Globethics Repository



World View and Islamic Education in Indonesia

This page was generated automatically upon download from the Globethics Repository. More information on Globethics see https://www.globethics.net. Data and content policy of Globethics Repository see https://repository.globethics.net/pages/policy.

Item Type	Journal volume
Authors	Mansurnoor, Lik
Publisher	International Islamic University of Malaysia
Rights	With permission of the license/copyright holder
Download date	2026-11-11 18:47:36
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/222922

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

EDUCATION AND ISLAM COLLECTION

DOC. NO: 548

TITLE : WORLD VIEW AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

AUTHOR(S): LIK MANSURNOOR

SOURCE TITLE: MUSLIM EDUCATION QUARTERLY

VOLUME: VOL. 7

ISSUE: NO. 2

YEAR: 1990

PAGES: 21 – 33

Library
International Islamic University

Muslim education quarterly

548

Published quarterly in Autumn, Winter, Spring and Summer.

Winter Issue 1990, Vol. 7, No. 2

Editor
Syed Ali Ashraf
Assistant Editor
Shaikh Abdul Mabud

Managing Committee
Chairman : Syed Ali Ashraf
Secretary : Shaikh Abdul Mabud

Editorial Advisory Board

Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	Rector, Darul Ulum Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow, India.
Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr	University Professor of Islamic Studies, George Washington Universtiy, U.S.A.
Prof. S.M. al-Naquib al-Attas	Director, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation, International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
Dr. Omar Azzam	Architect, Egypt and U.K.
Prof. Abdur Rahman I. Doi	International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
Prof. Tosun Bayrak	Professor of Fine Arts, Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Prof. Muhammad Abul-Wafa El-Taftazani	Vice President, University of Cairo, Egypt.
Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami	Ex-Professor of History and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh, Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed	Iqbal Visiting Fellow, University of Cambridge, U.K.
Dr. Anwar Dil	Professor of Language Science and Communication, United States International University, San Diego, California U.S.A.

Subscription Rates

Private Subscriber	£12.50 per annum, including postage.
Institution	£15.50 per annum, including postage.
Single issue	£3.90

REFERENCE ONLY
RUJUKAN SAHAJA

©World Copyright: The Islamic Academy

ISSN 0267-615x
Published and distributed by The Islamic Academy, 23 Metcalfe Road, Cambridge CB4 2DB, U.K.
Tel: (0223) 350976
Advertisements may be sent to: The Islamic Academy, 23 Metcalfe Road, Cambridge, CB4 2DB, U.K.
Typesetting and Printing by: Nurin Enterprise, P.O Box 11552, 50750 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

WORLD VIEW AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

Iik Mansurnoor

Introduction

Although Indonesia is the most populous Muslim nation in the world, it has not as yet received extensive study in terms of Muslim dynamism and activities.[1] The popular and loosely interpreted Islam followed by a large segment of the population, the lack of intellectual creativity on the part of Indonesian *ulamās* (religious scholars) and the ambivalent nature of Muslim educational institutions are among factors contributing to this state of affairs. The poor performance of Muslim intelligentsia, particularly before the 1950's, was caused not only by the inherent traditionalism and 'theologically' oriented Islamic educational system, but also by the deliberate policy of the Dutch to leave the indigenous population as a whole backward and illiterate.[2]

As in many other countries in Asia, religions in Indonesia have played an important role in providing education for the masses. Although only a handful of individuals had the opportunity to pursue the higher level and become literate, the public still benefited considerably from religious institutions. When the Dutch assumed first trade relations then power over the country, generally speaking, from the 18th century until 1945, religious education seems to have enjoyed relative independence. Moreover, the indifference of the Colonial regime to marketing modern education helped strengthen such a tendency, that is to say, religious education continued to attract a large number of the population. This was despite the fact that a few modern schools run by the Dutch by the end of the last century were the best ladder for social moblity at the time. They were, however, limited to preparing civil servants and clerks in the Colonial bureaucracy and offices. Therefore, the students were mostly children and relatives of the indigenous elite and chiefs. On the other hand, the better relationships between Indonesian Muslims and the contemporary centres of Islamic culture and education by the fourth quarter of the 19th century brought about reforms not only on social, religious and political aspects but also on education. New religious educational institutions were established, or at least new things were added to the slightly renovated old ones. The duality and dichotomy of education, religious and general, in Indonesia continues to the present day. Although the field and attraction of the religious, read Islamic, education have changed, it is developing with its own creativity, combination, adoption and tradition. Because of the complexity and diversity of Muslim educational institutions in Indonesia, this discussion will specifically refer to the study of the Muslims of Java. Yet, in general terms many features are common to the Indonesian context.

