

PESANTREN IN THE PERSPECTIVE SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Culturally, pesantren was born from Indonesian culture, and historically it did not contain only Islamic meaning, but also the meaning of Indonesian originality because pesantren had indeed already existed during the period of Hinduism-Buddhism in Indonesia. In fact, Islam only continues its progress, preserves it and also Islamizes its concept. Pesantren tradition associated with social change experienced by santri and kyai might be seen through two aspects; pesantren tradition as cultural base and pesantren tradition as mediator between santris and kyai's needs. In actual fact, pesantren tradition is a form of social system that grows prosperously in pesantren environment built by the kyai. This developed system is built on a very strong basis through the kinship social genealogy of the kyai, marriage alliance, intellectual genealogy, and santri-kyai relationship aspects that are not only restricted in the pesantren environment but also outside it. On the next level, pesantren is considered an alternative educational institution that is necessary for society and should be considered more in developing Indonesia education system nowadays. The existence of the pesantren with all its elements and its achievements is an undisputable fact in order to foster up the Islamic education system in Indonesia.

Keywords: *pesantren, Indonesia, social change.*

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of education system as a reaction of the social need in facing up the life's challenges requires a comprehensive and holistic education system which is because the society needs assessment in educating children should be done in balance between the value and attitude, knowledge, intelligence, skills, communicative skills, and awareness of environment ecology.

Facing up the problems, *pesantren* as one of the models of multi-education systems that have already existed in Indonesia since many years ago, in my opinion, *pesantren* has experienced many shiftings and adjustment with the environment in an effort to develop and create a better educational goal for accomplishment. Because, as a matter of fact, *pesantren* is a multi-dimensions life view in which the school is a place to build self-confidence and self-defense to face the real challenges.

Most *pesantren*, especially in Java and Madura, have been spreading in various ways with all their strengths and weaknesses, even Indonesia government introduces a new form of *pesantren* called *Pondok Karya Pembangunan* and *Pondok Pesantren Terpadu* with the new changes in environment. Thus, *pesantren* development is improving in terms of educational view, skills, social transformation; and then the existence of the school becomes as one of alternatives of the educational institutions.² However, its development and growth are usually depends on community support based on *pesantren* functions and its roles to the society.

At glance, most *pesantren* can be considered similar, but indeed, it differs from each other; it seems conservative, but it transforms and balances itself to the world development either implicitly or explicitly. Although it has been admitted that *pesantren* is a classic institution and might be still traditional, it survives and considered as an alternative way to balance the glamorous and hegemonies modern life style that is assumed to generate more problems in society, especially deals with the values and moral crisis. By knowing their position, educated people will show themselves as better transformers who give highest praise to ethics value which are expected to provide safety for the whole eco-system.

² Bahri Ghazali (2002), *Pesantren Berwawasan Lingkungan*, Jakarta: Prasasti, p. 9.





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Furthermore, they will give more benefits for other living creatures. By this mean, *pesantren* has transformed itself from ‘*salaf*’ to ‘*khalaf*’, means that *pesantren* is changing from traditional to the more modern institution.³ If this spiritual value is implemented earlier, let’s say from the cradling time and become an education image, students will automatically struggle to serve security and peace in the world. By these broad dimensions to be nurtured, *Pesantren* as one of educational institutions is a perfect alternative place to face the fast impact of modernization to students.

SOCIAL CHANGE PERSPECTIVE

The changes happened in society, especially in social interaction behavior, cannot be understood without using the concept of social change. There are some matters that may cause the changes of social interaction in society, one of which is the existence of governance characteristic changing or the shifting of paradigm followed by the government in that era.

The science that studies the social interaction in society is sociology. It discusses various symptoms appearing in society. So, sociology has a tight connection with the social change discourse in which the changing reflects a change from certain condition to another in society. According to Gunawan, the social change concept is very important to be used to observe various changing in society especially dealing with the changes in social interaction in society.⁴

Some problems concerning the limitation of the social change meaning have already been discussed for so long by several sociologists. To avoid some vagueness or miss-understanding, the discussion on the social change can be turned back to some previously discussed terms conducted by several well-known sociologists. From the shown terminology, it must be easy to explain what social change is and in what context the terminology is used.

Based on William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff’s opinion in Samuel Koenig, the range of social change includes the culture elements both material and non-material. If it is connected with the theme of this

³ Kuntowijoyo (1991), *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 252.

⁴ Ary H. Gunawan (1977), *Sosiologi Pendidikan Suatu Analisis Sosiologi tentang Pelbagai Problem Pendidikan*, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, p. 3-5.



analysis, the intended social change is the students' shifting and behavior changing in studying the yellow book (*Kitab Kuning*). Subjects of the study are the culture of students-*kyai*, students-religion teachers, and students-students relationship.⁵

Furthermore, Soerjono Soekanto states that according to Gillin and Gillin and Szmuel Koenig, social change is a form of variation of accepted life style. There are some factors to be mentioned; geographic condition, material culture, population composition, ideology, or even diffusion and new findings in society. While in Samuel Koenig, social change refers to the modifications of life's patterns in society.⁶

In the other part, Soerjono Soekanto states that according to Talcott Parsons, the continuance process of information and energy between several action systems gives opportunity to the establishment of the change or transformation in the action system or in the connection of some action systems. The source of the change consists of the excess of information, as the lack of information and energy, the system will try to adapt the condition internally as well as externally. Next, Selo Soemarjan in Soerjono Soekanto states that social change is all the form of changes occurred in social institutions in society that influences the social system including social values, attitude, and behavior in the society's groups.⁷ The focus is in the social institutions as the main core of human association in which the changes are influenced by the so called society structures.

Riyadi Soeprato suggests the social change occurs in all kinds of life aspects, in the social values, organization behavior patterns, social organization patterns, social stratifications, and so on. He mentions that recent social changes are common and seen as normal symptom by which spreading of the social changes can be widely spread to other countries in the whole world.⁸ In Gunawan's opinion, commonly, most sociologists believe that social change is a common social symptom and it is considered as the society characteristic that keeps on moving to find a new condition

⁵ Soerjono Soekanto (1987), *Teori Sosiologi Tentang Perubahan Sosial*, Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, p. 335-336.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸ Riyadi Soeprato (2002), *Interaksionisme Simbolik, Perspektif Sosiologi Modern*, Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Pelajar and Averoes Press Malang, p. 5.

and continue moving.⁹ As a normal symptom, almost all society will experience transformation or change. Those who experience the change are those who have a high dynamic social interactions and it is applicable on the way around. On the other hand, some other sociologists say that the social change should happen because of the social elements changing to maintain social balance, such as the change of geographic, biological, economic and cultural elements.

Every society always experience social change either in wide or narrow range, in the form of revolution (rapid change) or evolution (slow change). Basically, social change is a continuance process to support social development and progress and the change is also dealing with the economical growth.

According to Spott, as quoted by Faisal, social change is a change in society. If we take a look at the causal side, social change includes exogenous change (external change) and endogenous change (internal change). Furthermore, based on the level of occurrence there is an episodic changes and pattern change.¹⁰ In other words, from the characteristics, there are planned and unplanned social changes. The unplanned social change usually promotes some controversies harming the society. In contrast, the planned change is the change of the social institutions or organizations which is well prepared by the agent of change.

