation of which “will be regulated in separate law”⁴.

Based on the above regulation, MORA has an authority to manage educational institutions from elementary to university levels, *Raudlatul Athfal* (RA or kindergarten), *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (MI or Elementary School), *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MTs or Junior High School), *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA or Senior High School), and the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN). Similarly, MONE has also a jurisdiction to supervise secular schools from *Taman Kanak-kanak* (TK or kindergarten), *Sekolah Dasar* (SD or Elementary School), *Sekolah*

Menengah Pertama (SMP or Junior High School), *Sekolah Menengah Umum* (SMU or Senior High School), *Sekolah Kejuruan* (Vocational School), and University.

The positive impact of the dualism of education is that both national and Islamic educational systems have been competing to each other. However, the “rivalry” seemed to be unequal, since the government educational policy, until the end of the New Order, was more attentive to secular education and seemed to reduce the development of Islamic education. Accordingly, the Islamic education system, especially *madrasah* and *pesantren*, became marginal education system and considered frequently as “second class” education. This is because most of the Islamic educational institutions are privates. The majority of *madrasah* — around 80% of the total — are private schools, while *pesantren* are totally private institutions. Since they bear private status, most of the *madrasahs* have limited fund. Consequently, they cannot provide high quality of education.

Despite the high pressure by the New Order government, yet *madrasah* and *pesantren* remained exist. Moreover, some of them have even developed to become big institutions with good quality. A number of *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*, which will be discussed later, are not new institutions; they are old institutions, which have been struggling with all due forces to increase their quality of education. At the same time, the government policy towards education has gone through significant changes. The Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning National Education System puts *madrasah* and *pesantren* as integral parts of national education system. Regarding financial sources, the Law states that “it is a collective responsibility between central government, local authority, and society,” (article 46). It is also stated in the preceding article that “the governments (central and local) are fully responsible to finance compulsory education,” (article 36). The impact of these regulations toward *madrasah* is obvious, namely that *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* and *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* in the context of their roles as the organizers of nine-year compulsory education would have the right to have full support from the government, regardless of whether they are public or private schools.⁵

At the conceptual level, those regulations have brought Indonesia out of dualistic educational system. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that education system in Indonesia has now been adopting “one roof” administration system. Indeed, MORA and MONE are still two different management of education in Indonesia. However, they gradually develop closer relationship and start to establish better cooperation than ever before.⁶

The Distinctive Characteristics of *Pesantren* and *Madrasah*

The development of Islam in Indonesia is inseparable from its Islamic education system, especially *pesantren* and *madrasah*. Both institutions have played pivotal role in determining the religiosity of Indonesian society. Not only do they function as the center for Islamic learning, but also constitute inherent part in the formation of socio-cultural and religious system of Indonesian Muslims. As far as the Indonesian Muslim intellectual discourse is concerned, both institutions have played significant role as centers for the publication of Islamic scholarly works in Indonesia.

Pesantren — with its other different names like *pondok*, *dayah* and *meunasah* — constitutes a model of traditional Islamic educational institution. An *'alim*, or *kyai*, is the owner as well as the great teacher of *pesantren*. Most of the *santri* (students), both males and females, live in dormitory. Moreover, traditional Islamic knowledge, such as *tafsir*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, and *tasawwuf*, are the main courses in *pesantren*. In addition, the learning process is conducted through traditional methods, without adopting grading and certification systems.

Unlike *pesantren*, *madrasah* in Indonesian context is a modern educational institution. The emergence of *madrasah* by the end of 19th century was a critique towards *pesantren* education system. As a critique, *madrasah* tried to offer a wider range of curriculum design, including Islamic and secular courses, besides adopting grading and certification systems.

The recent development of Islamic education in Indonesia has shown that the modern *madrasah* expands itself into *pesantren*. From the outset, the reformists Muslims have addressed their critique towards *pesantren*. Mahmud Yunus, for instance, a leading figure of Islamic education reform of the beginning of the 21st century criticized *pesantren* strongly by stating that “education system of traditional *pesantren* would only be able to produce one single *'ulamā* out of one hundred *santris*. The remaining 99 *santris* are merely contributors to purchase oil to prepare meals.” (Yunus, 1995: 58).

Apart from the critiques addressed by reformist Muslims, the *pesantren* community themselves have actually begun to realize the significance of education system reform in *pesantren*. By the end of 19th century, *pesantren* community began to develop modern education system by adopting *madrasah* (school) system. With this new system, learning process in *pesantren* is conducted through grading, curriculum, and examination systems. Moreover, it also adopted modern learning methodology. Meanwhile, texts of classical Islam

in various fields of knowledge such as *'ilm tafsi'r*, *'ilm ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, etc., remain studied in *pesantren*. *Pesantren* Tebuireng, Jombang, an old *pesantren* established in 1899 — to name an example — is among the earlier *pesantrens* which adopted *madrasah* education system. In its later development, Tebuireng also organized secular schools. Unsurprisingly thus, in Tebuireng we can find MTs and MA together with SMP and SMA. The education model developed by *pesantren* Tebuireng is now adopted by other *pesantrens*.

The expansion of modern *madrasah* system into *pesantren* continues to take place up to the present time. The data of MORA provides information to us that of the total number of *pesantren* (14,067), some of them operate MTs/SMP (27,8%), MI/SD (19,8%), and MA/SMA (16,7%) (EMIS Data, MORA, 2002-2003). The impact of the expansion is that *santris* are now mostly going to formal education, and the number of those who are attending traditional education system in *pesantren* declines.

To some extent, *madrasah* has more advantages than secular school. *First*, *madrasah* possesses a strong root in community. This is because *madrasahs* are mostly established by community without any intervention of the government. People are donating their money voluntarily to support the necessities of *madrasah*. *Second*, given the voluntarily donation, financial issues in *madrasah* are relatively flexible in a sense that all the expenses of *madrasah* would depend on the real condition of the community earnings. Accordingly, a number of *madrasahs* in poor regions require a relatively cheap tuition fee for the students, while in few others it is more expensive.⁷ *Madrasah* teachers are generally doing their jobs due to religious reasons as their dedication and devotion. Teachers in a number of *madrasahs* of remote villages sometimes are paid with minimum salary, yet they are committed to their profession. Unsurprisingly, despite the economic crisis in Indonesia, *madrasah* not only continues to exist, but also becomes an alternative education for a few groups of community. *Third*, due to the affordable tuition fee of *madrasah*, it is regarded as education institution which takes side with poor people. *Fourth*, in terms of the participation of female students, *madrasah* constitutes education institution supportive to gender equity. *Fifth*, *madrasah* is an educational institution which offers pious norms to the pupils. *Madrasah* students are generally not getting involved in a number of delinquency attitudes, such as fighting amongst students of different schools. *Sixth*, Indonesian *madrasah* is unique compared to similar educational institution in other Muslim countries, since

the former gives a balanced portion between Islamic and secular knowledge.⁸

Map of Contemporary Islamic Education in Indonesia

According to data of MORA, there are about 14,067 *pesantrens* and 37,362 *madrasahs* throughout Indonesia⁹. The spread rate of *pesantren* in Indonesia depends on the density of Muslim population of a region and their religiosity. Accordingly, such regions with big Muslim population as East Java and Central Java have a big number of *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*. Indeed, these two regions are regarded as "santri regions".

The figure of *pesantren* shows an increasing trend. The following data indicates the increasing number of *pesantren* along the years. In 1977 the number of *pesantren* was about 4.195 with approximately 677.384 students. The figure went through significant boost in 1981, in which the number of *pesantren* reached 5.661 with 938.397 students. Another boost happened in 1985, in which the number of *pesantren* was 6.239 with 1.084.801 students. Furthermore, the 1997 data of MORA recorded 9.388 *pesantren* with 1.770.768 students. Finally, as has been mentioned above, the figure increased sharply to become 14,067 *pesantrens* with 3,149,374 students.

The Islamic education system in Indonesia can be divided into a number of groups. First is *pesantren* group, including those which carry out *madrasah* and those which still maintain non-grading system. This group consists of modern and traditional *pesantren*. Second is *madrasah* group consisting of both public and private *madrasahs*. Third is *Sekolah Islam* group, which is regarded as a genre of modern Islamic education system of urban Muslim community. Each group will be discussed separately with an attempt to connect them to each other.

Modern Pesantren

As far as the history of Islamic education in Indonesia is concerned, modern *pesantren* can be regarded as new genre of *pesantren*. The Pesantren Darussalam of Gontor, Ponorogo, was established in 20 September 1926 by three brothers — KH. Ahmad Sahal, KH. Zainuddin Farnani, and KH. Imam Zarkasyi. This *Pesantren* is also called *pondok modern* (modern *pesantren*), in a sense that it not only adopts *madrasah* system, but also teaches Arabic and English to the students intensively and practically. In daily conversation among

the students within the *Pesantren*, all *santri* are obliged to speak Arabic or English — they are not allowed to speak Indonesian. In addition, unlike the majority of other *pesantrens*, Pondok Modern Darussalam, Gontor includes the works of reformist Muslim thinkers in its curriculum. The works of Abduh, for instance, are placed as important subject matters in the *Pesantren*.

The objective of *Pesantren Gontor*, as mentioned by Lance Castle (1966), is to produce *kader Muslim* (Muslim cadres) by combining the excellences of both traditional and modern *pesantren* education systems. In addition to secular subjects, the *Pesantren* also urges the *santris* about the significance of art. Accordingly, music, sport and other extra-curricular activities are among the concerns of *Pesantren*'s leaders. The *Pesantren* is also intended to provide education capable of responding to Muslim challenges amid the socio-cultural life of Indonesian society which begin to enter modern world.

It is important to mention that *Pesantren Gontor* was established in the crucial period of Islamic development in Indonesia. Following the *ethical politics* implemented by the Dutch colonial administration, coupled with the establishment of international network with the center of Islamic reform in Cairo, Egypt, the Islamic education in Indonesia went through fundamental changes. This was marked by the establishment of new Islamic educational institutions, which adopt modern education system, instead of traditional education system of *pesantren*. The modern Islamic education institution — well-known as *madrasah* — then became an important part of Islamic reform movement during the early decades of 20th century.