Javanese Muslims may be generally classified, as commonly used in Western literature, into the *santri* and *abangan*. The latter literally means the *red group*. This includes the Javanese who statistically identify themselves as Muslims, for instance, by performing their marriage contract under Islamic law, practicing circumcision for males and following popular religious festivities. The *abangan,* however, maintain many layers of the pre-Islamic culture and belief. They have been particularly influ-

enced by local religions, mysticism, Hinduism and Buddhism. One the other hand, the *santri* may be popularly called the Muslim community *(ummat Islām)*. This includes the Javanese who attempt to practise Islam according to the concept of the *ulamās*. Partly due to the tendency of the Javanese to follow their traditional pre-Islamic life styles, the *santri* have in many areas become a small minority socially and politically. In addition, the understanding and interpretation of Islam which were first adopted by the Javanese seems to have been a mixture of various religious elements that differed markedly from the Islam preached by the *ulamās*. When, by the seventeenth century, the 'Javanese Islam' became the ideology of the majority, some *ulamās* who came from, or were educated in, the Middle East and India probably endeavored to introduce 'orthodox', or bookish to be more precise, Islam through exclusive learning in the boarding schools *(pesantren), mosques or langgar*. The *pesantren*, as I will show, were apparently the remnants of the Hindu-Buddhist monastery *(ashram)* converted into Islamic educational institutions.

Primarily because of the insistence of the *ulamās* on maintaining Islamic education and rituals in Arabic, religious schooling became vital for understanding, preserving and propagating the religion as understood by the *ulamās*. This is not to deny however, that the absence of a priestly caste and tightly organised church made religious education the only effective way to advocate and maintain traditional Islam. As a result, whatever its rudimentary forms, some sort of schooling *(langgar* or *pesantren)* must have been established by the early Javanese Muslims. The main aim of these educational institutions was to indoctrinate children and the newly Islamised adults with simple religious tenets, and also to teach them how to read and memorize the Qur'ān, written in Arabic. The proliferation of these educational institutions created a demand for teachers and also a demand for education. Thus despite the zeal of the *ulamās* to impart knowledge to their co-religionists through religious educational institutions, the subjects offered were purely religious ones, and their concern was to breed a new generation of religiously minded persons. This is particularly evident if we consider that, following the victory of the traditionist-textualist theologians in winning official and mass support during the later part of the Abbasid caliphate (750-1258).Muslim education, contrary to the early period when Greek, Indian and Persian sciences were taught, became dominant, and was used as a means by the *ulamās* to enforce their rigid relegious ideas.[3] Since the *ulamās* who propagated Islam in Java had been the product of this genre of education, it is only natural that Muslim learning in Java was modelled upon this theologically-oriented education. These traditional educational institutions such as *pesantren, langgar* and *mosque* still function in Java today. Stimulated by among other things,the introduction of Western-style education to Indonesia since the later part of the 19th century, and its necessity for social mobility, some Indonesian, including Javanese, Muslims had by the turn of this century established *madrasas* patterned on Dutch public school, while maintaining religious instruction.[4]

Islamic Educational Institutions: Langgar, Mosque, Pesantren And Madrasa

Islamic education has been conducted at home, and in various religious institutions. as

well as private and public schools. In addition to the public schools, general education in Indonesia is served by private and other non-governmental institutions. Despite the popularity of general education, the Islamic learning system continues to occupy an important place among Muslims. This is evident in the endurance of traditional institutions like *langgar* and *pesantren* and the development of new ones such as the *madrasa* and Islamic school.