Whereas in Soelaiman,¹¹ Himer and Moore proclaim there are three social change dimensions; they are structural, cultural, and interactional dimensions. First, structural dimension refers to the structural change occurred in society that involves role transformation, the occurrence of some new roles and also the change in the social class structure as well as social organizations. Second, social change in cultural dimension refers to the cultural change in society such as the existence of new discoveries in science or any kind of knowledge, the renewal of technological products, other culture contact that may result in the diffusion and borrowing. Third,

⁹ Ary H. Gunawan (1977), *op.cit.*, p. 4-13.

¹⁰ Sanapiah Faisal (1975), *Sosiologi Pendidikan*, Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, p. 89.

¹¹ M. Munandar Soelaiman (1998), *Dinamika Masyarakat Transisi, Mencari Alternatif Teori Sosiologi dan Arah Perubahan*, Yogyakarta: PT. Pustaka Pelajar, p. 115-121.

social change in interaction dimension aims at the changing of social relationship in society, which related to the change of frequency, social gap, line, regulations or patterns and form of relationship.

PESANTREN IN VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES: CONCEPTION OF STUDENTS AND PONDOK PESANTREN

Social studies about Islamic Leaders in Indonesia show that *kyai* (Muslim scholar) is a prominent figure who has strategic and central position in a society. His central position relates to their status as an educated and highly regarded person in the society. As the educated elite, *kyai* delivers his Islamic knowledge to villagers and his students. *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) as a traditional Islamic educational institution is considered as an important means to do knowledge transfer both to villagers and also students. On the other side, the *kyai* are being patrons for everyone; whom many villagers rely on. The central position of the *kyai* is viewed in this patronage especially because of this pattern relates and binds the *kyai* and also his students.¹² Terminologically, the word *santri* (students) in Indonesia and especially for *Muslims* has two meanings; first, refers to a group of students in *pesantren* or *pondok*, and the second, refers to cultural root of *Muslims*. In this essay, the first meaning is studied in detail. Furthermore, the discussion about *santri*, will not get out of discussion of *kyai* and *pesantren* as well.

Meanwhile, the term *pesantren*, in everyday context, can only be considered as *pondok*; or both of the words; *pondok* and *pesantren*, can be called as *pesantren*. Essentially, all of these terms have the same meaning, although there is a little difference. Dormitory in which the students stay can be considered as the disguising factor between *pondok* and *pesantren*.¹³

Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution that has an important role in the history of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java and Madura. In Aceh, it is called as *ranggang* or *meunasah*; in West Sumatra named *surau*. This educational institution is the oldest *pondok pesantren* Islam. Sometimes, it is only called simply as *pondok* or *pesantren*.

¹² Endang Turmudi (2004), *Perselingkuhan Kyai dan Kekuasaan*, Yogyakarta: LKiS, p. 1.

¹³ Mujamil Qomar (2005), *Pesantren Dari Tarnsformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokratisasi Institusi*, Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 1.

The term *pesantren* derives from the word *santri* with prefix *pe-* and suffix *-an*. It means a place where *santri* stay.¹⁴ While the word *santri*, according to Nurcholish Madjid, can be viewed from two judgments.¹⁵ First, the opinion which states that the word *santri* comes from a word *sastri*, a word from Sansekerta that means literate. This judgment, according to Nurcholish Madjid, is likely based on the opinion that *santri* is literary class for Javanese people who try to obtain deep understanding of religion through religious books written in Arabic.¹⁶ On the other side, Zamakhsyari Dhofier says that the word *santri* in Indian means someone who knows about holy books of Hinduism, or a scholar of Hinduism holy books. Or in general, it can be meant as holy books, religious books or science books.¹⁷

Second, the opinion which states that actually, the word *santri* comes from Javanese, from the word *cantrik*, which means someone who always follow his or her teacher wherever the teacher goes or stays.¹⁸ Manfred Ziemek asserts that *pesantren* means a place where *santri* stay and get knowledge of various aspects of Islam from a *kyai* or teacher (religion teacher or *ustadh*).¹⁹ The same opinion is also stated by Ahmad Tafsir that *pesantren* is the oldest Islamic educational institution that its growth is acknowledged by the society around it. It has five characteristics and basic components as follows; the *kyai*, *pondok* (dormitory), mosque, *santri*, and recitation of *Kitab Kuning*.²⁰ If someone enter a *pesantren*, he she will find some elements as follows: (1)The *kyai*, as the functionary, as teacher and also as an educator; (2) *Santri*, people who learn from the *kyai*; (3) Mosque, a place to hold education, *salat jama`ah*, etc; and (4) *Pondok*, a place in which the *santri* live.²¹ Meanwhile, Zamakhsyari Dhofier adds

¹⁴ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi tentang Pandangan Kyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 18.

¹⁵ Nurcholish Madjid (1997), *Bilik-bilik Pesantren, Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, Jakarta; Paramadina, p. 19-20.

¹⁶ Yasmadi (2002), *Modernisasi Pesantren Kritikan Nurcholish Madjid Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional*, Jakarta: Ciputat Pers, p. 61.

¹⁷ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ Yasmadi (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Manfred Ziemek (1986), *Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial*, Jakarta: P3M, p. 16.

²⁰ Ahmad Tafsir (1994), *Ilmu Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Islam*, Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, p. 91.

²¹ A. Mukti Ali (1980), *Peran Pondok Pesantren dalam Pembangunan*, Jakarta:

the elements with the recitation of *Kitab Kuning* or classical religious books.²²

In Indonesia, the term of *pesantren* is more popularly named as *pondok pesantren*. Different from *pesantren*, *pondok* comes from Arabic *funduq*, which means hotel, dormitory, house, lodging, or simple home stay.²³ According to Prasojo, *pondok* in *pesantren* in Java is similar to *padepokan* or *kombongan* (residence), that is terraced house in the form of rooms as a dormitory for *santri*; and the place where *santri* are studying is named *pesantren*.²⁴

The above terminology of *pesantren* culturally was originated from Indonesian culture. Historically, Norcholish Madjid asserts that *pesantren* not only contain Islamic meaning, but also the meaning of Indonesian authenticity. It is because the pioneer of *pesantren*, actually, has existed during the period of Hinduism-Buddhism. Islam only continues the progress, maintain it and also Islamize it.²⁵

The relevance of *pesantren* tradition and the social change of *santri* and the *kyai* can be viewed from two aspects; the *pesantren* tradition as basic of culture; and the *pesantren* tradition as the mediator of self-interests between the *kyai* and *santri*. As stated by Zamakhsyari Dhofier the *Pesantren* tradition is a form of social system that grows in *pesantren* environment through kinship system established by the *kyai*.²⁶ The kinship system developed in this *pesantren* is formed from strong foundation through the *kyai* social genealogical kinship, network of marriage alliance, intellectual genealogies and relation between teacher and students or between the *kyai* and his *santri* which is not limited only by *pesantren* scope. It is because, in fact, the nature of *pesantren* is known as a free and democratic environment.²⁷

Karya Berkah, p. 3.

²² Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 50.