Accordingly, in addition to introduce new system and instructional methods — ranging from adopting grading model with class division, employing text books as learning tools, to accommodating secular subjects in the curriculum — *madrasah* functioned also as a media for the dissemination of Islamic reform ideas. It became the basis to prepare new Muslim generations who are familiar with the spirit of modernism, an issue that at that time was an overwhelming discourse in Indonesia which started to enter modern world. Accordingly, *kader Muslims* to be produced by *Pesantren Gontor* are those who are frequently identified as “Muslim intellectuals”.

The self-definition of *Pesantren Gontor* as a modern *pesantren*, as has been mentioned, is basically aimed at attempting itself to be in contrast to traditional *pesantren*, which is to some extent identical to stagnancy of thought, and to ineffective as well as inefficient managerial system of education. Imam Zarkasyi, one of the founding fa-

thers of *Pesantren* Gontor, is of the opinion that a modern *pesantren* should implement freedom of thought, effective and efficient management, and introduce *santri* toward modernity. Parallel to other reformist Muslim, he also invites Muslims not to be too fanatical towards a certain *madhhab*, since this would lead to the absence of the freedom of thought. Indeed, with regard to religious ritual practices, *Pesantren* Gontor is not fanatical to a certain *madhhab*.

As far as the relation of *pesantren* and modernism is concerned, the effective and efficient management are described that *pesantren* should adopt a good, accountable and transparent administration and accounting system. Moreover, the managerial system of modern *pesantren* relates to the leadership system of *pesantren*. In this regards, *Pesantren* Gontor from its inception came up with an idea of what is termed as *badan wakaf*, the highest body within *Pesantren* in which discussion and decision making are conducted. Under the *badan wakaf* is *badan pelaksana* (organizing body) which is responsible of the daily affairs of the *Pesantren*. On the other hand, the introduction of *santri* toward modernity is implemented by providing them with Arabic and English language skills, Boy Scout, skills, and sports — activities unusual for traditional *pesantren*.

The manifestation of modern education of *Pesantren* Gontor can be seen from KMI (*Kulliyatul Muallimin al-Islamiyah*) system, i.e. a six-year secondary level of education (equal to SMP and SMU). In this respect, KMI constitutes a combination between *madrasah* and *pesantren* system. The decision to adopt this kind of education system was influenced by the school experiences of Imam Zarkasyi, from a *pesantren* in Solo, Thawalib of Padang Panjang in Sumatra, and Normal Islam School or also called *Kulliyatul Muallimin al-Islamiyah*. In addition, it is also important to note here his experience in establishing and being the director of Muhammadiyah Kweekschool in Padang Sidempuan. With all those experiences, Imam Zarkasyi then tried to combine *pesantren* and modern school. The KMI is a *madrasah plus pesantren*.

Thus, the concept of modern *pesantren* introduced by Imam Zarkasyi has become a blueprint and *genre* for the development of the next modern *pesantren*. Zarkasyi's students who are now spreading all over Archipelago establish a number of similar *pesantren* pioneered by the *kyai*. During the period of 1970-80s, a couple of Gontor alumni established *pesantrens* in their own region. In Banten, *Pesantren Daar El-Qalam* was established in Gintung Balaraja; in Madura *Pesantren Al-Amin* was established in Prenduan Sumenep;

in Central Java Pesantren Pabelan was established in Pabelan; Pesantren Modern Assalaam was established in Solo; and many others.¹⁰ Those *pesantrens* are frequently called *pesantren alumni* (meaning the alumni of Gontor), the second generation which have influenced the model of other modern *pesantrens* in their later development.

It should be noted that in the course of its development, *pesantren alumni* are not always implementing the standardized model of Pesantren Gontor. The Modern Pesantren Assalaam, for example, has developed a different model. The full name of this *pesantren* is Pondok Pesantren Modern Islam (PPMI) Assalaam, located in Pabelan, Kartasura Sukoharjo, Central Java. At the outset, Pesantren Assalaam is a branch of Pesantren Ngruki, which will be discussed exclusively in this paper. In the beginning of 1980s, when *Pesantren Ngruki* began to operate, the capacity of the *Pesantren* could not accommodate all the registered students because of an overwhelming interest of parents to send their children to Pesantren Ngruki. Consequently, a decision was made to find another location to accommodate the students. A spot in Pabelan village located in Kartasura was eventually chosen as location to establish a *pesantren*. The new *pesantren* was named Assalam. As a branch of Pesantren Ngruki, Pesantren Assalam received supports from Ngruki, including teaching staff.

In due course, Pesantren Assalam, which was established in 7 August 1982, has grown rapidly in terms of the number of students, even surpassing the number of students in Pesantren Ngruki itself. Approximately 2000 students have been registered in Assalam, while Ngruki has around 1500 students. The origin of learning system in Pesantren Assalam was an MDA (*Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah*) which was conducted in the evenings. In 1982, to answer the request of neighboring community, a Madrasah Tsanawiyah was established by employing dormitory system. At this juncture, a *pesantren* system had begun to be introduced, in which students were studying extra courses, adopted from *pesantren* curriculum. A quite significant measure was taken by Assalam when it received a relatively spacious *wakaf* land (92,845 m²) from Abdullah Marzuki, a printing entrepreneur of PT Tiga Serangkai, Solo. Now, the property of Assalam is 10.223 ha lands, with 5.6 ha of them are *wakaf* lands.

At its very inception, the teaching staff of Assalam was supplied from Pesantren Ngruki and some of Gontor alumni who wanted

to have teaching experience. Having been able to produce its own graduates, Pesantren Assalam then began to fulfill its own staff. However, the teachers, especially those who teach sciences, are from universities in Surakarta. There are some requirements for someone to be eligible to become teaching staff at Pesantren Assalam. In addition to the readiness of teaching relevant expertise, an applicant should understand the vision and mission of the *pesantren*. Furthermore, morality of the applicant is the most important aspect to consider in the recruitment process.

Assalam has developed as a big *pesantren* in Surakarta. This achievement is not only due to its consistency in implementing the concept of modern *pesantren* as has been introduced by K.H. Imam Zarkasyi, but also because of its attainment in developing modification for pragmatic needs. This can be seen in terms of curriculum and grading system. Although Assalam adopts Gontor's curriculum, but it also implements national curriculum developed by MORA and MONE. As for grading or leveling system, Assalam implements its own system, i.e. *Tsanawiyah* (3 years), *Aliyah* (3 years), *SMU* (3 years) and *Takhassusiyah* (*Tsanawiyah* + *Aliyah* + 1 year).

The above grading system is actually out of the standardized grading model developed by Gontor, which implements the KMI system, in which *Tsanawiyah* and *Aliyah* are regarded as one single level, so that there is no graduation process from grade 3 to grade 4. This system has been maintained in Gontor up to the present time. As for curriculum, Gontor still implements the curriculum developed by K.H. Imam Zarkasyi some decades ago. Meanwhile, *Assalam* tries to modify curriculums developed by Gontor, MORA and MONE.

What has been performed by Pesantren Assalam is obviously contradictory to the principle embraced by K.H. Imam Zarkasyi, the founder of Pesantren Gontor. According to Zarkasyi a curriculum must be standardized, and should remain unchanged if necessary. He criticized the government policy which has changed national curriculum quite often. Once an educator is convinced that the curriculum he designed can be applied well, he has to implement the curriculum. However, it is worthy noted that by the time Gontor curriculum was developed, Zarkasyi was in a situation where curriculum standardization was not a national discourse. Now, his students face an era in which curriculum standardization is necessary to maintain quality of education. The adoption of national curriculum by *pesantren alumni* gained momentum in 1980s. Nevertheless,

the characteristic of Pesantren Gontor which emphasizes Arabic and English languages is still maintained.¹¹

Even though some of *pesantren alumni* have not been adopting Gontor curriculum anymore, few of them are still implementing the Gontor standardized model. Accordingly, there emerge terms: *pure* Gontor and *non-pure* Gontor. The *pure* Gontor is a term addressed to *pesantrens* which follow Gontor tradition *per se*. Meanwhile *non-pure* Gontor are those which, in addition to adopt Gontor's curriculum, implement national and local curriculum. The emergence of terms *pure* Gontor and *non-pure* Gontor do not merely show the two variants of *pondok modern*, but sometimes they provoke conflict between *pesantren alumni* and Pesantren Gontor itself. Gontor desires *pesantren alumni* to imitate its model. Meanwhile, the later want to make modification and adjustment in line with community interests. Sometimes the conflict is more complex than merely a matter of curriculum and grading system, let alone pertaining social recognition and influence. Pesantren Al-Zaitun, located in Indramayu, West Java, can be categorized as *pesantren alumni*. Panji Gumilang AS was the student of K.H. Imam Zarkasyi. Although Pesantren Zaitun was established few years ago, it has been going through so amazing development that provoked bad news and jealousy from other *pesantren*. It is informed that there is unharmonious relationship between Gontor and Zaitun, since they compete to gain influence and recognition from society.

There is another modification carried out by *pesantren alumni*, especially regarding Islamic 'Aqīdah course. Pesantren Gontor is considered not so strong enough in teaching 'aqīdah that makes its alumni have various religious-ideologies. The Gontor alumni vary, ranging from a reformist Nurcholish Madjid, an intellectual who brought forth Islamic reform, to a conservative such as Kyai Khalil Ridwan, the leader of Pondok Pesantren Al-Husnayain. This phenomenon, according to Khalil Ridwan himself, who also the leader of BKSP (Badan Kerjasama antar Pondok Pesantren) — a forum for Gontor alumni — is resulting from limited education of 'aqīdah in Gontor so that *santri* experience ideological disorientation.