a. Langgar and Mosque

It is true that the mosque *(masjid)* and *langgar* are places for performing prayers and rituals, but they also provide Muslims with religious education. In almost every locality with a sizeable Muslim population at least a *langgar* is to be found. The size of the building is dependent on the prosperity of the inhabitants of the area, and perhaps also on their religiosity and piety. In certain areas with a *santri* majority, nearly all wealthy families have their own *langgar* for their members, workers and neighbors. Unlike the *langgar,* where minor religious festivities are held, the mosque is intended to serve the larger community. It is the place where the weekly religious activities, *(solat Jum'at)* as well as daily religious activities are held. Because of this function, the mosque attracts more attendants with diverse backgrounds. Benefiting from the daily gathering of a large number of Muslims in the *langgar* and mosque to perform their rituals, the *ulamās* or *kyais* prefer to give lectures and teach in the *langgar* and mosque. Instruction in the elementary form consists of Qur'ānic recitation, based on the booklet in which Arabic characters are printed with and without the vowels and other symbols.[5] Children first learn the Arabic alphabet. The instruction is given by the *kyai* or religious teacher *(guru ngaji),* even though senior pupils sometimes give assistance.[6] Teaching is carried out on an individual basis. The *guru ngaji* teaches the pupils who are seated on the floor around him/her in a circle or guadrangle. Each pupi waits his/her turn to receive intruction. They also frequently recite the Qur'ān, teache and student together, with a certain rhythm. Often, some families will have a special *guru ngaji's* house for instruction. On the whole, however, the instruction is given in the mosque or *langgar.* Children at the age of six may join the mosque education until they complete the reading of the Qur'ān. Instruction can be given for boys and girls together, or only for boys or only for girls. The *guru ngaji* are both male and female. Since they do not receive a salary, usually the economically better-off parents collect gifts and alms to be presented once a year, or they allocate certain endowments for them.

After a pupil has completed studying the Qur'ān, it is proper to demonstrate competence in reciting the Scripture at a ceremony attended by a student's parents and friends. If the candidate does not come from a very poor family, the ceremony is followed by a special meal, called *kataman* (literally completion). The aim of the *kataman* is the expression of gratitude. A prayer of congratulations and thanksgiving is uttered for the successful completion of reading of the Qur'ān. The *kataman* thus encourages other pupils, among others, to follow and complete their Qur'ānic instruction. In certain areas of Java, with the celebration of *kataman* is sometimes included a ceremony of circumcision, followed by a festival with a special food,

slametan (literally salvation and happiness). Before circumcision, the child demonstrates his ability in reciting the Qur'ān, which is considered an accomplishmen for the parents as well as the child.[7]

b. Madrasa

Madrasa is another form of Islamic educational institution which has progressed in many respects according to Western public schools in several regions in Java. The *madrasa* in a sense is the continuing school for the child who has mastered the introductory studies in the mosque or *langgar*. Those who want to go further and deeper into the study of Islamic teaching go to a madrasa, even though most of them, as we shall see presently, join a *pesantren*. *Madrasas* exist in most villages, and particularly in places where the government fails to establish better public schools these *madrasas* function as a substitute.[8] It is not unusual to find *madrasa* and public school coexisting in a village. The *madrasa* schooling thus is considered a 'modernised' form of Islamic religious instruction. The *madrasa* is divided into elementary *(Ibtida'īyah)* and secondary levels. At the secondary level, it is called Thānawīyah for the first three years and *Aliyah* for the second three years. Indeed, it is in the *madrasa,* rather than in *pesantren,* that the more modern ideas on education and schooling have generally had the most influence. The *madrasa* is more like a Western-style school than is the *pesantren* with its dormitory arrangement and traditional, unregulated, way of study. Over the last few decades, *madrasas* have grown very fast. They have been founded and maintained by local and national Islamic organizations, like the Nahdlatul Ulama, the Muhammadiyah, and Syafi'iyah.[9] *Madrasa* and *pesantren* basically offer similar religious instruction. Nevertheless, important differences exit, since the *madrasa* imposes discipline in regard to the years needed for graduation, the method of instruction, attendance, fees and the like. Because of the diversity of institutions involved in managing the *madrasas,* their identity varies. This is despite the Government attempts to establish uniformity among them. Some may be considered, on the basis of the percentage of the provision of non-religious instruction, as traditional *madrasas,* and others as modern ones. In general, however, teaching in the *madrasa,* either traditional or modern, puts a particular emphasis on the religious subjects and Arabic. Moreover, at the elementary *madrasas* the three R's (reading, writing, arithmetic) are given in Latin script, and other non-religious subjects, such as Geography, History, Physics and Mathematics are also taught.[10]