²³ Hasbullah (1996), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, Lintas Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, p. 138.

²⁴ Sudjoko Prasodjo, dkk. (1974), *Profil Pesantren*. Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 1.

²⁵ Nurcholish Madjid (1985), "Merumuskan Kembali Tujuan Pendidikan Islam", in Dawam Rahardjo, *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren, Membangun dari Bawah*. Jakarta: P3M, p. 5.

²⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 62-82.

²⁷ Saefuddin Zuhri (1988), *Guruku Orang-orang Pesantren*. Bandung: PT. Al-258

Related to the situation of teaching learning process in *pesantren*, it gives an impression that the situation is democratic without any limitation of age, without any absence and level of intellectuality either. However, if it is related to authority, the *kyai* considered himself as a leader who has absolute power. In some *pesantren*, the *kyai* forbids some general subjects, this rule of law even permeate completely into *santri*'s mind and perception.²⁸ They are influenced by the *kyai*'s way of thinking, perception and vision. All of these support the policy determined by the *kyai*. Practically, the act of forbidding general subjects in *pesantren* grows stronger and stronger. Efforts to omit this rule will come true if it is mobilized by the *kyai*'s relatives. Related to this, Abu Bakar Aceh reports that A. Wahid Hasyim, when he was still a teenager, and *Kyai* Ilyas was trying to omit the belief that forbid studying Latin letters and general knowledge.²⁹

Karel A. Steenbrink and A. Mukti Ali realize that the recondition of education system will take a long time and will not be easy comparing to public school.³⁰ Recently, there is a tendency in *pesantren* to make their institution as a means to develop and improve them. This tendency, especially, appears in big *pesantren* that has formal education. *Pesantren* As-Syafi'iyah, Attahariyah, and Darun Najah, that all of these *pesantren* are categorized as 'city *pesantren*' in Jakarta, has made their institution have organization structure and managements as the common institution.³¹

As an institution that concerns about middle and low-level society, *pesantren* is always available for everyone who wants to devote him/her life in the institution. Since a long time ago until now, this religious educational institution has never done any strict selection to its student candidates. It has never been heard that a *pesantren* gives any limitation

Ma'arif, p. 58.

²⁸ Mujamil Qomar (2005), *op.cit.*, p. 36-37.

²⁹ Abubakar Aceh (1975), *Sejarah Hidup KH. A. Wahid Hasyim dan Karangan Tersiar*, Jakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan Alm. KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, p. 86.

³⁰ Mastuhu (1997), "Kyai tanpa Pesantren: KH. Ali Yafie Dalam Peta Kekuatan Sosial Islam Indonesia", in Jamal D. Rahman *et.al* (ed.), *Wacana Baru Fiqh Sosial 70 Tahun KH. Alie Yafie*, Bandung: Mizan Bekerjasama dengan Bank Muamalat Indonesia, p. 262.

³¹ Steenbrink, Karel A. (1991), *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Modern*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p. 8-9.

to a group of people who have certain background to be accommodated there.

Even, as an institution that concerns of low-level society, there are some *pesantren* that have not charged any tuition fee from their students. The tasks of those students are only learning knowledge and reciting various branches of religious subjects. Meanwhile, the living costs of the students are the responsibility of their caretaker.

There are some strengths of *pesantren*. These strengths are all at once being the characteristics of *pesantren* itself:

- a. *Pesantren* has moral value of the country or nationalism, patriotism. However, *pesantren* contribution of this moral value is very little, but it cannot be considered as “nothing”. It is perhaps because people in *pesantren* strongly believe in *Li Allah Ta`ala* principle (everything is for Allah) and *qana`ah* (accepting whatever it is). Since in *pesantren*, there is a belief that if good deeds are exposed too much, they will be considered *`ujub* or *riya`* (arrogant). To conclude, it can be said that there have been social participation in developing *pesantren*.
- b. In *pesantren* tradition, there is no limitation on students. As the matter of fact, the *kyai* never limit their *santri* in terms of ethnic, race even religion. Here, ethnic pluralism is an evident. The fair treatment in *pesantren* also for those whose background is not the *kyai`*s son; even it is also for students candidates that is wealthy enough. Therefore, social strata are not obstacles in *pesantren*. There is no society level and other differences in *pesantren*; that is why the tuition fee in *pesantren* is achievable.
- c. Generally, there is *fiqh* tradition in *pesantren*. As we know that *fiqh* is the result of *ijtihad*. There is also *ikhtilaf al-fuqaha`* (difference among *fiqh* experts) or religious teachers. Thus, when we learn religious book named *Mahalli* or *Qalbi wa `Amirah*, we will face differences. It is a common phenomenon in *pesantren*. The principle believed in facing differences is *ikhtilaf al-a`immah rahmah* (the difference among people/leaders is blessing). When the differences are accepted, there will be pluralism. Although people in one *madhhab*, for example Shafi`ite, their opinions might be different. Finally, there is a principle named *idha ikhtilaf al-Nawawi wa al-Rafi`i, zudduna al-Nawawi* (if there are differences

among al-Imam al-Nawawi and al-Imam al-Rafi`i, the acceptable opinion is from al-Nawawi). Therefore, there term *tarjih* becomes popular (elevate someone's opinion than others).

- d. In *pesantren*, there is *tasawwuf* tradition. If we talk about *tasawwuf*, the inclusivity will be mostly seen. Even the religious section will be ignored.
- e. In *pesantren*, there is also accommodation tradition. The tradition is that the alteration should be done very slowly; it is not done in revolutionary way. The principle of *al-muhafazah `ala qadim al-salih wa al-akhduh bi al-jadid al-aslah* (keeping or maintaining the old notion is good and take the new notion is better) is still strongly believed in *pesantren*.

Although the accommodative attitude is still believed in *pesantren*, it does not mean that there is no limitation. The *kyai* and *santri* also believe in *tawazun*, *tasamuh* and *i`tidal*.³² They will be very pleased on everyone without looking at their race, even religion. However, we should be aware that pluralism is not as a religion or ideology.

Apart from all the above things, *pesantren* is still an institution of learning where students can still study religion and develop their knowledge of another science.³³

PESANTREN AS AN ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTION OF LEARNING

The Purpose of *Pesantren* Education

Pesantren is an Islamic institution of learning, whose education is conducted generally in non-classical way, in which a *kyai* teaches Islamic science to the students based on Arabic religious books written by Arabic religious teachers in the middle centuries. The students live in a dormitory of the school. A *kyai* is a religion master, teaching, leading, and owning the school. There is actually no written statement about the purpose of education in *pesantren*. However, the *kyai*, at least, prepares students to be ready to apply their knowledge without dreaming to be civil servants.

³² Qodri Azizi (2003), "Pesantren Terbiasa Plural", *Aula*, Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama, No. 10 Year XXV October 2003 – Sha`ban – Ramadan 1424, p. 23.

³³ Antweiller, Philip L. (2003), "Terorisme Bukan Isu Agama", *Aula*, Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama, No. 10 Year XXV October 2003 – Sha`ban – Ramadan 1424, p. 23.