One thing to be kept in mind in discussing Pesantren Gontor and *pesantren alumni* is their contribution in establishing new foundation for the development of *pesantren* in Indonesia. Moreover, the modern education system of Gontor at the same time also introduced *santri* towards some principles of modernity. Besides various facilities, there are a number of significant aspects which can be regarded as being supportive to the implementation of modern

principles, which can be taken from the courses in *pesantren*, especially *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *al-adyān* (comparative religion)¹², and Civics. These courses are potential to socialize the values of pluralism, because they admit diversity both in the idea and practical levels. It is the recognition of the existing different opinion that in turn leads the *santris* to have tolerant attitude, one of the significant values of modernity.

Sekolah Islam

Sekolah Islam (Islamic School) constitutes a new nomenclature of the 20th century Islamic education system in Indonesia. Similar to modern *pesantren*, *sekolah Islam* is also a critique towards *madrasah*. Although *madrasah* was initially a symbol of education reform, but in its eventual development it is considered insufficient to be regarded as Islamic educational institution. This stand point especially emerges from middle-class Muslim community, who genealogically have an attachment with Muhammadiyah, a modernist Islamic movement in Indonesia. The idea of *sekolah Islam* cannot be separated from the idea of Muhammadiyah, which has an objective to develop “HIS met de Qur’ān”.

Sekolah Islam gained its momentum to develop when Indonesian community experienced what the so-called *santrinization* and *Islamization*, especially in the late 1990s. The establishment of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), which obtained political support from the government, has become the second pillar of the growth of *Sekolah Islam* in Indonesia. Support towards *sekolah Islam* came from new generation of Indonesian Muslim. They are mostly alumni of secular universities, who possess good jobs — so that they can be considered as middle-class Muslim — nonetheless they have high religious awareness in line with their level of education which let them to be capable of accessing media of information about Islamic world in general. Most of them are activists of Islamic movements which use campus mosques as their basis, such as Salman mosque at ITB in Bandung, Arif Rahman Hakim mosque at UI Jakarta, Syuhada mosque in Yogyakarta etc. Their idols are Muslim intellectuals such as Imaduddin Abdurrahim, a significant figure in the process of cultivating cadres in Salman mosque, and an initiator of the establishment of ICMI. Both the education and religious experiences had made them aware of the need towards Islamic school other than *madrasah*. They wanted their kids to be

able to enjoy good education in science and technology, but at the same time they want them to become religious people.

Sekolah Islam is under the supervision of MONE. The term 'sekolah' itself is employed to avoid the institution being under the supervision of MORA. Unlike other schools in general, *sekolah Islam* offers religious education in a significant portion, in addition to secular subjects. The difference between *sekolah Islam* and *madrasah* or *pesantren* lies on its emphasis to the practical aspect of religious education. On the one hand, *madrasah* and *pesantren* emphasize specific Islamic knowledge, such as 'ilm al-ḥadīth, 'ilm al-tafsīr, fiqh etc. — besides such secular knowledge as mathematics, economics, natural and social sciences. On the other hand, *sekolah Islam* emphasizes more to the daily religious practices; it is intended to produce Muslim students who possess religious personality. In this regard, Islam is not emphasized on its cognitive aspect, rather in its practical one. Religion, hence, should be transformed to be social ethics.

Sekolah Islam enjoys modern facilities due to financial supports from urban middle-class Muslims. In *sekolah Islam* students may enjoy air-conditioned rooms, library, sport facilities, laboratory, computer, internet, and — of course — a well organized teaching-learning system, including extra-curricular activities. The *sekolah Islam* is administered by professionals, either in managerial aspect and curriculum development. Teachers, manager and administration staff are recruited through a very competitive selection process. In addition, they are mostly graduates of well-known universities in Indonesia. The competitive selection happens also in the student admission process. Consequently, the tuition fee in *sekolah Islam* is far more expensive than that in *madrasah* and secular schools in general.

Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar, or often called Al-Azhar Islamic School, is one of well-known *sekolah Islam*. Not only does it constitute the oldest *sekolah Islam*, but also it has branches in a number of big cities in Indonesia. Al-Azhar was established in 1960s by a Muhammadiyah figure, Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, well-known as Prof. Dr. Hamka, who was the leader of MUI (*Majelis 'ulamā' Indonesia*). It is obvious that the establishment of al-Azhar has something to do with the idea of Muhammadiyah about "HIS met de Qur'an." In its subsequent development, under the flag of *Yayasan Pesantren Islam* (YPI, or Islamic Boarding School Foundation), al-Azhar went through rapid growth during the last three decades. Its branches can be found not only in Jakarta and neighboring cities, but also

in Cirebon and Sukabumi in West Java, Surabaya, even in Padang, West Sumatra.

Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar Jakarta is located in Kebayoran Baru, an area which is not only strategic, but also symbolizes the middle-class community. It offers different levels of education from kindergarten to senior high school. During the last five years, the *Yayasan* (foundation) have been developing Universitas al-Azhar Indonesia (UAI) headed by Professor Ir. Zuhul, M.Sc., the former Minister of Research and Technology during Habibie's administration era.

During almost three decades after the establishment of *Sekolah Islam* al-Azhar there was practically no more *Sekolah Islam* to be established in Indonesia. It was only in 1990s, as has been mentioned, that a number of *sekolah Islam* appeared in many places, such as Sekolah Madania. This school is under the umbrella of Madania Foundation, which obviously shows its relationship with Paramadina, an institute pioneered by Nurcholish Madjid. Paramadina itself is a forum of study for educated middle-class Muslims. The forum usually conducts religious discussion in a number of star-hotels in Jakarta.

Located in the outskirts of Jakarta — to be exact in Parung, West Java — Sekolah Madania manages a *boarding school* system. This constitutes an attempt to adopt *pesantren* system in organizing its education process. In line with the grand idea of Paramadina, Sekolah Madania promotes pluralism and multiculturalism. Consequently, it also enrolls non-Muslim students. Indeed, in spite of the limited number of non-Muslim students enrolled, Sekolah Madania is the first Islamic educational institution that pioneers pluralism and multiculturalism. In general, Sekolah Madania emphasizes character building of the students with a set of knowledge and skills as a response toward globalization.

While the initiators of Sekolah Al-Azhar and Paramadina came from intellectual Muslim with strong Islamic education background, the initiators of SMA Insan Cendekia, which locates in Serpong, Banten, come from educated Muslims with secular education background. The school was established in 1996, owing to the initiation of a group of scientists who worked in BPPT (Badan Pengkajian, Pengembangan, dan Penerapan Teknologi), a body under the Ministry of Research and Technology, which for a couple of decades had been led by BJ. Habibie, the former President of the Republic of Indonesia and general chairman of ICMI.

SMA Insan Cendekia aims at producing Muslim scientists who have understanding of both secular and Islamic knowledge. The

following jargon says “the combination of *lptek* (*ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi*, or knowledge and technology) and *Imtaq* (*iman dan taqwa*, or faith and piety),” which was popularized by BJ. Habibie himself constitutes significant basis for the development of SMA Insan Cendekia. In order to develop its curriculum, the school establishes communication with ITB (*Institut Teknologi Bandung*), IPB (*Institut Pertanian Bogor*), and the BPPT itself. By adopting *boarding school* system, like Sekolah Madania, the institution has an advantage of having scholarship network with Germany for their alumni. Lately, after Habibie began to lose his “influence” in BPPT, the management of the school is entrusted to MORA. However, this institution still maintains, to a large extent, its identity as *Sekolah Islam* with aforementioned characters.

Sekolah Islam can also be found outside Java. Of the most famous among them is Sekolah Serambi Mekkah in West Sumatra. Not only does it represent a model of *Sekolah Islam*, but it also develops a sort of religious attitudes which can be found in the member of *pengajian kampus* (in-campus religious learning) which politically become the basis of the constituents of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS, or Prosperous Justice Party). The luxurious complex of *Perguruan Serambi Makkah: Islamic Boarding School* is located in the outskirts of Padang Panjang city. Inside the complex, students, both male and female, do their learning activities everyday. They live there twenty four hours a day. In order to be able to study maximally, the management provides services, including laundry and cookery. Furthermore, there is a kiosk inside the complex in which *santri* can find their daily necessities, so that they do not need to go out of complex.

Sekolah Serambi Mekkah implements a curriculum adopted from MONE for secular courses and from MORA for religious courses, with a few adjustments to be fit with *pesantren* life. For secular courses, the entire curriculum of MONE is taught in the school, but its proportion is only 70% of the total curriculum, while the remaining 30% is the curriculum of MORA. With such a composition, this school is able not only to teach the entire courses developed by MONE, but also to teach religious courses even in more detail, such as *ḥadīth*, *tārīkh*, *fiqh*, *imlā'*, *Arabic*, *al-Qur'ān*, etc. The leader of the school and the teaching staff said that they have been still seeking an ideal composition of curriculum for *Serambi Makkah*. By implementing *boarding school* system, they have more extra hours to spend with additional courses. It is during these extra hours that religious courses are educated. In this regard, the *pesantren* has an

opportunity to teach religious courses so intensively that the nuance of *pesantren* can be felt quite strongly.

Similar to SMA students in general, the male students of SMA Boarding School Serambi Makkah wear uniform of short-sleeves white shirt and grey pantaloons. But the female students wear long-sleeves shirt, long skirt, and veil. Although not quite clear, attributes of neo-*salafi* group can be seen in the school. For example, the teachers wear *baju koko* (long-sleeves collarless shirt) and *gamis* (robe). Furthermore, male teachers let their beard grows. Title *ustādh* is attributed to male teacher, while female teacher is called *umi*. Another attribute is separation between male and female during teaching-learning process, prayer in the mosque, and in student organization. In addition, extracurricular activities are organized in such a way to avoid direct contact and interaction between male and female students. Moreover, they employ scripturalistic approach in understanding religious teachings.

Although the institution is very popular in Padang Panjang city even in West Sumatra, mainly because of its luxurious complex, only a small percentage of the students come from the city. Most of the students are from other regions outside West Sumatra, like Palembang, Bengkulu, and Jambi. There is a balanced composition in number between male and female students. All the students live in dormitory 24 hours a day. The students are not allowed to leave the complex. In this regard, there is an agreement between the leader of *Serambi Makkah* and parent which states that only one family member of the students is permitted to bring the student home during semester break. The name of the appointed family member, called *wali*, is registered during the enrolment process. Outside the break session students are also permitted to leave the complex only if accompanied by the *wali*. However, they are not allowed to leave the town.