With the emergence of the nationalist movements at the turn of this century and the increasing number of the formally educated Muslims, not only did *madrasas* prosper and increase in number, but they developed in quality. More importantly, the foundation of many Islamic social organizations and the efforts of prominent individuals contributed to the efficiency and 'modernization' of many *madrasas.* For instance, the Muhammadiyah movement has been prominent, among others, in the development of the *madrasas,* especially since the Muhammadiyah has as its objective "the reform of Muslim corrupt lifeways" through modern Islamic education.[11] From its establishment in 1912, the Muhammadiyah as a small organization proclaimed the necessity of Islamic educational reform. This was realised by providing religious

instruction in the public, (Dutch) schools, and also by establishing schools in which both religion and other subjects were taught. Among the earliest schools set up by the Muhammadiyah was the *Mu'allimin,* a school for training male teachers and the *Mu'allimat* for female teachers, at the secondary levels. In addition to these schools, *Muballighīn,* for training male propagandists and *Muballighāt,* for female propagandists, were established. The first two schools, with different names and some modifications, are flourishing at the present time, and great numbers of students come to them from all over Java as well as the outer islands. The propagandist schools have been closed. By 1938 the Muhammadiyah organized 852 branches and 898 sub-branches with 250,000 members, and maintained 834 mosques and *langgars.* They opened 31 public libraries and 1,774 schools and employed 2,114 female and 5,516 male teachers. Although at the present it time is difficult to get actual data of the extent of the Muhammadiyah's *madrasas,* in 1962 it developed a network of *madrasas* which include instruction at the elementary, secondary and university levels.[12] The *madrasas* are generally named by various Arabic words, which usually indicated the level of the school or simply the identification of the school as a religious institution, such as Raudatul Aṭfāl, Awwalīyah, al-Azhar, Ṭāhiriyah etc. Sometimes the *madrasas* are identified by the Islamic organisation which sponsors their establishement, with names such a Persis, Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul 'Ulāmā'.

The curriculum in the *madrasa* is varied. It primarily depends on the origins and aims of the *madrasa.* The following subjects are more or less taught in most *madrasas.*

(I) *Pengetahuan Agama* (Religious Studies) include many subjects such as jurisprudence (Fiqh), perhaps the most important subject and therefore the most popular among the students, Qur'ānic exegesis, traditions and theology,(II) Arabic Language. The need of the Muslims to understand their religious teaching directly from the original sources, the Qur'ān and Hadīth, has led them to study the Arabic language. This is divided into various branches as independent subjects. Other foreign languages.such as Dutch, German and English are also taught.[13] After independence however Dutch ceased to be a popular subject among students, even though some old educated Indonesians, at least until the 1950's, were proud of inserting some Dutch words into their conversations.(III) *Pengetahuan Umum* (General Studies) includes Geography, Mathematics, National and World Histories, Biology, Physics and Natural Sciences.

Futhermore, with the changing and more favourable attitude of most Muslim parents towards the new education, tremendous attempts have been made by the Muslims, institutional or private, to establish schools where basic religious instruction forms only a minor part of the curriculum. These schools are generally patterned in many respects on the public schools. In a sense this institution is not uniquely Islamic, even though religious instruction is provided more intensively than in the government public school.

c. *Pesantren*

Pesantren sometimes called *pondok* or *pondok-pesantren,* literally means the residence

of *santri,*the place where the pupil pursues religious studies. The word *pondok* itself means hut, a rude or small house, hovel, cabin or dromitory. The term *santri (pesantren)* thus refers to the pupil who studies in the *pesantren.*[14] In this institution, the pupil receives various Islamic teaching, that is intellectual, mental, spiritual and physical training are emphasized. The *pesantren* is administered by one or more persons called *kyai* (religious teacher and venerable person). The *kyai* is considered as a teacher, trainer, guide and helper. Thus, the term *pesantren* as used in Java refers to the Islamic educational institution, or religious school

The elements of *pesantren* seem to be a mixture of indigenous and Middle Eastern styles of religious instruction. Clifford Geertz suggests that the generic name for the traditional school in Java is *pesantren,* a residence for religious students. A walled compound of student dormitories centers around a mosque, usually in a wooded glade at the edge of a village. The *pesantren* consists of the religious teacher and a number of young, and in most cases unmarried, male students, who chant from the Qur'ān, engage in mystical exercises, and seem generally to carry on the pre-existing Indic tradition with a slight and not very accurate Arabic, accent. Although these features no longer hold today, Geertz aptly provides a picture of old *pesantren.* Furthermore, Geertz rejects the opinion that the *pesantren* is similar to a monastery. He argues that *pesantren* is only superficially like a monastery, for the *santris* are not monks, since they have not made vows. The *santris* come to the *pesantren* when they wish, and leave it when they wish. While there, they are expected to lead a reasonable fascimile of the religious life, but they are not expected to dedicate themselves to it permanently. They are not men of extraordinarily powerful religious needs, who have decided to cut themselves of forever from secular existence and to devote themselves to the service of God. They are, according to Geertz, rather ordinary young men who have come away from ordinary village life to get a certain amount of elementary religious training and experience, and when they have this they will return home.[15]