Further, students usually become admirable figures in society.³⁴

According to its founders, *pesantren* is based on two purposes; first, the school is established to respond to social situation and condition of society facing the immorality, through the offered value transformation (*al-amr bi al-ma`ruf and al-nahy `an al-munkar*). It can be called an agent of social changes concerning on liberation works fighting immorality, political intimidation, and poverty. If Indonesia had not been conquered by other countries, *pesantren* would not have been in remote areas as they are now. They would have been located in the cities as the center of municipality or economic, as religion schools in Western countries becoming universities.³⁵ The second purpose is to promote universality of Islam throughout the country with pluralism, under trust dimension, culture, and social condition.

To conclude, *pesantren* is aimed at creating and developing *Muslim* personality, believing in God, well behaved, willing to devote themselves to society, independent, free and tough in personality, spreading Islamic teaching, and loving science for the sake of developing *muhsin* personality.³⁶

In accordance with the above purposes, it is obvious that not only does *pesantren* emphasize *ukhrawi* matters, but also living matters in order that students have to study hard for being independent and useful for their future society. These holistic purposes are difficult to achieve. Students are also trained to have practical skills for their future. The skills include farming, live stock, fishery, carpentry, sewing, knitting, cooperation, electronics, and so on. Those skills equipped them for being independent and entrepreneur. In Indonesia, many entrepreneurs are Batak people, Minangkabau people, and Chinese non-local inhabitants living in Java. They are in Indonesia because of historical background.³⁷ According to Bloom theory, Islamic education is supposed to train students to apply religious teaching (psychomotor), to strengthen their religious knowledge (cognitive), and to comprehend religious teaching (affective). If these

³⁴ Bahri Ghazali (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 27.

³⁵ Nurcholish Madjid (1997), *op.cit.*, p. 3-4.

³⁶ Mastuhu (1994), *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren (Suatu Kajian tentang Undur dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren)*, Jakarta: INIS, p. 56.

³⁷ Sudjoko Prasodjo *et al.* (1974), *op.cit.*, p. 5.

three aspects are treated equally, students will comprehend, believe, and apply religious teaching.³⁸

The wide Islamic doctrine makes it possible for *pesantren* to spread out as social institutions among *khalaf* (modern) groups because they accept changes due to time. As the result, people's way of thinking is developing and it develops *pesantren* to be a social institution raising human dignity.³⁹ Kuntowijoyo states that “*besides developing education, social programs in Islamic boarding include economics, technology, and ecology.*”⁴⁰

The strength of *pesantren* is that it is comprehended as alternative education by many people. It is obvious from the bigger number of *pesantren* than public schools, because *pesantren* is in line with the structure of religion followers spreading. Besides, there are religion and leadership traditions as national and open education for change. The weakness of *pesantren* is that they cannot reach education purpose maximally (training students for being *kyais* and leaders of the country), they do not have complete facilities (physical, personal, and financial). According to Nurcholish Madjid, the weakness in vision and purpose of *pesantren* is due to the excessive emphasis on one science aspect only, disregarding other aspects. In other words, there is a curriculum orientation limitation in *pesantren* education.⁴¹ Therefore, *pesantren* seems traditional and not a choice for many families and the existed *pesantren* tends to be exclusive.

Education and Instruction Systems in *Pesantren*

Education and instruction patterns in *pesantren* are tightly related to the typology and characteristics of the school. In Indonesia, education and instruction of *pesantren* are traditionally conducted. Traditional system means the opposite of modern one. In traditional system, the instruction starts from simple things, such as *sorogan*, *bandongan*, *wetonan*, and discussion in analyzing religious books, called “*Kitab Kuning*”, written by middle century religious teachers.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Ahmad Tafsir (1994), *op.cit.*, p. 124.

⁴⁰ Bahri Ghazali (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 41.

⁴¹ Kuntowijoyo (1991), *op.cit.*, p. 258.



First, *sorogan*; the instruction is conducted by asking students to recite the religious book in front of their *kyai*. In a big *pesantren*, there are only two or three students recite, usually the relatives of the *kyai* or religious students-to-be.⁴² In this system, students are to master sciences they are learning before passing the examination, since the instruction is directly observed by the *kyai*. In the next development, this system is rarely applied because it is considered time consuming.

Second, *wetonan*; the instruction is conducted by the *kyai* who recites the religious book in front of students and the students listen to their *kyai*'s recitation. In this system, there is no attendance list. Students may attend or skip the class and there is not any examination.⁴³ The class is usually conducted in groups. The teaching mechanism is as follows: students listen to their *kyai*'s recitation, the *kyai* then explain the content of verses, students are not allowed to raise questions no matter they understand or not. The groups in class are called *halaqah* system.

Third, *bandongan*; it is correlated to the two systems mentioned above. Students do not need to express whether they understand the material or not. The *kyai* usually only reads and translates easy vocabularies.⁴⁴

Those three instruction patterns are solely based on the *kyai*, because everything is related to time, place, and material. Besides, curriculum applied and the success of teaching implementation is based on the *kyai*. *Kyai*'s authority is very dominant because he is the leader of the school.

Pesantren does not grow solely based on traditional old system with those three instruction patterns above. There is also innovation in their development. Together with the traditional system applied by *salafiyah pesantren*, movement of change has marched on the development of the schools. There are three systems applied in *pesantren*; first, classical system; the classical system is shown by establishing schools teaching *kawni* sciences (*ijtihad*) which are different from *tawqifi* religion (in direct translation, determined teaching form and appearance).⁴⁵

⁴² Yasmadi (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 78.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*





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Second, course system; the system emphasizes on handmade product creating focusing on psychomotor ability, such as: sewing, typing, computer, and printing skills. It aims at forming independent students with supporting skills besides religion sciences got from *sorogan* and *wetonan* instructions. In the future, students are not to rely on their job only, but they have to be able to create jobs for their own.

Third, training system; the system emphasizes on psychomotor ability. It is developing practical skills, such as: technician, gardener, fishery, cooperation management, and integrated independence supporting handicraft trainings. This enables students to be intellectual and potential.

The implementation of unified education system in *pesantren* comprises three components; studying, which is learning general sciences related to religious problems; supervisory, as a spiritual fulfillment; and practice, which is applying knowledge and technology gained in learning process.

Mukti Ali states that the characteristics of *pesantren* are; close relation between students and *kyai*; students' obedience to their *kyai*; economical and simple life; helping each other; an emphasis on discipline; and a good religious life.⁴⁶

In facing social need and time changing, and also improving rational thinking, since the beginning of 20th century, it has been a necessity to provide general science in *pesantren*. Therefore, in 1970s general science has been introduced as a skill course in the *pesantren*, as the characteristic of non formal education with holistic approach. Besides, since the last two decades there have been many Islamic books discussing Islamic reformation thought written in Indonesian language included in their curriculum and learned by the *santri* in a group of study, thus in the next progress becomes more open. This is motivated by the manifestation and realization of the reformation of Islamic education system, the improvement of education system, as the way to bridge the traditional education system in *pesantren* and the acculturation modern one⁴⁷

⁴⁶ A. Mukti Ali (1980), *op.cit.*, p. 17-18.

⁴⁷ Muhaimin and Abdul Mujib (1993), *Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam, Kajian Filosofis dan Kerangka Dasar Operasionalnya*, Bandung: Tri Genda Karya, p. 305.