The above explanation shows a number of variants of *sekolah Islam* in Indonesia. Although its emergence was in the course of the rise of religious *ghtrah* (enthusiasm) among Muslim society, but *sekolah Islam* vary in terms of religious ideology affiliation. It depends on the figures or religious group who become the initiators. *Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar* seems to be affiliated to Muhammadiyah's ideology, and *Madania* is in line with Islamic neo-modernism. Meanwhile, *Serambi Mekkah* is close to the ideology of neo-*salafi*. The number of variants could be more than three, since *Sekolah Islam* has now been growing in number in big cities throughout Indonesia.

Public *Madrasah*: Islamic Education by State

The number of *madrasah negeri* (public Islamic school) is 7,227, representing only approximately 20% of the total number of *madrasah* throughout Indonesia. The management of public *madrasah* is under MORA's responsibility, including building, other facilities, teaching staff, books, and salary. Public *madrasah* constitutes a medium employed by the government to disseminate national curriculum. In this respect, private *madrasahs* administered by foundations and socio-religious organizations are obliged to refer to public schools in terms of their curriculum arrangement. To some extent, public schools become role-models for private schools.

The 1994-1995 data of MONE records 149,646 public and private elementary schools (*Sekolah Dasar* or SD), which enroll 26.200.023 students. While in junior secondary level (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama* or SMP) the number is 19.442 with 6.392.417 students. On the other hand, MORA supervises 24.232 Islamic elementary schools (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* or MI), consisting of public (607) and private (23.625) *madrasahs*, both of which enroll 3.521.836 students. Meanwhile, at junior secondary level (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah* or MTs), the data of MORA report that there are 8.129 (582 public and 7.547 private) schools, which enroll 1.353.229 students. These above reports confirm the significance of *madrasah* and MORA in education, let alone the development of Islam in Indonesia.

As far as the modernization of Islamic education in Indonesia is concerned, public Islamic schools have gone through interesting development. Although still emphasizing on religious courses in certain fields, the bigger portion is given to secular courses, especially in *madrasah negeri*. The process began in 1970s when MORA was led by Mukti Ali (1923-2004). By then, MORA attempted intensively to make *madrasah* to become part of national education. An intensive negotiation between MORA and other related departments resulted in the issuance of a Joint Decree (*Surat Keputusan Bersama* or SKB) between Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of Education and Culture, and Minister of Home Affairs — well-known as *SKB Tiga Menteri* — No. 6, 1975 and No. 037/U/1975. It is by the issuance of the Decree that the position of *madrasah* began to be recognized as the same level as secular schools administered by MONE. It should be noted that according to the Law No. 4, 1950, the grading system of *madrasah* is the same as that in secular schools. Accordingly, *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (MI), *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MTs) and *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA) are respectively the same levels as *Sekolah Dasar* (SD),

Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) and Sekolah Menengah Umum (SMU).

The SKB stipulates three points: (1) the graduate certificate of *madrasah* of all levels would be recognized equally to those of secular school; and (2) *madrasah* graduates are eligible to continue their study in secular schools. These two points have changed the substantial status of *madrasah*. *Madrasah* graduates have now equal opportunity with their counterpart from secular schools to be registered in secular schools, and *vice versa*. However, in order to be equal to secular school, *madrasah* should carry out point (3), i.e. that the curriculum of *madrasah* should consist of 70% secular courses and 30% religious courses.

It is due to the third point that a bitter critique was aroused from Muslim community. In this respect, Mukti Ali, a figure behind the SKB, became the target of the critique and even anger. As shown by Munhanif (1999: 314-315), Mukti Ali was accused to destroy Islamic education institution, which rooted in Indonesian Islam. However, the idea of *SKB Tiga Menteri* was eventually accepted, since it contributes significantly towards the development of *madrasah*. By the SKB, MORA started to rearrange the *madrasah*, such as transforming a number of *madrasah* to belong officially to MORA, or to become public *madrasah*. Although the number of public *madrasah* is still limited and far less than that of secular school, but the issuance of the SKB shows that MORA have made a significant political measures. From then on, a number of *madrasahs* have received subsidy, a financial support from the government that previously has only been enjoyed by secular school under MONE.

The integration process of *madrasah* into national education system gained momentum in 1989 with the issuance of Education Law No. 2 of 1989, concerning National Education System (UUSPN). The issuance of the Law was monumental for the development of *madrasah*. Through this Law, the position of *madrasah* and Islamic educational institutions in general was reaffirmed as inherent part of national education system. Accordingly, *madrasah* bears the responsibility to participate in completing the nine-year compulsory education. In addition, the Law asserts that religion becomes compulsory course that should be taught in schools from elementary to university levels.

Those developments have made public *madrasah* regarded as great achievement by MORA, but a few Muslim groups are not satisfied with them. For MORA, public *madrasah*, by adopting the

combination of both secular and religious courses, is an ideal form of Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. The modernization of Muslim community, especially in rural areas, would only be possible through public *madrasah*. Moreover, the institution plays significant role in defending and maintaining Islamic values among Muslim community. However, *pesantren* community regards public *madrasah* as being too secular, making it incapable of producing Muslim cadres, let alone 'ulamā'. Moreover, other Muslim group is of an opinion that public *madrasah* is not able to fulfill their aspiration to produce Muslims who master *Iptek* and *Imtaq* at the same time.

Apart from the critiques, public *madrasah* has played pivotal role in the development of *madrasah* in Indonesia. It is through public *madrasah* that MORA is able to execute national curriculum standardization, so that the quality assurance of education in *madrasah* can be implemented. In addition, public *madrasah* is also a medium for the government to communicate and disseminate national educational policies. Moreover, it becomes the role-model of the modernization of *madrasah* in Indonesia. By *cluster* system approach, public *madrasahs* have become references for private *madrasahs* in managing their education programs.

Maintaining Traditional Learning Method: *Pesantrens* within NU Traditions

As has been mentioned above, there are some traditional *pesantrens*, especially those developed within NU tradition, which adopt modern educational system although they do not have any organizational ties with NU. In maintaining their traditional educational system, some *pesantrens* in Java have initiated to adopt the *madrasah* system. In this respect, *Pesantren Tebuireng* in Jombang, East Java, is a case in point. Founded by *Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari* (1871-1947), a well known Javanese 'ulamā' of the 20th century, the *pesantren* becomes a model for other *pesantrens* as well as the 'ulamā's in Java. Indeed, the majority of well-known and respected *pesantrens* in Java are founded by the pupils of *Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari*. It is not surprising then to see that those *pesantrens* follow Tebuireng model of teaching and learning. This phenomenon is understandable, since Hasyim Asy'ari was considered a *Hadratus Syaikh* (the prime 'ulamā'), who possessed a central role in the tradition of 'ulamā' scholarship in Java especially with the foundation of Nahdlatul 'ulamā' in 1926.

Tebuireng, however, is not the only *pesantren* which has reformed its educational system. *Pesantren* Krapyak in Yogyakarta is another *pesantren* which has done similar attempt to reform its educational system. *Kyai* Ali Maksum (1915-1989), the head of *pesantren* Krapyak, was known as a modernist '*ulamā*'. He also integrated *madrasah* system into *pesantren* which later became the main teaching and learning activities in *pesantren*. In addition, it is important to mention the other two *pesantrens* which have conducted educational reform by adopting *madrasah* system into *pesantren*, and by including non-Islamic subjects into *pesantren* curriculum. The two *pesantrens* under discussion are *Pesantren Tambak Beras* lead by *Kyai* Hasbullah and *Pesantren Rejoso* in Jombang headed by *Kyai* Tamim, both of which are located in East Java.

Following socio-religious changes, modernization and Islamic reform, Islamic education reform has become common discourse during the 20th century Islam in Indonesia. The '*ulamā*' of *pesantrens*, who are known as the preservers of traditions, have started to change the traditional system of education and adopted the modern system, i.e., *madrasah*. In accordance with that shift, the goal of education itself changed. In this respect, *Pesantren* Tebuireng is a case in point. Instead of merely educating the future '*ulamā*'s, the goal of teaching and learning in *Pesantren* Tebuireng, as stated by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, is directed towards wider aims, namely to educate and to prepare the students of the *pesantren* to become '*ul-anā*'-intellectual ('*ulamā*' who master non-Islamic knowledge) and intellectual-'*ulamā*' (intellectuals in non-Islamic knowledge who master Islamic knowledge). This goal is in line with that of modernist Muslims whose aim of education is also to create "intellectual Muslims."

In spite of differences of religious understanding between the '*ulamā*' of *pesantren* and the reformists, yet they agree on one thing, i.e., the goal of educational system. Both groups of traditionalists and modernists pay serious attention to the reformation of Islamic educational system. In this context, both of them made similar efforts to create modern Muslims. Accordingly, *madrasah* has become a more widely acceptable system within Indonesian Muslims which is, later on, developed to be an established model within Islamic educational system in Indonesia. Furthermore, it is through these educational institutions that the socio-religious Islamic organizations in Indonesia have made their significant contribution to the Indonesian communities.

Non-Javanese Experiences

As has been mentioned above, a big number of traditional *pesantrens* are located found in Java, especially East and Central Java, and only a few are located outside Java. However, a number of traditional *pesantrens* are also to be found outside Java. The followings are the description of traditional *pesantrens* under discussion, such as *Pesantren Tarbīyah Islamiyah* in West Sumatera, *Pesantren Assyadiyah* in South Sulawesi and *Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW) in West Nusa Tenggara.