According to the definition given by the Department of Religious Affairs, the *pesantren* is "The educational institution which has a complete compound where Islamic education and teaching is given at an advanced level and by individual instruction." The Department also categorizes the *pesantren* into three types, namely (A) the *santris* study and live together with the *kyai.* The curriculum is dependent on the *kyai;* and the method of teaching is individual and without regular classes or *madrasa* for study. (B) The *pesantren* is combined with *madrasa.*It has a definite curriculum. The teaching of the *kyai* is applicable to their life and the main teaching is in the *madrasa.* The *kyai* delivers general lectures to the *santris* at certain times. The *santris* live in the *pesantren* and attend the teaching of the *kyai* and study religious as well as secular subjects. (C) The *pesantren* is only a dormitory for the *santris,* they study in the *madrasa* or school outside the *pesantren.* The *kyai* thus functions as superintendent of spiritual instruction.[16]

Despite the lack of historical evidence on the development of *pesantren,* it is clear that it has kept segments of the Javanese within the Islamic community, and taught the religion of the *ulamā.* This probably made the *pesantren* attractive for many Javanese parents whose main concern was the maintenance of a distinct identity.

Nevertheless, the *pesantren* was not immune to the influence either of the

indigenous Javanese culture, or of Hinduism, or of Buddhism, which reached Java and had a strong impact on religious education. Scholars have argued that the *pesantren* is a Muslim-influenced form of educational institution derived from India.[17] It is older in origin than Islam, and as an educational institution which does not exist in contemporary Muslim countries, the *pesantren* points to a non-Islamic origin. While it is quite comparable to institutions which are still operating in Hindu India and Buddhist Burma and Thailand, the fact remains that the establishment of *pesantren* followed the spread of Islam in Java. Since Islamic teachings and rituals were in Arabic, the early preachers were forced to establish institutions for learning, whatever their primordial form might be, which served to inculcate the new religion to the converts. .

Furthermore, the prominent role of the *Sufis* (mystics) in the propagation of Islam in Java, enhanced the traditional educational institutions which might have been the precursor of *pesantren.* In order to have more authority these *Sufis* endeavored to win the local ruler's support, or they themselves established semi-autonomous governments in the peripheries of the country. For instance, prominent *Sufis* founded Sultanates in the northern coastal towns of Java, like Gersik, Demak, Banten and Cirebon. As these Sultanates grew and gained popularity, a large number of Muslims flocked to these centres to find jobs, and to study in their educational institutions. To enhance their fame and quality often these institutions invited or hired teachers from the contemporary educational centres in Arabia and India. Pesatren Ampel, built in the late fifteenth century, was perhaps the first organized *pesantren* in Java. Its founder, a *Sufis,* secured funds and support from the last Majapahit King, King Brawijaya.[18] Despite its strong local character, the *pesantren* was primarily a continuation of the Medieval practices among Muslim scholars in the centre to advocate religious learning. Indeed, the *pesantrens* were strongly influenced by the *kyais* who were mostly *Sufis.* In other words, the *pesantren* was an Islamic institution established by the *kyai* with an Islamic character adapted to Javanese culture.

Possibly because of the centrality of the Qur'ān, and not the priestly caste, in Islam *pesantren* had an important place in guiding the Javanese Muslims. Hence, its development became a priority for many members of the community. The growing number of the pilgrims to Makkah *(naik haji)* in the nineteenth century had a positive effect. The pilgrimage to Makkah was one of the most effective religious activities that nourished the community spirit of Islam.[19] A number of new religious leaders came increasingly from among those who returned from the pilgrimage. This resulted in the foundation of new *pesantrens* under the leadership of *pilgrim-kyais.* Although not all *kyais* had been to Makkah, most of the wealthy and well-known ones had. Conversely, not all pilgrims were *kyais.* In fact, the pilgrimage per se, did not offer anything in terms of knowledge and education, even though it might provide the pilgrims with a certain pride and identity as being 'pious' members of the community. The pilgrim, of course, experienced an important event of Muslim religious life in which many pilgrims ideally became more dedicated to Islam.