The reality shows that some *pesantrens* innovate themselves to follow the stream of education development, the demanding era, that gives result to the shifting elements followed by the changing value. The education is said to give benefits when it is aimed to improve the *santri*'s knowledge and it should be included with three phases. First, the *santri* should be educated about global principal problem. Second, they should be taught about the details of the problem and its differences. Third, they should be explained about the things that have been covered.⁴⁸

The Principles of Education System in *Pesantren* and its Elements

In accordance with the education objective and holistic approach in *pesantren* and its comprehensive function as an education institution, hence the principles of education system in *pesantren* are theosentris, willingly to serve, wise, modest, collective, guided freedom, independent, the place for seeking knowledge and serving, apply religious teaching, without certificate, and in *kyai*'s blessing.

The elements of a *pesantren* are: *Pondok* is the first element of this educational institution. In *pondok*, *santri*, *ustadh* (teacher) and *kyai* interact continually, in the term of knowledge because the education system in *pesantren* is holistic, thus the education in *pesantren* is the activity of teaching and learning integrated totally with daily life activity. In a bigger Islamic boarding house, there are hundreds or thousands of *santri* study in this institution; therefore, there are many buildings and larger society, as if it is a village. Most of the *santri* stay in *pesantren* for a whole day and leave it only for a certain need such as, going shopping, working for rich people, and the like.⁴⁹

Masjid (mosque); this is an urgent element in the educational process. The inheritance of Islamic civilization and the asset of national education development in Indonesia is Islamic education. As the inheritance, it is the mandate of history and should be maintained and developed by *Muslims* for years. As the asset, it should open opportunity for Indonesian to manage appropriate with national education system.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Jundi, Anwar (1985), *Pancaran Pemikiran Islam*, Bandung: Pustaka, p. 124-125.

⁴⁹ Steenbrink, Karel A. (1986), *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah*, Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Husni Rahmi (2001), *Arah Baru Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Logos,

Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., *masjid* has become the center of activity and information of many *Muslims* ' problems. It is a place for discussion, hearing and judging people's problems, a place for extending religious explanation and other information, a place for developing knowledge, especially religion. The religious teacher teaches in mosque, but *majelis khalifah* move to mosque or other places.⁵¹

Mosque is a place to educate children, read and analyze the Holy Qur'an from a group of religious teacher (*halaqah*), a place to discuss and *munazarah* (sharing idea) in various knowledge. It is also completed with a library which collects books in various fields of study.⁵² All *Muslims* around the world use mosque as a place for meeting, education center, administration and cultural activity.⁵³

Recitation of classical religious books. This is also important element of a *pesantren*, because without this element the *pesantren* identity as an Islamic educational institution will be unclear and then it will be disappeared.⁵⁴ The teaching of classic religious books is aimed at strengthening Islamic comprehension as well as to compare the developed Islamic thought, and then it is used as a reference for *ijtihad* in solving problems in society. The same thing explained by Karl Steenbrink that in recitation of traditional religious books the *santri* should spend the time to study Arabic then learn the content of the religious books which become the most important part.⁵⁵

Santri, this element is the object of the educational application in *pesantren*. *Santri* is the students who learn Islamic knowledge from a *kyai*. This element is very important because without *santri*, the *kyai* will be like a king without people.⁵⁶ *Santri* is the human source that supports the existence of *pesantren*, but also holds up the influence of *kyai* in society. Without *santri* there will be no educational process in *pesantren*, and without them this school will not be existed. There are two kinds of *santri*

p. 3.

⁵¹ Mahmud Yunus (1988), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, p. 75.

⁵² Zuhairini (1988), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, p. 60.

⁵³ *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1994), Leiden: Brill, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Steenbrink, Karl A. (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 171.

⁵⁶ Endang Turmudi (2004), *op.cit.*, p. 35.



in *pesantren*; first, *santri* who stay in this boarding school because their hometown is far from *pesantren*, they have many reasons to stay: (1) they want to learn more about the Islamic religious books from a *kyai*, (2) they want to experience the *pesantren* life in the field of education, organization, and the relationship with other famous *pesantren*. (3) they want to focus themselves in their study and no family interference.⁵⁷ Second, *santri* who do not stay in *pesantren* for their house is not far from this boarding school. Every day they commute from their house to *pesantren* or *nglaju* (Javanese). Along with the development of time the existence of *santri* in *pesantren* is being considered, especially in the educational process which has been marginalized.

Kyai and the staffs; these elements are of the same importance as *santri* because the *kyai* is the one who builds *pesantren*, and *pesantren* is an important place for the *kyai* to run his authority. Not all *kyai* have *pesantren*, but it is understandable that a *kyai* who has *pesantren* has greater influence than the one who does not.⁵⁸ *Kyai* is also the absolute source of power and authority. In education, the *kyai* and his staffs (*ustadh*) have authority in determining the vision and mission of the education. This becomes the weakness of *pesantren*, that people consider the way *kyai* and *ustadh* improvise the knowledge is not good.⁵⁹ Besides, the relationship of *kyai*, *ustadh* and their *santri* tend to one direction, in which the *santri* have to honor their teachers to get blessed knowledge.

KITAB KUNING PERSPECTIVE

The Concept of *Kitab Kuning*

Kitab Kuning and *pesantren* cannot be separated. Just like a coin, each side is united. The existence of *Kitab Kuning* in *pesantren* is very important and considered to be one element which builds the *pesantren*, besides *kyai*, *santri*, mosque, and *pondok*.⁶⁰ This can be proved that *Kitab Kuning* is dominant in *pesantren*, it is not only the source of knowledge but also of life. It is the standard of knowledge as well as faithfulness.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 52.

⁵⁸ Endang Turmudi (2004), *op.cit.*, p. 29.

⁵⁹ Nurcholish Madjid (1974), *op.cit.*, p. 3-4.

⁶⁰ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 44.

⁶¹ Nasuha Chozin (1985), *Epistemologi Kitab Kuning Dalam Pesantren*, Jakarta: P3M, p. 2.



Considering the fact, it is understandable that *Kitab Kuning* becomes the tradition in “cultural *santri*” in Indonesian society. As the tradition, *Kitab Kuning* lives in people’s history. The bound of *pesantren* and *Kitab Kuning* is very tight that it becomes a strict tradition. The teaching of *Kitab Kuning* is irreplaceable although there are many critics from inside and outside *pesantren*.