Pesantren Tarbīyah Islamiyah, West Sumatera

Pesantren Tarbīyah Islamiyah, located in Ampek Angkek, Candung, Bukit Tinggi, was established in 1908 (1307 H) by Angke Mudo Muhammad Rasul. At its very inception, the *pesantren* was called *Surau Tangah* or also named as *Surau Baru Candung*. Similar to other *surau* at that time, *Surau Tangah* functioned as the center for the development of Islamic teachings. The teaching and learning method employed by the *surau* was *halaqah*, a teaching method in which all the students of all ages learn directly from the *kyai*, since grading (leveling) system was not recognized. Indeed, Syeikh Sulaiman Arrasuli (1978-1970) — the son of Angku Mudo Muhammad Rasul and the second leader — was known as one of *pesantren* leaders who opposed and the criticized grading system. On May 5th 1928, with the suggestion of Syeikh Muhammad Abas and Sultan Dt Rajo Sampono, Syeikh Sulaiman Arrasuli finally decided to change *halaqah* system in *pesantren* Candung into *madrrasah* system, a system which has been adopted by the younger generations. This *madrrasah* is the seed of the current *Tarbīyah Islamiyah*.

Having been going through long process, *Tarbīyah Islamiyah* applied full grading system in the early 1980s. Furthermore, it has applied the curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs for MTsN and MAN since 1984. However, the new adopted curriculum was regarded too simple for the *salaftiyah* (traditional) *pesantren* of Candung. Thus, the nomenclature of religious subjects is developed and deepened. The text books published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs on religious subjects are not used. Instead, the classical Arabic texts or called as “kitab kuning” are employed as textbooks in the teaching and learning in the *pesantren*. This may be seen as a strategy of *pesantren* communities to maintain their identities in the midst of globalization era.

In due course, *Tarbīyah Islamīyah* became more opened to the outsiders. The *Tarbīyah* then developed cooperation with various parties such as government and international funding institutions. In 1981/1982 the *Tarbīyah* developed cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs to hold training for motivation and Classical Arabic textbooks teaching and to add their library collections. In 1982/1983 the *Tarbīyah* received other supports from MORA such as carpenter tools, sewing machines, welding tools and workshops to increase the skill of the students. Furthermore, the *Tarbīyah* also received other fund from Islamic Development Bank (IDB) through the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Although frequently affirming themselves as politically neutral, it is beyond doubt that the political inclination of *pesantrens* under *Persatuan Tarbīyah Islamīyah* is twofold. It is said that when they are called as "Persatuan Tarbīyah Islamīyah", it means that they are affiliated to *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP, or Development Union Party), while those affiliated to GOLKAR (functional group) are called as "Tarbīyah Islamīyah". It is important to mention, however, that both parties in fact have tried to attract the same constituents i.e., the students and the heads of *pesantrens* under *Persatuan Tarbīyah Islamīyah* (PERTI) organization. The alumni of *pesantren* Perti are spread out all over Indonesia, even in Malaysia, and they still maintain good communication and relationship among themselves.

Pesantren As'adiyah, South Sulawesi

The great mosque of *Pesantren As'adiyah* stands elegantly in Sengkang city, Wajo, South Sulawesi. The *pesantren* was founded in 1930 by K.H. Muhammad As'ad and located about 200 km from the central city of Makassar. It is interesting to note here that before the establishment of *Pesantren As'adiyah*, most of the influential Islamic educational institutions in Sengkang were founded by Muhammadiyah and, hence, adopted modernist values. Similar to other Muhammadiyah schools, those educational institutions in Wajo were based on the concept of "HIS met de *Qur'ān*".

Muhammadiyah began to have influence in South Sulawesi in 1926, pioneered by H. Mansyur al Yamani, an Arab entrepreneur who once stayed in Yogyakarta. Two years later, in 1928, the influence of Muhammadiyah reached Wajo, and from then on its influence has become wider. It was one year later, in 1929, that the

first Muhammadiyah conference in South Sulawesi was held in Sengkang, Wajo. During the conference, the strategy of education of Muhammadiyah schools was formulated and it gained momentum to be more developed in Sengkang, Wajo.

Muhammadiyah paid special attention to religious attitudes of Wajo community at that time. As an organization with modern and reformist characteristics, Muhammadiyah viewed that there were some religious attitudes of Wajo community that may be categorized as *bid'ah* and *khurafat*, the attitudes that follow the beliefs of their ancestors such as maintaining *sangkang*, a place to worship the soul of their ancestors, or *adongkokeng* tradition, a belief that the soul of their ancestors may re-enacted to the kids which cause them sick. In facing this kind of religious phenomenon, Muhammadiyah inclined to show non-compromistic attitudes and tried to eliminate those attitudes of the community. That was exactly what happened in Wajo.

The rapid development of Muhammadiyah became a factor for the revival of the traditional '*ulamā*'s. They tried very hard to establish traditional Islamic educational institutions. In this context, the role of K.H. Muhammad As'ad becomes significant. With the suggestions from several '*ulamā*'s in Wajo who visited him in Makkah when they performed hajj (pilgrimage), K.H. Muhammad As'ad, who stayed and studied in Makkah at that time, then established an Islamic traditional educational institution in 1930 as the pioneer for the foundation of *Pesantren As'adiyah*.

The efforts of K.H. Muhammad As'ad to initiate the establishment of traditional *pesantren* received supports from Matoa Wajo and his relatives who viewed from the beginning that the educational institutions developed by Muhammadiyah did not accommodate local cultures. According to the King of Wajo, the efforts of K.H. Muhammad As'ad will create a balance to what Muhammadiyah had done in the community. It was expected that the traditional educational institutions will be more accommodative to the local traditions of the community.

In May 1930, *Madrasatul Arabiyatul Islamiyyah* (MAI) was founded. From the outset, MAI applied *pesantren* model which fully taught *tafsīr* (*Qur'ānic Exegesis*), *tauhid* (*Islamic Theology*), *fiqh* (*Islamic Law*), *akhlāq* (*Ethics*), *taṣawwuf* (*Islamic Mysticism*) and Arabic language. The method of teaching and learning is called *mangaji tudang* (*halaqah* system), in which a religious teacher holds learning gathering at his home attended by some people who came from Sengkang as well as other villages in Wajo.

In 1931, MAI initiated to have formal educational system which was divided into two levels, i.e. *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* and *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*. Additionally, there was special class for cadres of 'ul-*amā*' signed up by senior students who were considered to be potential to be the head of *pesantrens*. The curriculum of the *pesantren* was developed by K.H Muhammad As'ad himself and consists of 100% religious subjects. The percentage of religious subject adopted by the *pesantren* may be seen from two perspectives; first, the religious situation of the community in Sengkang forced him to teach religious subjects as much as possible; second, the increasing tension between religious schools founded by religious figures and public schools held by the colonial government which resulted in the rejection of religious schools to include non-religious subjects into their curriculum. This measure was taken to avoid colonial-bias.

The shift in curriculum and orientation of MAI began to take place in 1953, a year after K.H. Muhammad As'ad passed away. With the suggestion of the new head of the *pesantren*, K.H. Daud Ismail, MAI was altered into *Pesantren As'adiyah*. It is clear that the new name was taken from the name of K.H. Muhammad As'ad, to honor him as the founder of that Islamic institution.

It was under the leadership of K.H. Daud Ismail that the modernization of *pesantren* began. *Pesantren* was not managed as a private institution owned by *kyai*. Instead, it was administered by a *ya-yasan* (foundation), which has formulated its regulations to run the *pesantren* and to be regularly evaluated in the conferences. *Pesantren As'adiyah* is distinctive from other similar institutions for its organizational structure, which consists of Central Board (PB), the highest rank in the structure of the *pesantren*. It is under the Board that *As'adiyah* foundation organizes its learning mechanism either in schools, *madrasahs* or *pesantrens*.

The second generation of *Pesantren As'adiyah* realized that they have to face challenges different from those of the first generation of K.H. Muhammad As'ad. Thus, in 1956 *Pesantren As'adiyah* opened another new model of school, i.e., *Madrasah Menengah Pertama* (MMP, or Islamic Junior High School) and *Madrasah Menengah Atas* (MMA, or Islamic Senior High School) in 1959. The two schools are different from the existing schools such as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* and *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*. The new model of schools adopted 60% of religious subjects and 40% of non-religious subjects such as Indonesian language, English, economics, geography, math, natural sciences etc.

The new trend to develop the more opened model of *pesantren*, which accommodates non-religious knowledge has been continuing for generations. Under the leadership of K.H.M. Yunus Martan (1961-1986), for example, the *pesantren* offered another new program, i.e., six-year training program for religious teachers. Furthermore, it was during this period that *Pesantren As'adiyah* opened other educational institutions such as kindergarten, primary school and *As'adiyah* Islamic University.

Pesantren As'adiyah, therefore, may be viewed as representative of *pesantren salaf* (traditional *pesantren*) which is accommodative to the new changes and development surrounding it. One may say that the following proverb " *al-muḥāfazah 'alā al-qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdhu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlah*" (Preserving the good existing order and adopting the new one which is better) is an appropriate expression to describe the characteristics and inclinations of *Pesantren As'adiyah*.

Nahdlatul Wathan (NW): The Basis for the Development of Islamic Education in Lombok

Islam in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is a unique phenomenon among various phenomena of Islam in Indonesia. The development of Islam in this area may be referred mostly to the great contribution of an important Islamic Organization in Lombok, i.e., *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW). This organization has succeeded in creating the basis for the interpretation of Islam into its social and cultural contexts of Lombok society. To a large extent, *Nahdlatul Wathan* is also viewed to have equal position with such other organizations as NU in Java, *As'adiyah* in Sulawesi, and PERTI in West Sumatera. *Nahdlatul Wathan* is the base camp for the formation of Islamic socio-intellectual discourse as well as for the formulation of religious characteristics of Muslims in that area. In this respect, educational institution becomes a vehicle for the NW to achieve its goals.

From the outset, NW was an Islamic educational institution. Tuan Guru Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, a well known and respected '*ulamā*' in Lombok and the founder of NW, began his religious leadership by establishing educational institution soon after finishing his study in Mecca. The founded institution adopted *madrasah* system, a system that is considered as representative of modern Islamic educational system in Indonesia. His attitudes in this context was influenced not only by his learning experience in *Madrrasah Saulatiah* in Mecca but also by the demand of change following modernization in education sector by the Deutch colonial rulers in Indonesia. From

the above description, one may say that Zainuddin's intellectual career represents an era when the reformation and modernization of Islamic education had found its place in Indonesia.