With the support and donations of members of the Muslim community, new mosques and lodgings were built in the *pesantren.* In some rich areas, it is not uncommon to find people giving an endowment to, or building a dormitory in the emerging *pesantren.* As a result, some buildings *(gotakans)* in the *pesantren* were

named after towns or districts, which signified the origin of the individuals who gave the building and the students *(santris)* who stayed there.[20] Thus, today we can still find, for example, "Gotakan Madura" at the Pesantren Tebuireng, where the *santris* from Madura region live together.

The *pesantren* was, and is, a place for continuation of studies for any pupil who wants to pursue further Islamic subjects. Because of this higher position, the *pesantren* often forms a large learning institution, and the subjects it offers may include all branches of Islamic studies such as Qur'ān recitation, Jurisprudence, Theology, Sufism, Arabic grammar and literature, Traditions and Qur'ānic sciences. Students may also learn the whole Qur'ān by heart. Since the Qur'ān is in Arabic, many *santris* do not understand its content and meaning. However, merely memorizing it becomes a symbol of pride and piety among traditional Muslims. Some *pesantrens* specialize in instructing certain religious subjects. The *pesantren's* character and method of teaching, however, is significantly influenced by the *kyais* themselves. Thus the inclination and perhaps skill of a *pesantren's* leaders determine its specialty. For example, *pesantren* Lirboyo, Jampes and Ploso are well-known for mysticism and Arabic. Tebuireng is well-known for Qur'ānic exegesis and Tradition. Buntet and Purwoasri are famous for 'physical education'. Gontor is known for modern instruction in Arabic and English. Many *pesantren* place great emphasis on the Qur'ānic sciences, such as the *pesantren* Lasem, Mangkuyudan and Banten.[21]

Because of the development and spread of modern education in Java, particularly after independence in 1945, a new type of *pesantren* has emerged. This can be seen in the establishment of such *pesantrens* as Gontor, Peterongan, Persis Bangil and Darul Falah. *Pesantren* Gontor is well known for language teaching, as we have seen Peterongan for mystical training and general instruction, Persis Bangil for Islamic Law and Darul Falah for the teaching of vocational skills, especially agriculture. These *pesantrens* may to some extent be considered 'modern' institutions since the teaching has been adapted to modern methods. For example, the curriculum is fixed and classes are regularised. Nevertheless, most *pesantrens* do not have a fixed and standardised curriculum; instead *santris* are free to choose their own subjects, as well as follow any instructor in the *pesantren*. It is not surprising, therefore, that some students learn many subjects, while others learn almost nothing. Consequently, some successfully master their subjects in a relatively short time. Because of the unorganised educational system in most of the *pesantrens*, some students may become learned scholars of Islamics. Many of them, however, may remain in *pesantrens* for years without acquiring much knowledge at all.

During the last two decades, classes which provide general instruction parallel to the public schools have been established in many *pesantrens*. Thus, besides learning religion, primarily outside these classes, many *santris* are prepared to compete with other graduates of the public schools, but since the instruction has been generally less adequate, the *santris* find it hard to gain admission to the best universities in the country.

The students of *pesantrens* may be divided into two groups, regular and irregular. Irregular *santris* are those who no not pursue their studies for long periods. They come to *pesantrens* and stay there temporarily. Occasionally they will go to a *pesantren* to

attend lectures by the *kyai* in certain subjects. Most of them are graduates of various educational institutions, sometimes even from universities. Some of them are crop-producers, labourers, traders, businessmen and workers at various jobs.[22] In some *pesantrens* the number of irregular *santris* may be larger than the regular *santris*. Although many wish to study with the *kyai,* their major interest is their initial professions. The irregular *santris* may stay and study in *pesantren* for a few months, return home for some time, and then come back to the *pesantren* for another period. During certain seasons the number of such *santris* increases; usually during the month of fasting (Ramadan) the largest number of irregular *santris* gather around the *kyais* for study. The large number of the irregular *santris* may be due to the fact that many *santris* cannot afford to stay in a *pesantren* for the whole year. They leave the *pesantren* in order to earn money and support themselves by working temporarily in the rice-fields or in other occupations. When they have enough money they will go back to the *pesantren.* Some *santris* frequently work in the *kyai's* rice-field. In many *pesantrens,* students work for the *kyai* in return for food and extra money. Because of dedication to the *kyai* and for his performance in study, a *santri* is at times asked to marry the *kyai's* daughter, or at least his relative. In addition, irregular *santris* include *santri kalong* (lit. 'bat student') who come to see the *kyai* only at night and sleep in the *pesantren* or in the mosque. In the daytime they return to their homes to work. These *santris* usually live in the villages close to the *pesantren.*[23]