In a terminology, the meaning of *Kitab Kuning* has not put in the dictionary and encyclopedia, but the general meaning for the *pesantren* observer is the religious books that discussed the aspects of Islamic studies used classical Islamic writing method.⁶² The name of *Kitab Kuning* becomes popular along with the growth of people’s interest to *pesantren* life which is said to be traditional. According to Ali Yafie, *Kitab Kuning* is the absolute element in teaching and learning process in *pesantren*. The term of *Kitab Kuning* was not known when *pesantren* was still closed from other culture.⁶³

In fact, the religious books used in *pesantren* are written in Arabic. The alphabets are without phonetic sign (*harakat, shakl*). It is usually printed on cheap papers and the color is yellow.⁶⁴ Therefore it is called *Kitab Kuning*, and because it does not have phonetic sign it is called *Kitab Gundul* (Bald Religious Book). In the Middle East, this religious book is called *Kutub al-Qadimah* (classical religious book) one set with *Kutub al-`Asriyah* (modern religious book).⁶⁵

In the shape, usually *Kitab Kuning* is smaller than letter size and it is not bound. In every four pages, it contains four writings, and the writings are folded into one. All folded papers are covered in free lace paper. This is easier for the *santri* to learn, because they can take only the paper that they want. From the content, *Kitab Kuning* contains Islamic studies, such as, *fiqh, tasawwuf, hadith, tawhid* and *tarikh*. Besides, there is other supporting knowledge, especially about language, *nahw, saraf, balaghah, `arudh* and *mantiq*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶³ Ali Yafie (1994), *Menggagas Fiqh Sosial: Dari Segi Lingkungan Hidup, Asuransi Hingga Ukhwah*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 51.

⁶⁴ Nasuha Chozin (1985), *op.cit.*, p. 142.

⁶⁵ Ali Yafie (1994), *op.cit.*, p. 52.

The standard religious books among Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah is called *Kutub al-Mu'tabarah*. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Kitab Kuning* used in *pesantren* is divided into (1) *nahw* and *saraf*, (2) *fiqh*, (3) *usul al-fiqh*, (4) *hadith*, (5) *tafsir*, (6) *tawhid*, (7) *tasawwuf* and ethics, (8) other branches like *tarikh*, and *balaghah*.⁶⁶

From the age, usually the age of *Kitab Kuning* is about a hundred year; even some of them have been attained the age of thousand years. Yet, it does not mean that *Kitab Kuning* does not regenerate, as said by Ali Yafie that until 1994 there were many religious teacher composed religious book resembling *Kitab Kuning*.⁶⁷

From the writing method, especially about the scope of discussion, *Kitab Kuning* can be divided into three kinds:

1. *Matan*; it is a brief composition containing the principle and main problems of a certain *fan* (knowledge of study). To keep the brevity, *matan* does not contain of al-Qur'an or the prophet reference or arguments about the questions inside. Most of *matan* are written in the form of prose, such as *al-Tanbiyah*, *al-Taqrif*, *al-Minhaj*, *al-Jurumiyah*, etc.⁶⁸
2. *Sharah* is a book written as the explanation of *matan*. Difficult terms in *matan* are explained using their synonyms or their definitions. Statements in *matan* are added with supporting verses or arguments, comments, critics or corrections. Implicit meanings are expressed more explicitly in terms of their explanations and consequences, extensions, exceptions and limitations. Similar to *sharah*, *hashiyah* also give comments in form of support, critics or correction over the existing statements. For example, *Sharah al-Mahalli* over *al-Minhaj*, *Sharah Ibn 'Aqil* over *Alfiyah*, *Sharah al-Hudhudi* over *Umm al-Barahin*, etc. In *Shari'ah*, explanation is given in *matan*'s editorial and is published completely and generally. The explanation is given in line with the *matan* that forms both *matan* and *sharah* as an integrated book.
3. *Hashiyah* is an additional explanation given over *sharah* and *matan* with wider and deeper range of information. *Hashiyah* usually

⁶⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁷ Ali Yafie (1994), *op.cit.*, p. 51-53.

⁶⁸Bruinessen, Martin van (1995), *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 141.



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contains comparison between the explanation of books being *hashiyah*-ed and the explanation of other relevant books. Similar to *sharah*, *hashiyah* also gives comments in form of support, critics or correction over the existing statements. *Hashiyah* does not include *sharah*'s complete editorial as it only includes certain important explanations. *Sharah* or *matan*'s sentences, which will be discussed, are quoted and placed between brackets, preceded by a word *qawluh*. For example, *Hashiyah al-Qalyubi* over *Sharah al-Mahalli*, *Hashiyah al-Khudari* over *Sharah Ibn 'Aqil*, *Hashiyah al-Sarqawi* over *Sharah al-Hudhudi*, etc.

From the surface's point of view, *Kitab Kuning* follows particular patterns, i.e. several books - *matan*, *sharah* and *hashiyah* - are combined in a book. *Matan*, having been combined with its *sharah*, is put in the edge part of each page, while the *hashiyah*, having longer explanation than the combination of *matan* and *sharah*, is put in the middle part. In some cases, *sharah* and *matan* as the main books are put between two *hashiyahs*, for example, *Hashiyah Ibn 'Arafah* and *Hashiyah Abu al-Sha'adat* over *al-Tahzib*, *Sharah Ubayd Allah al-Khabisi* over *al-Tahzib* written by Taftazani. Between each text, there is a dividing line serving as limit.

Generally, books read as *daras* books serve as *matan* for beginners, and the combination of *sharah* and *matan* is for the higher level *santris*. While *hashiyah*, instead of being used completely as instruction materials, usually is used as additional reference for those who want to learn deeper or as an additional explanation of materials discussed in *matan* and *sharah*.

The Significance of *Kitab Kuning* in *Pesantren*

Generally, from the point of view of modern and common life, *pesantren* is viewed as a subculture in developing a unique life patterns.⁶⁹ Beside the leadership of the *kyai*, *Kitab Kuning* is one of the important factors characterizing the subculture, which functions as reference of universal values in *pesantren*'s neighbourhood.

So far, there has not been any holistic philosophical responsibility for the use of *Kitab Kuning* as their reference of universal values. It has

⁶⁹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1986), *op.cit.*, p. 44-55.





just been a while that the explanation from *pesantren* aroused; for instance, the explanation given by Abdurrahman Wahid, Ali Yafie, Masdar F Mas'udi, Sahal Mahfudz, Tholhah Hasan, Chozin Chumeidi and Malik Madany.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, their explanations contain critics and evaluation, that they serve more as a representative of modern *pesantren*. Here, a more serious review needs to be conducted to comprehend the paradigm of what is behind the conservation and instruction of permanent *Kitab Kuning*. The reason to choose *Kitab Kuning* may be formulated in consideration of the Islamic intellectual tradition development in Indonesia.

In addition, Mas'udi tries to analyze this issue from a more internal point of view of *pesantren* life related to the view of *pesantren* people about knowledge. For them, knowledge is derived only by transformation and inheritance, and it cannot be created. In a *Kitab Kuning* used a the *santris'* reference, *Ta'lim al-Muta'alim Tariq al-Ta'allum*, it is said that knowledge is something that you get from what *rijals* (teachers/ *kyais*) say because they have memorized the best parts of what they listen well and they have delivered the best parts of what they have memorized.⁷¹

In *pesantren*, they indeed acknowledge different method of acquiring knowledge other than through transmission. However, the way that they acknowledge is less rational and is more superficial in the process of direct relationship between 'human' and 'The Knowledgeable' which resemble the process of revelation. *Pesantren* people call it *ladunni* knowledge. Thus, *pesantren* people see knowledge as something sacred that is far from speculation and deception. This view may occur as a result of their understanding on al-Hadith: *al-'Ulama' Warathat al-Anbiya'* (Religious scholar is the heir of the Prophets). Due to such rigorous and un-dynamic view of knowledge, the instruction conducted in *pesantren* is always a stereotype or the repetition of religious teacher's words. In this case, there are always two related and expected consequences that will occur. First, homogeneity (similarity) is one of the distinct characteristics. Although difference does exist, it is only in the use of expression (or the example). Second, *Kitab Kuning* as the (previous) religious scholars'

⁷⁰ Ali Yafie (1989), "Kitab Kuning: Produk Peradaban Islam", in *Pesantren*, 1989, p. 2-11.