Hence, at the beginning of its development, NW applied grading system. The level of education in NW is divided into three. First, *iljamīyah* level, it is a preliminary or preparatory stage which is usually prepared for children. The length of this level is one year. Second is *tahdīrīyah* level which constitutes the continuation of *iljamīyah* level. The participants of this level are usually those who have passed the *iljamīyah* level or those who have graduated from primary school. The students will graduate from this level after three-year length of study. Third is *ibtidā'iyah* level for those who have graduated from the previous levels. The students shall spend four years to accomplish this level.

The grading system of learning had never been known to Lombok community. It was therefore not surprising to find that Zainuddin received criticism from the local *'ulamā's* who had been adopting the traditional *pesantren* system. However, in line with the growing changes within community, the *madrasah* system had eventually been accepted by the local community. Despite the absence of statistical data, it is beyond doubt that the number of students in NW increased progressively. This trend may have encouraged Zaenuddin to continue his efforts to establish educational institutions adopting semi-grading system.

From then on, the educational institutions have developed very rapidly. On September 3rd 1951, NW built 10 classes. One year later, in 1952/1953 NW opened several programs, such as four-year program of *Madrasah Muallimin*, four-year program of *Madrasah Muallimat*, four-year program of *Sekolah Menengah Islam* and *Pendidikan Guru Agama* (PGA, or Training for Religious Teachers). Furthermore, the *Madrasah Muballighin and Muballighat* were also opened in 1955/1956 to prepare the *da'i* (religious preachers). In addition, the four-year length of *Muallimin and Muallimat* program was added to become six-year length of study. The PGA program was also extended to become *Pendidikan Guru Agama Lanjutan* (PGAL, or Advanced Training for Religious Teachers). Later, in 1959, a six-year program of *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* and *Madrasah Aliyah* was also offered.

Having seen the development of NW educational institutions and realizing the demand to provide higher education institution for its alumni, Tuan Guru Zainuddin established an Academy of Pedagogy in 1964. Three years later in 1967 he also founded Islamic

Higher Education Institution called *Ma'had Dār al-Qur'ān wa al-Ḥadīth al-Madjdīyah al-Syaftīyah*, provided specifically for male students. In 1974, he opened another institution for female students called *Ma'hadah lil Banāt*. This institution aims to prepare female educators and preachers.

The development of other modern schools cannot be separated from the contribution of NW under the leadership of Tuan Guru Zainuddin who established and reformed educational institutions in that area. Undoubtedly, NW has given its great contribution in organizing Islamic education for Muslims, and to the development of Islam in Lombok.

The number of affiliating educational institutions under NW had grown increasingly. It was reported that Tuan Guru Zainuddin was busy attending the official establishment ceremonies of new *madrasahs* affiliated to NW, which central institution was in Pancor. East Lombok regency has the highest number of educational institutions affiliated to NW. By 2000, there were 377 educational institutions, including primary and secondary levels in the region.

The NW affiliated educational institutions also developed in other part of West Nusa Tenggara. In Central Lombok, for instance, there are about 216 NW affiliated educational institutions, representing the second rank in number after East Lombok. The next is West Lombok with 120 educational institutions. In Mataram, however, only 28 NW educational institutions are established. Besides West Nusa Tenggara, there are also some institutions founded outside Lombok. In 2000 for example, 11 institutions are found in Sumbawa, 7 in Dompu, from kindergarten to senior high school, as well as *pesantren*.

There is other important achievement of NW, which deserves to be mentioned here, i.e., the establishment of higher education level. Up to the present time, there are four higher education institutions under NW: 1) MDQH *al-Madjdīyah al-Syaftīyah* wich enrolls 385 students; 2) Institute of Islamic Studies Hamzanwadi with 312 students; 3) STKIP Hamzanwadi with 754 students; and 4) University of NW Mataram with about 987 students.

Up to 2000, NW has about 806 institutions which consist of: 33 RA/TK (kindergartens), 309 MI/SD (Islamic and secular primary schools), 216 MTs/SLTP (Islamic and secular junior high schools), 94 MA/SMU (Islamic and secular senior high schools), 54 *pesantrens*, 34 orphanages and 4 higher education institutions.

In consistence with the spirit of reform in education as the basic foundation of its first establishment, all the NW affiliated institutions employ curriculum which adopts both religious and secular subjects. Recently, they use the curriculum developed by MORA for *Madrasahs* (MI, MTs, MA) and the curriculum of MONE for secular schools (SD, SMP, SMU). In addition, NW has developed its own curriculum to be implemented specifically in *Ma'had Dār al-Qur'ān wa al-Hadīth* (MDQH). This is because the *ma'had* is established to prepare generations of *'ulamā's*, so that Islamic knowledge is to be more emphasized in the curriculum.

Based on the above mentioned data, it is obvious that NW has contributed significantly to the development of Islamic education in Lombok area. As a result, there are a number of modern educational institutions in Lombok, which provide Muslims in that area with knowledge to help them to live within the more developing socio-cultural condition of the society.

Independent *Pesantrens*

Recently, there has been a new trend regarding the development of Islamic educational institutions of *pesantrens* in Indonesia — and to some extent — *madrasah*, i.e., the emergence of independent *pesantrens* and *madrasah*, meaning those which do not have any affiliation with any established mass organizations. Another distinctive characteristic of the institution under discussion is that they tend to develop *salafi* religious ideology.

It has been known that most of Islamic mass organizations, which began to emerge since the beginning of 19th century, established educational institutions such as *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* as media to transfer Islamic knowledge and to disseminate the ideas of progress to the new Muslim generations. Accordingly, there are numerous Islamic educational institutions, *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, which have affiliation — structurally or ideologically — with Islamic mass organizations. No less than 10.830 *pesantrens* all over Indonesia, in terms of their religious understanding, are affiliated with mass organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, *Al Wasliyah*, PUI, *Mathlaul Anwar* (MA), *al Khairat*, *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW), DDI, Perti, GUPPI, and LDII. The same source of data also mentions that there are about 1.937 independent *pesantrens*.

Historically speaking, the phenomenon of independent *pesantrens* is not novel. *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam*, Gontor Ponorogo,

East Java, as has been discussed earlier, is considered as the root of the emergence of independent *pesantrens*. However, unlike other independent *pesantrens* established subsequently, such as *Hidayatullah* and others, *Pondok Gontor* does not adopt *salafiyah* approach in their religious understanding.

It is still unknown as to the initial growth of independent *pesantrens*. However, it is estimated that their appearance closely related to the spread of *salafiyah* religious understanding in Indonesia during 1980s, the influence of which was signified by the emergence of Islamic groups called *usrah*. In terms of doctrine, they follow the earlier *salafiyah* groups such as Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Taymiyah, whose doctrines were adopted and developed by the later Muslim thinkers such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Quthb through *Ikhwān al Muslimīn* in Egypt and Abu al 'Ala al Mawdudi through his *Jemaat Islami* in Indian sub continent. It is the *salafiyah* doctrines developed by those figures that are adopted by *usrah* group.

One main characteristic of this group is the employment of literal interpretation of sacred text. Thus, this group can be recognized for their exclusive physical appearance. For example, male members of the group wear *jubah* or long robe and they usually keep their beard grows. Meanwhile, female members wear *jubah* and *jilbab* (veil), which cover all parts of their bodies except eyes and palms of hands. This is because in their understanding, Muslim women are forbidden to show all parts of their bodies except eyes and palms of hands to non-*Muhrim* men.

In Indonesia, the groups have gained their popularity in most of respected campuses such as *Universitas Indonesia* (UI), *Institut Pertanian Bogor* (IPB), *Universitas Gajah Mada* (UGM) and *Institut Teknologi Bandung* (ITB). On the contrary, they do not develop in Islamic Universities such as in *Institute Agama Islam Negeri* (IAIN, or State Institute of Islamic Studies). It was only after the collapse of Suharto regime that those groups, who called themselves as *Lembaga Da'wah Kampus* (LDK), began to exist and develop in Islamic Universities. The groups become influential and significant social and religious movements in Indonesia. At political level, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS), a growing Islamic political party, gains supports from these groups.

At the outset, *usrah* groups fight to achieve their goals through an Islamic movement, called "*Tarbīyah movement*". This movement is an Islamization movement of society through a long term process and in all aspects of their lives. "*Tarbīyah*" is understood not only

as an educational institution but also as a struggle for the realization of *Muslim Society* (Anne Sofie Roald, 1994: 14). The movement emphasizes its efforts mainly to the purification of *tawhid* and the struggle to apply *shari'ah* (Islamic Law). Islamic *shari'ah* is not only understood as its implementation as positive law, but also the implementation of Islamic teachings in all aspects of life. Above all, they believe that Islam has provided complete and comprehensive social, political, and educational systems as guidance. For this reason, dialogue between Islam and modernity is, according to this group, considered not only unimportant but also unnecessary because of the perfection of Islam.

Pesantren Hidayatullah in this context can be seen as a realization of the contextualization of *salaftiyah* understanding of Islam. This view is represented in the teachings developed by Ustadz Abdullah Said who aspires to build *Jamaah Islamiyah* (Islamic community), a concept which indicates the total implementation of Islamic teachings in the life of the community. The concept of *jama'ah* is in fact not a new idea in the context of Islamic movement. The notion of *jama'ah* is usually put side by side with other concepts such as *hizb* (party) or *harakah* (movement). However, the term *jama'ah* is used in wider context. The term is often understood as referring to Islamic group which excels other groups. Moreover, the term is used to refer to the group which claims that the most correct and right solutions is those originated from their own group.