The regular *santris* are those whose main interest is in learning. They live in the *pesantren* and spend most of their time in study. It is this second group of *santris* that we may call students. The *santris* generally start their studies in the *pesantren* at the age of thirteen or fourteen, sometimes even earlier. As a rule study in *pesantren* is open to children after the completion of their elementary school or *madrasa,* or after attending instruction in the mosque, *langgar* or minor *pesantren* in their village. Many students have acquired only introductory instruction in the mosque or *langgar.* In most *pesanten* there are no formal admission requirements. As soon as *santris* reach the *pesantren* they can attend any kyai's lectures, and can choose any subjects they wish. In 'modern' *pesantrens,* however, the *kyais* have established requirements for admission, such as an ability to write Arabic, completion of at least elementary school, and payment of a tuition fee. Due to the irregularities of admission, some *santris* are children, young boys, some adults and some old men. Young *santris* usually study the elementary level of Islamic subjects or study only Qur'ānic recitation. The advanced *santris* study *kitab* (religious books/texts) written in Arabic.

Most *pesantrens* set to time-limit for *santris* to complete their studies. The *santris* themselves decide how long to continue their studies. Moreover, the *santris* are free to choose any subjects or not to take any. It is up to the *santri,* and often parents decide what they study and for how long. The student also determines what kind of *kitab* to read. Some *santris* move from one *kyai* to another. They may remain with one *kyai* for years; or move from one *pesantren* to another within a year. There is no uniform age at which *santris* finish their studies in *pesantren.* It depends on the personal circumstance and choice of the *santri.*

The relationship among *santris* is very close. They follow a life of mutual help and cooperation, even though they come from different provinces, islands and ethnic

groups. Their mother tongues are also different, but primarily because of their shared life, they are brought closer to each other and feel like members and a family. The novices respect the senior *santris*. Not only do they help each other materially, but they also exchange experiences, as they often gather to discuss diverse topics. The junior *santris* do not hesitate to ask help of the santris who are more experienced in matters of learning.

Despite the diversity of *pesantrens* in Java, they have common features such as living together in a dormitory, religious learning, rural location, freedom of movement and the centrality of the *kyai*. With the attempts of many *ulamas* and *kyais* to reform pesantrens in line, more or less, with modern education, the new generation of *pesantrens* have become popular, even though the traditional ones continue to attract many *santris*. The following is a short description of a famous *pesantren* in East Java. Pesantren Tebuireng was founded by Hasyim Asy'ari (d. 1949) in 1899. The property of the early institution consisted of a simple dwelling house where the young *kyai* and a small number of *santris* lived together. After several years of hard work, the pesantren was completed with the construction of a mosque, several dormitories and a building for instruction. Then by the 1920's hundreds of *santris* came from all over Java to attend the *kyai's* lectures and other classes.[24]

Hasyim Asy'aris accomplishment can best be understood by looking at his typical daily schedule. In the early morning, before dawn, he prayed in the mosque with his *santris*. Around 6:30 in the morning the lecture for the advanced *santris,* which lasted until 10:00 took place in his house. At least two and half hours were taken for a break, in which the *kyai* might read, write or meet visitors. In the afternoon, instruction throught the didactic method started until 9:00 in the evening with two breaks mainly for prayers. During the month of Ramadan special lectures designed for the public and irregular *santris* were given.

Madrasas were opened in the *pesantren* only in the second quarter of this century. These *madrasas* were divided into two parts. First, the Secondary (Thānawiyah) A, where religious subjects comprised 75% of the material and 25% was devoted to general subjects; second, the Secondary B, where 25% was assigned to religious subjects and 75% to secular subjects. This progress was advocated primarily by Hasyim's son Wahid. Since the late 1960's Tebuireng has owned a college with three Faculties.