⁷¹ Masdar F. Mas'udi (1988), "Pandangan Hidup 'Ulama Indonesia dalam Literatur Kitab Kuning", article presented in the Seminar Nasional Tentang Pandangan Dan Sikap Hidup Ulama Indonesia. Jakarta: LIPI, p. 1-3.



products that can give direct information about the revelation's wordings functions as the center, while the *kyais* who explain the book serve as the subordinate, or even just as a tool (who does not have the right to evaluate it).⁷²

Some of the above reasons are enough to clarify why *Kitab Kuning* is so important in *pesantren*. However, for some *pesantren* people, those reasons seem less idealistic. Those reasons make the value of *Kitab Kuning* in the *pesantren* development context seem static. In fact, can the existence and the development of *Kitab Kuning* serve as dynamic factor for Indonesian? In respond to this issue, Ali Yafie says that *Kitab Kuning*'s role as one of the essential elements of *pesantren* instruction is very important for the process of intellectual and morality righteousness formation (similarity quality) on the *santris*' personality.⁷³

In several articles, Abdurrahman Wahid writes about the dynamic development of *Kitab Kuning* in *pesantren*. In his opinion, *Kitab Kuning* is one important factor in the formation of knowledge tradition that has the characteristic of *fiqh-sufistic* under the support of instrumental knowledge including the cultural knowledge (humanistic). In a more complex sense, what was achieved by *Kyai Ihsan Jampes* through his work *Siraj al-Talibin and Manahij al-Imdad* which, respectively, are the comments for *Minhaj al-'Abidin and Irshad al-'Ibad* are the examples of intellectual achievement which count on *Kitab Kuning*. *Manahij al-Imdad* is once again proven to be able not only to apply *tasawwuf* completely, but also to understand religion completely.⁷⁴ The problem is, *pesantren* should be able to create new innovations in transforming *Kitab Kuning* in line with the modern intellectual tendency.

From the above explanation, some views about the significance of *Kitab Kuning* in *pesantren* can be clearly seen. The power of *Kitab Kuning* among the *pesantren* people is one reference which content is unquestionable. Written in classical time, the use of *Kitab Kuning* from time to time has proven that it bears the undeniable truth for a long

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Ali Yafie (1989), *op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Marzuki Wahid (1988), "Principle of Pesantren Education", in Oepen, Manfred and Karcher, Wolfgang (eds.), *The Impact of Pesantren in Education and Community Development in Indonesia*, Jakarta: P3M, p. 411.

history time. *Kitab Kuning* (believed as the theory provider and with such teaching method of its content) is formulated by religious scholars based on al-Qur'an and al-Hadith, which makes it as a reference with support of the existence of both sources and even they put both source's teaching into practice. The belief upon al-Qur'an and al-Hadith as the revelation of Allah gives impression as though both sources cannot be treated and appreciated carelessly, and the safest way to understand both sources, as well as to prevent a self-misunderstanding and self-incorrectness, is by learning through *Kitab Kuning*. This is because the content of *Kitab Kuning* is the ready explanation and the manifestation of both sources, which have been prepared by *mujtahids* who has fulfilled all the requirements to formulate the law enforcement of Holy Qur'an and al-Hadith. Second, an emerging fact in the last three decades is that *Kitab Kuning* for *pesantren* to facilitate deep understanding process in order to formulate a fresh but nor historical explanation related to Islamic studies, al-Qur'an and al-Hadith. *Kitab Kuning* reflects growing and bearing religious idea along the length of Islamic civilization history. In making a permanent *pesantren* as an Islamic center, keeping and even enrichment of *Kitab Kuning* must become the main characteristic because by mastery the *Kitab Kuning* only, serious development of Islamic studies will not stop in Indonesia.

***Kitab Kuning* Ontology**

In fact, many *Kitab Kuning* have been taught in *pesantren*; however, in general, the contents of *Kitab Kuning* which are circulated in *pesantren* are dominated by *fiqh* (Islamic law). It does not mean that the tradition of science growing in *pesantren* limited to this discipline only. From around 900 *Kitab Kuning* circulating in the area of *pesantren*, it is only around 20 % constituting *fiqh*. The rest, concerning other disciplines, such as; 17 % of *Aqidah (Usul al-Din)*, 12 % of Arabic (*Nahw, Saraf, Balaghah*), 8 % of *Hadith*, 7 % of *Tasawwuf*, 6 % of morals, prayer guidance, passage of al-Qur'an, 5 % of *Mujabarat* and 6 % praises masterpiece of matters pertaining to prophet (*qisas al-anbiya', mawlid, manaqib*).⁷⁵

To conclude, there are only two growing main disciplines, *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*, added by Arabic discipline. Upon looking at an intellectual tradition developing in *pesantren*, teaching of *fiqh* is rather important or

⁷⁵ Bruinessen, Martin van (1995), *op.cit.*, p. 228-229.

the most important in every Islamic educational institution. Eventhough at the beginning, even at the late of 17th century Islam in Indonesia is more coloured by *tasawwuf* teaching. This, of course relates to the role of an adventurer mystical in the spreading of Islam.⁷⁶

In its development, *pesantren* adds *usul al-fiqh* discipline. This is an important part to strengthen study of *fiqh* itself. At this phase, an understanding of the dynamic understanding of *fiqh* in *pesantren* starts to be replaced by the *Kitab Kuning* of *usul al-fiqh*. The tradition of *pesantren* science is complemented with epistemology, *manhaj*, Islamic law enabling *Muslim* students to harmonize Islamic law in accordance with the public development. However, it needs to be noted that in harmonization, it does not constitute *ijtihad* yet, regarding that in practice it only takes benefit from discretion of alternative (*qawl*) which is provided by a number of *Kitab Kuning*.

One of the characteristics of *Kitab Kuning* mostly presents different perspectives about certain problems in the scope of four *fiqh* streams. In this perspective the tradition of *pesantren* has flexibility as shown by their attitudes so far. Using their knowledge on *usul al-fiqh*, deciding a choice among many options for *pesantren* dwellers is usually done more freely, with mature considerations; especially when it deals with various assignments and social life.