Although the concept of *jama'ah* offered by Abdullah Said does not necessarily signify the above mentioned meanings, one cannot deny the existing relationship between Islamic movements in Islamic world with his ideas. In order to achieve his goal, Abdullah Said created a unique formulation which is different from that of other groups. He employs the history of the Prophet as strategy and model of the movement. The historical stages of the Prophet Muhammad life are the main inspiration to prepare some steps to build the idealized Muslim society. Based on this description, it is clear that Abdullah Said and his *Pesantren Hidayatullah* is part of groups which adopt and develop *salaftiyah* religious understanding.

Pesantren Hidayatullah: A Brief Profile

Pesantren Hidayatullah is located on 120 hectare land in the outskirts of Balikpapan. Since its first official establishment ceremony in August, 5th 1976 by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, it has at-

tracted the attention of many people for reasons. First, after almost one decade of operation, in 1984 *pesantren Hidayatullah* received KALPATARU Award, an award given by the Indonesian government for the environmental achievement. This award was given by President Soeharto. It is not surprising that the period of 1980s was called by the head of *pesantren* as an era of resurgence, promotion and development. From then on, *Pesantren Hidayatullah* has been visited by many government officials from Jakarta and East Kalimantan. In relation to the visits by the government officials — and other important events which will be elaborated below — it can be stated that *Pesantren Hidayatullah* has had close relationship with the government.

Second, two decades after its establishment, in 2002, this *pesantren* made another head line news for the accusation of its involvement in terrorism. The source of the news is a report by Jane Parlez, *the New York Time* (December 2002) which states that *Hidayatullah* is one of terrorism network in South East Asia. One year later, this statement was re-affirmed in a report by International Crisis Group (ICG), *Jemaah Islamiyyah in South East Asia: Damage but Still Dangerous*. Basically, the later report was only highlighting the accusation of Jane Parlez by stating that *Pesantren Hidayatullah* is one of “Ivy League” where the radical Muslims were graduated and received education and training. This news consequently brought about negative image of the *pesantren*. To some extent, the effect of the publication on that issue hindered the activities of *pesantren* and destructed the good relations of *pesantren* with other institutions or with foreign companies in Balikpapan.

In a book entitled *20 tahun Pondok Pesantren Hidayatullah Pusat Balikpapan (1972-1992)*, which is often used as source for research on the history of the *pesantren*, the stages of the development of the *pesantren* is mentioned. This book was written under direct supervision of Ustadz Abdullah Said. Thus, it can be said that the book is an official representation of *pesantren*'s views. In this book, yearly development of *pesantren* during the last two decades under discussion is elaborated in more detailed manner. However, this periodization is not employed in this paper. Instead, it divides the development of *pesantren Hidayatullah* into two main periods, i.e., the period under the leadership of Ustadz Abdullah Said and the later period or the period of *Hidayatullah* as mass organization. In discussing the first period, this paper will refer mostly to the book as the main source. Meanwhile, for the following periods this paper will employ other sources.

Pesantren Hidayatullah is located in Teritip village, East Balikpapan. The distance from *pesantren* to Balikpapan is about 32 km eastward. This *pesantren* was established by Ustadz Abdullah Said, a respected figure from Makassar. He was supported by some of his close friends who later became the first teaching staff of the *pesantren*. They are, to name a few, Hasan Ibrahim (*Pesantren Krapyak*, Yogyakarta), Usman Palese (*Pesantren Persis*, Bangil), Hasyim (*Pesantren Modern Darussalam*, Gontor) and Nasir Hasan (an activist of *Majlis Tarjih Muhammadiyah*, Yogyakarta). The four figures, together with Abdullah Said who led the *pesantren* until he passed away in 1998, are known as the founding fathers of *Pesantren Hidayatullah*. Their various educational backgrounds and the spirit of independence that they shared became strong motivation to make the *pesantren* to be an independent institution from any established mass organizations in Indonesia.

Balikpapan was chosen as the location for the *pesantren* because of the analysis of Muhammad Said on social fact in that area. According to Hasan Ibrahim — one of the founding fathers of *Pesantren Hidayatullah* who is recently a member of *Shari'ah* council of the Central Board of Hidayatullah — there are two reasons behind the preference of Balikpapan as the location of the *Pesantren*. First, in the beginning of 1970s there was no *pesantren* in Balikpapan. According to Abdullah Said, Balikpapan was an area where *da'wah* activity was absent. Second, Balikpapan has potentiality to develop rapidly because the exploration of natural resources of East Kalimantan was centralized in this city. In this respect, the increase number of workers and the development of industrial city demanded the presence of religion as the guide for the community.

The establishment of *Pesantren Hidayatullah* was initiated by training activities for *da'wah* (missionary) cadres, an activity that had been practiced by Abdullah Said himself when he was still in his hometown, Makassar. Training for *da'wah* cadres is called *Training Centre (TC)*. The first training was held under the umbrella of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah* in Balikpapan at the house of Haji Mohammad Rasyid, one of the respected figures from Sinjai, South Sulawesi. This person later became Abdullah Said's father in law. This activity then later developed to become *Kulliyatul Muballighin* with more complex materials of learning. In due course, the participants of *TC* and *Kulliyatul Mulaballighin* increased. By then, a dispute occurred between Muhammad Said and his father in law on whether or not the participants should be asked to pay tuition

fees. According to Muhammad Said, since the activities are part of *Da'wah*, they should be free of any charges. Haji Muhammad Rasyid as a donator, however, viewed that the fee is necessary to keep the activities going. It was because of this unresolved issue that the two figures were separated, and it was also the reason for Abdullah Said's divorce. The disagreement marked the initial process of the establishment of *Pesantren Hidayatullah*.

With the support of Mukhtar Pae, a local attorney from Makassar, the TC and *Kulliyatul Muballighin* activities were still run. However, they were organized in different locations and under the more "unfortunate" circumstances. Despite the changes, some important figures of Muhammadiyah such as A.R. Fakhruddin, Hamka and Abdul Kahar Muzakkir used to teach and gave their supports. In 1975, having passed the period of what the so-called "mourning and tearful years," *Pesantren Hidayatullah* received one hectare of *wakaf* land located in Karang Bugis. It is a strategic site, since it is located in the very center of Balik Papan city and close to Bugis community.

One year later, in 1976, the head of *pesantren* felt the need to have bigger location to implement his ideas to build Islamic community, called *jamaah*. With the assistance of Balik Papan Major, Asnawi Arbain, the *pesantren* was given other five hectares of *wakaf* land from haji Darmawan in Gunung Tambak, Teritip, Balik Papan, which became the first assets to develop the *pesantren*. It is still in the same time that the *pesantren* was officially opened by the Minister of Religious Affairs in 1976, despite the ongoing process of the establishment of buildings which was not finished yet at that time. From then on, the area of *pesantren* continuously expanded, and currently it possesses approximately 140 hectares.

The data show that *Pesantren Hidayatullah* has about 130 branches spread out in several cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Manado, Dumai, Mamuju, Toli-Toli, Sorong, Manokwari, Fakfak, Jayapura, Gebe-North Maluku, Ambon, Bontang, Samarinda, Berau, Pasir, Pontianak, Ujung Pandang, Palu, Adonara-NTT, Nunukan, Palembang, Merauke, Bandung, Mataram, Yogyakarta, Jember, and Semarang. In 2000, this number increased to 140 branches (DPP Hidayatullah, 2000).

It is mentioned earlier that *Pesantren Hidayatullah* focuses especially on training activities for *da'wah* cadres. From its very inception, the *Pesantren* was aimed by Abdullah Said to produce *da'wah* cadres as well as to build community or, as termed by Said, *jamaah*,

in which Islamic teachings are implemented. It is not surprising then to see that in its first development, the main activities of *Pesantren Hidayatullah* were trainings and *pengajian* (informal group learning) delivered periodically (weekly and monthly). Furthermore, *Pesantren Hidayatullah* also offered formal education programs such as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, established in 1984, *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* in 1987, and *Madrasah Aliyah* in 1990. In terms of curriculum, those different levels of *madrasah* adopt the one developed by MORA. Accordingly, the students also join national exams held by MORA. This phenomenon indicates that the head of *pesantren* prefers not to get involved in the debate over the percentage of religious and non-religious subjects in *Madrasah* curriculum. Instead, the head *pesantren* decides to adopt MORA curriculum and includes other Islamic courses, which are not designed in the curriculum. This curriculum modification is commonly adopted by other *pesantrens* which face similar problem.

Pesantren Hidayatullah introduces what the so-called "integrated curriculum," in which religious and secular subjects are viewed as an integral entity. In addition, all aspects of education of the *Pesantren* including its facilities and activities are directed towards the main goal of the *Pesantren*. Consequently, in addition to adopts the curriculum developed by MORA, through which students receive bigger proportion of secular subjects, the *pesantren* also delivers religious courses — which are in line with the mission of the *Pesantren* — outside the school hours.

Pesantren Hidayatullah has attracted many young generations especially those of in-campus mosques activists. In terms of teachings, there is similarity between Abdullah Said's views and those of other Muslim intellectuals such as Imaduddin Abdurrahim, an important figure in Islamic movement in Salman Mosque. However, the former uses *pesantren* as a vehicle to establish his movement, while the later, frequently called Bang Imad, employs *da'wah* activities in campus mosques. There are some concepts introduced during the trainings such as *modern jahiliyyah* — a concept introduced by al Mawdūdī and later strengthened by Syyid Quthb —, several attempts to eliminate *thagut* from our heart, and the establishment of *jamaah Islamiyah*, etc., as the foundations of the movement. One of ITB graduates who used to be Salman mosque activist and currently an activist of *Pesantren Hidayatullah* said that the reason for him to be part of *Hidayatullah* is the ideas and concepts of Ustadz Abdullah Said, which are considered in line with his ideals that he has sought so far, especially through his activity in Salman Mosque.

Because of emphasizing its activities mostly to trainings for *da'wah* cadres, *Pesantren Hidayatullah* seems to neglected formal education, especially during the first period of its establishment. There are many of its students who do not finish their universities. Ironically, the decision to drop-out of the universities came out as soon as the students start to join *Hidayatullah*. Their decision to terminate their study is mostly influenced by Abdullah Said's lecturers, especially in relation to anxiety towards *thagut* attitude (this concept will be elaborated later), which is considered as dangerous for religious faith. According to Hasan Ibrahim, formal education at that time was not important. Instead of completing formal education for a degree, it is more prestigious to do *da'wah* or to spread out Islamic teachings in remote areas.

The greater emphasis to prepare *da'wah* cadres has influenced the model of education system developed in *Hidayatullah*. Since the expected qualities of its graduates are not their mastery of Islamic subjects such as Islamic theology (*kalam*), Islamic Law (*fiqh*), *Qur'anic* exegesis (*tafsir*), the prophet sayings (*hadith*), but their discipline and courage to perform *da'wah*, the goal of its curriculum therefore is aimed to the more practical purposes. Classical Islamic literatures (*kitab kuning*) are not taught in *Pesantren Hidayatullah*. Instead, it organizes trainings on disciplines and methods of *da'wah* to help the students in doing their *da'wah* mission. Abdullah Said's lecturers were considered significant aspects in the process of preparing *da'wah* cadres. It may be stated that during the first period of its development, *Pesantren Hidayatullah* was anti-formal school system or at least it did not encourage its students to go to formal education. Accordingly, some of the cadres who came from universities or IAIN decided to drop-out.

This trend however, started to decrease by the end of 1990s, especially after the establishment of *Madrasah Aliyah* in the *Pesantren*. When *Hidayatullah* later opened Islamic university, *Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Syari'ah* (STIS, or Higher Education for Islamic Law), the demand of human resources, who have degrees either to be teaching staff or administrative staff, was higher. For this reason, the leader of the *Pesantren* suggested the students who had dropped-out of universities — most of them had finished their courses and at a stage of working on thesis — to finish their studies. Some of the students preferred to finish their studies at one of *Hidayatullah* universities, i.e., *Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Lukmanul Hakim* in Surabaya. Other students who were interested in secular field of study also decided

to finish their study in secular universities. The leader of *Pesantren Hidayatullah*, in fact, has still been searching for an ideal model of education to be developed at *Pesantren Hidayatullah* Balik Papan. This reality is not surprising, since the attention to formal school has just started lately.

The students of *Pesantren Hidayatullah* are not required to pay full tuition fees. The tuition is relatively cheap. The tuition fee for Kindergarten students for example is only 5.000 rupiahs, 10.000 rupiah for MI, 15.000 rupiahs for MTs, and 20.000 rupiahs for MA. In addition, the students are only required to pay 60.000 rupiahs for their meals and another 10.000 rupiahs for their accommodation. In total, a student of *Madrasah Aliyah* for example, has to pay only 90.000 rupiahs per month. *Pesantren Hidayatullah* Balik Papan is appointed to be an experiment model of school by *Hidayatullah* Central Board. Thus, in addition to its own income generated from its business, *Pesantren Hidayatullah* Balik Papan is subsidized by the central office. This branch is also directed to become a social institution.

Pesantren Hidayatullah does not use centralized system. It means that each branch is allowed to implement its own policies including its curriculum, the amount of tuition fees, the number and levels of school programs (*madrasah* or school), which fit the need of local community. Moreover, each branch is also permitted to use other name beside *Hidayatullah*. Islamic Primary school (SDI) *Lukmanul Hakim* in Surabaya is a case in point. This primary school is one of favorite schools in Surabaya because of its "integrated curriculum". With five million rupiahs for first registration fee and 350.000 rupiahs for tuition fee, this school is also considered as one of the most respected and the best schools in Surabaya. Consequently, only students of middle class Muslim families who can afford to study there.

Concluding Remarks:

Variants of *Pesantren* and *Madrasah* in Indonesia

The above presented mapping about modern *pesantren*, *sekolah Islam*, public *madrasah*, traditional *pesantren*, and independent *pesantren*, describes the wide variety of Islamic education system in Indonesia. Therefore, Islamic education system is a big umbrella under which many kinds and models of educational institutions develop. In terms of religious ideological perspective, all the educational institutions vary, ranging from those with moderate-plural-

ist model — thus accept the notion of democracy — to those with extremist-radical — which incline to put the priority on the tyranny of majority.

These trends cannot be separated from the interaction of the institutions with several contemporary issues such as gender equality, pluralism, democracy and civic values. On the issue of gender equality for example, Islamic educational Institutions tend to be supportive, although the support from modern and independent *pesantrens* is small. On the other hand, traditional *pesantrens* have been more familiar with gender equality issue. This may be due to the visits and partnership of several non-government Organizations with the traditional *pesantrens*. *Fiqh Perempuan* (*fiqh al-nisā'* program, a special gender program for *pesantrens* which was designed by P3M (Perhimpunan Pengembangan *Pesantren* dan Masyarakat) in 1990s is an example of gender dissemination program that is relatively successful. It is not surprising thus to see the emergence of many figures and works on gender equality. *Kyai* Sahal Mahfudz, the general chairman of NU and the head of *pesantren* in central Java; *Kyai* Husein Muhammad, the head of *pesantren* in Cirebon, and Masdar F. Mas'udi, the director of P3M are only a few examples of figures from traditional *pesantren* who show great interest in gender equality issues. They may be called as the spokespersons of gender equality of *pesantrens*.

With regard to the issue of democracy, *pesantrens* also have shown their support. They participate in activities which have some thing to do with the implementation of democracy, such as general election. For some of Islamic groups, democracy — through parliamentary system — is used to implement regulations with the spirit of Islam. For example, by the end of last year, 23 November 2005, the government of Tangerang district produced regulation to ban prostitution. This regulation no.8, 2005, became controversial because there are some points that are considered as discriminative to women. The regulation no 4 for example, states that women who go out and wandered around during night will be accused as prostitutes and will be arrested. And this kind of regulation is seemingly it to be also regulated in other districts.

There is big controversy among Islamic educational circle on the issue of pluralism. This controversy is provoked by a *fatwa* of *Majelis 'ulamā' Indonesia* (MUI, or Indonesian 'ulamā' Consultative) in 2005 which states that pluralism is prohibited in Islam. There is also similar debate on the response towards the West. The view on

the West is an important issue in Islamic world, including Islam in Indonesia. There have been views among Indonesia Muslims especially *pesantren*, *madrasah* and schools that the West is identical with norms contradictory to Islam. The West is seen not only as similar to Christianity but also to moral decadence such as free-sex. The West is the competitor of Islam. The reminiscence of Crusade then interconnects with the spread of Western culture, which, in the view of some Muslims, is free of value. All of these points have created negative generalization of Muslims in *pesantrens*, *madrasah* and *Sekolah Islam* towards the West.

The variety of Islamic educational institutions illustrates the dynamic of Islam in Indonesia, which has been searching for its form, especially in the context of modern and contemporary development. Despite the fact that there are *pesantrens* which embrace the spirit of fundamentalism, it is important to note that it is just a minor phenomenon. The majority of *pesantrens* in Indonesia are run with the spirit of moderate Islam. However, the campaign about the idea of moderate Islam which brings the values of democracy, tolerance, pluralism and civil society is not well-promoted.

Endnotes

1. Under MONE there are TK (*Taman Kanak-kanak*, or kindergarthen), SD (*Sekolah Dasar*, or Elementary School), SMP (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama*, or Junior High School), SMA (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*, or Senior High School), sekolah-sekolah kejuruan (vocational schools) and Perguruan Tinggi Umum (Secular Universities); under MORA there are RA (*Raudhatul Athfal*), MI (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*), MTs (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah*), MA (*Madrasah Aliyah*), and Islamic Higher Education.
2. Law No. 20 2003 on National Education System as the product of reformation era is regarded as allowing more space to Islamic education system—*madrasah* and *pesantren*—to develop than the previous law (Law No.4, 1950 which was re-enacted by the Law No. 12 1954 and law No. 2 1989).
3. Chapter VII, passage 2, law No.4, 1950.
4. Chapter I, passage 2, law No. 4, 1950.
5. The Indonesian government has promoted the 9-year compulsory education for every Indonesian child since 1993/1994. It means every single Indonesian child is obliged to complete at least his or her 6-year elementary school (SD/MI) plus 3-year secondary school (SMP/MTs).
6. Formerly, there was rivalry between the two institutions. Under the atmosphere of “stream-politics” MONE was considered as the representative of nationalists and Christian groups, while MORA was the representative of Muslim group. However, as the of “stream-politics” in Indonesia decreases, such grouping ends. The case of A. Malik Fajar, the former Minister of MORA who later was appointed as the Minister of MONE is an example how that such grouping does not exist anymore.
7. Based on data of 2002, generally speaking, about 43% of parents of *madrasah* students only finish their elementary education (SD); 45% are farmers; and 36% do not have stable income. Meanwhile, the following is the comparison between the fee of an individual student of *madrasah* and that of secular elementary school: it is 182.700 rupiah per per student/ a year for SD; 36.595 rupiah per student/ a year (1999-2000) for MI. For SMP level, each student has to pay 681.957 rupiah per year, while each Mts student has to spend 64.255 rupiah per year. Each SMU student has to spend 1.019.025 rupiah per year while an 133.430 rupiah has to be paid by each of MA student per year. From the above mentioned data, it can be said therefore that generally, tuition fee of *madrasah* is cheaper than that of secular school.
8. See the final report *Studi Pengembangan Sub-Sektor Pendidikan Madrasah pada Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Agama Islam Tingkat Menengah ADB Loan 1519-INO*, Jakarta: PT Amythas Experts and Associates, 2003, 5.
9. Statistical data of *Pondok Pesantren Indonesia 2002-2003*, MORA and statistical data of *Madrasah Indonesia 2002-2003*, MORA.
10. According to the available data, there are about 250 *pesantrens* founded by Gontor alumni.
11. It is important to emphasize here that in 2004, MONE performed accreditation of KMI. Some of KMI were accredited and as a result their alumni were allowed to register to state universities and they were exempted from the requirement to have state certificates. *Final report on accreditation of KMI*, PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2004.
12. Comparative religion course is not taught in traditional *pesantrens*.

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