CHALLENGES AND BARRIERS IN EDUCATION OF FUTURE PESANTREN

Society has expected a high quality *pesantren* which is able to meet their challenges and expectations. It is expected to be capable of giving something that reflects consumers' need. However, it cannot be brought to reality easily because improving its quality is more to a long process than just a sudden change. As one of educational alternatives, *pesantren* is facing bigger, more complex and tighter challenges every day due to the rise of development's need as well as science and technology. This challenge brings about friction's value in terms of both learning source and educational operation. In addition, *pesantren* itself has some weaknesses. For that reason, by minimizing those weaknesses makes it

⁷⁶ Azyumardi Azra (1989), *Islam di Asia Tenggara, Pengantar Pemikiran*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, p. 15.

easier to optimize its role in society. The weaknesses are: i) Management of operation. The operation of *pesantren* should represent applicative and flexible management; ii) Cadre formation on *Pesantren*'s staff; iii) Weak democracy and disciplinary. It deals with its independent status a lot; iv) *Pesantren*'s cleanliness.⁷⁷ There are some others weaknesses; i) Society see a *pesantren* as a secondary level class and it only discusses religion; ii) It shorts of experts, especially those on social science; iii) The lack of good facilities, especially dormitory and study rooms; iv) Fatalistic attitude dominates its dwellers; v) Some dwellers are introvert (exclusive).⁷⁸

Islamic institutions make their commitments clearer as the effort of making them qualified to be labeled Islamic. Socially, *pesantren* has been playing an important role in the Islamic spreading in Indonesia. It becomes a formal media of socialization where norms and values of Islam are transmitted and planted in the teaching and learning process. It also plays a role on the development of Islamic rules and orthodox maintenance.⁷⁹ *Pesantren* is merely an example of bachelor's tradition and Islamic traditional thoughts in Indonesia now. However, it is the one who keeps the oldest bachelorism ever in Indonesia and in other Malay areas.

The development of *pesantren* includes the development of Islamic science whose credibility is equal to those in Western countries; though it does not mean that science of religion, social, humanity exacts and others can be neglected. Its educational taxonomy should be immediately formed with a hard effort and strict commitments; or else, it will be unable to stand on its own feet in society for its education is usually related to job vacancy. This can also results in freeing *pesantren* education from consumer's hegemony, especially in economic perspective.

Gradually, *pesantren* comes into industrial and modern society who thinks rationally, dynamically, competitively and intellectually reliable. They are required to express themselves by producing writing

⁷⁷ Departemen Agama RI. (2003), *Pondok Pesantren dan Madrasah Diniyah Petumbuhan dan Perkembangannya*, Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kelembagaan Agama Islam, 2003), p. 18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷⁹ Mujamil Qomar (2004), *Dekonstruksi Tradisi Pemikiran Islam Beberapa Agenda Alternatif Pemikiran Paradigmatik Bagi Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, Tulungagung: STAIN, p. 36.

works, and it can be passed down to the next generations after a long period of time. Unfortunately, the number of authors and mainly writers is not proportional. There are lots of them, but the professional ones are few. Hence, *pesantren* has to produce a new formation which is in line with the development's need and sci-tech improvement as long as it does not contradict the faith and devotion to Allah S.W.T. The students should not merely 'memorize', but 'think'.

A 'think' profile is different and even in the opposite of 'memorize' profile in many ways. A thinker has a habit to observe, criticize, protest, give alternatives, find alternatives, find solutions and change strategy. Thinker's movements are more to digging, inventing and developing something. On the contrary, a person who simply memorize has a habit to accept, deliver and keep the knowledge he/she has.⁸⁰ The latter has been major in *pesantrens*. Therefore, there should be some changes on certain indicators as to make *pesantren* play important role in society, rural and urban. Those indicators are: *first*, the students are not merely learning to be a *kyai*, further, they are taught to improve themselves using new learning sources due to the rapid development in the system of communication and education. Internet might be needed as one of learning source alternatives as long as it is not out of our *'aqidah, shari'ah*, value, moral, religion in our daily lives. *Secondly*, *pesantren* is as informal and private educational institution. The term 'private' has been deleted from SISDIKNAS Law, as a new paradigm in national education.⁸¹ Hence, educational apparatus have the same right, democratic, equal and non-discriminative. All those things require a hard effort and restless strive. In order that, *pesantren* must hold a formal education, like Islamic School, Public School, and College (it turns out that these kinds of school has been realized). It is intended to make the students considered equally in society in terms of knowledge mastery, even though the label Islamic has to be there, that is: the teaching on classic religious books. Both should be put on the same level otherwise, the forming of *insan kamil* who is devoted and smart will never be perfectly done. *Thirdly*, those changes make the students need diplomas and assignments for certain expertise as to direct them mastering certain job. In this modern era, *barakah* and *karamah* are not enough. They have been the root of Javanese; however, it causes an over attitude

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸¹ Endang Turmudi (2004), *op.cit.*, p. 108.

which is actually not allowed in Islamic perspective.⁸²

CONCLUSION

There are some aspects suggested as a relevant reconstruction in the system of education in *pesantren*, they are: the educational management, educational methodology and educational curriculum. So far, the educational management looks undeveloped, not well-organized, and there is no clear educational concept. In this case, *pesantren* is able to anticipate with the development outside; it can work together with institutions which are considered capable of giving contribution and create transforming atmosphere, for instance: Social Department, Cooperation Department, District Government, Society Association, Women Association and Manpower Department, etc. It is intended that they can help *pesantren* to develop its human resource as to face more complex contemporary challenges.

Educational Methodology; in the teaching and learning process, there are some aspects in *pesantren* that apply traditional orientation⁸³ which emphasize on main handouts; subsequently, it is narrowed down into *fiqh*. This model is quite dominant compared to overview of *usul fiqh*, logic (*mantiq*), *tafsir*, *hadith*, philosophy or *muqaranah al-madhahib*. The solution is to change the induction system into deduction system, i.e developing overview assisting the understanding of basic knowledge and later on, it is implemented in particular overview and developed in process of logic, thinking, creativity and dynamic in understanding Islam more contextually than just doctrinally.

Educational Curriculum; Nurcholish Madjid thinks that in terms of curriculum, *pesantren* develops more on religion, even the subjects are delivered in Arabic. The subjects are: *fiqh* (mainly), *'aqa'id*, *nahw*, *saraf* (is important as well), etc. Meanwhile, *tasawwuf* and religiosity which should be put first tend to be neglected.⁸⁴ Most teachings in *pesantren* refer to *madhhab* al-Shafi'i and less accommodates other *madhhab*. There is little concern with rational aspect in making conclusion in law (*istinbat*) and formal legality from the source. They are less implemented. *Pesantren*

⁸² Departemen Agama RI. (2003), *Pondok Pesantren*, p. 37.

⁸³ Yasmadi (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 79.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*.

should implement more on cross *madhhab* (*muqaranah al-madhahib*). It should also re-evaluate and reconstruct *Kitab Kuning*. Less exposure to social knowledge is one of the weaknesses a *pesantren* has. This makes students' capability limited and less considered in society.⁸⁵

However, it will not be realized if the school does not have the spirit of development and if it keeps the assumptions that *pesantren* is just an alternative, eliminated, isolated, exclusive and conservative institution. *Pesantren* should be a compatible educational institution and as the producer of religion teachers who are intellectual and strengthen basic education in accordance with world change and is able to adapt itself with a global reason. It is the time for *Pesantren* to adopt new aspects (*khalifiyah*) while still keeping its authentic value (*salafiyah*). It is clear that later, there is a convergent process between public education paradigms and traditional system, the original *Pesantren* paradigm.

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⁸⁵ Abdul Munir Mul Khan (2004), "Pesantren Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin", dalam *Lagzis*, No. 5. Th. V – Mei 2004, p. 4-5.

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