Conclusion

The *santri* Muslims in Java want not only an education to prepare students for a better worldly life, but also an education that will foster piety and commitment to the *santri* tradition. As in many other countries, religious education was functional in Java before the introduction of Western-style education to the region. Due partly to the Dutch colonial policy, which created hatred and opposition especially among Muslims, and partly to the tendency of the *ulamas* to restrict learning to purely religious subjects, the limited modern education promoted by the Dutch failed to attract the majority of the *santri* Muslims. Furthermore, the limitation of access to Dutch-run schools to small segments of the society, and the unwillingness of Muslim parents to send their children

to Christian missionary schools, left most of the Javanese Muslims uneducated. It is true that by the turn of the twentieth century many Muslim leaders attempted to 'modernise' some aspects of Islamic education. But the fact remains that this effort was very limited and eclectic. In other words, only a few followed reforms and the content of the reformed institutions was heavily coloured by a religious bias. Many Muslim leaders believed that Islamic education could function as an alternative to the secular system. This reflected not only the central position of religion in Muslim life, but also the tendency of many Muslims to over-glorify their past, which usually focused on the success of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and his four Guided Successors as well as the glories of the early Abbasid period. For them the only solution to correcting the prevailing debacle and backwardness was to follow strictly those past examples. This generally meant practising Islam as understood by the medieval *ulamas*. As a result Islamic education, as we have shown, was designed primarily to create individuals who understood and practised religion in its most ideal form.

Right from the start, the Indonesian Government sought to make education available to all its citizens, ninety per cent of whom were illiterate at the time of independence. Because of the lack of funds, and in its attempts at winning the support of traditional and religious leaders, the Government encouraged inter alia Islamic educational instutions to develop. In fact, in many strong *santri* areas, these institutions eclipsed the public schools. On the other hand, the maintenance of purely traditional religious educational institutions in large number had the effect in perpetuity of many Muslim youths being trained in disciplines that made them unfamiliar with the demands of modern life. It is true that the reformed Islamic institutions like *madrasas* in many areas which did not have public schools played an important role in introducing changes and new ideas to the population. Nonetheless, most of these institutions did not follow a modern curriculum and methodology. In addition, the reformed *madrasas* themselves were unable to compete with the public schools in offering a general education, as well as being unable to match the *pesantrens* in providing students with sufficient religious instruction. As a result, these 'hybrid' *madrasas* failed to attract even many modern *santri* parents to send their children there. It is likely that these parents did not believe that such *madrasas* could prepare the students to pass the requirements for admission to the reputed universities. Moreover, some parents who wanted to have their children well-trained in religion mostly preferred to send them to *pesantrens* instead of *madrasas*.

In a changing society which increasingly experiences new values and reacts favorably to 'modernisation', traditional Islamic education in Java faces tremendous challenges. Since most Muslim leaders still believe in the value of Islamic teaching to guide the worldly affairs of the population, many of them are unwilling to reform their educational institutions into fully-fledged modern schools. These leaders are even attempting, and with success, to include a basic religious instruction in the curriculum of the secular public schools. They hold that Islamic education is vital, not only for the survival of the individual but for the happiness of society. Subsequently, efforts are generated to meet modern development while maintaining the traditional religious character of Islamic education. In fact, many *santri* Muslims regard their reformed institutions as a viable alternative to the prevailing public schools. Nevertheless, as the

perceptions and world view of many Javanese change, so will their attitude toward educational institutions run on Medieval line. The insistence of Muslim leaders on having a typical Islamic education, has not received favourable support from many Javanese Muslims. Such a trend seems to be growing, particularly since a purely religious education does not offer a bright enough prospect for upward social mobility in Indonesian society as a whole. This being said we cannot deny that the religious educational institutions play a major role in filling needs unmet by the public schools. This is especially so if we consider that many *madrasas* and *pesantrens* have been opening general classes. In other words, although many *santri* leaders view the religious schools as an alternative to Western-style education, the former as a matter of fact only serve as complementary, subordinate institutions. Some of them even tend to alienate the bulk of young people from aspiring to be professionals. Only if political, social and ideological currents in Indonesia totally change in favor of the *santri* tradition as many Muslim leaders have advocated, or vice verse, will it be possible for a reformed Islamic education to become an alternative.

Notes

1. Most of the exiting studies are concerned with the political role of Islamic parties in Indonesia, with a few exceptions, for instance, Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York: The Free Press, 1960); W. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1956); B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971); and Justus M. van der Kroef, *Indonesian Social Evolution* (Amsterdam:van der Peet, 1958).
2. See van der Kroef, *Indonesia in the Modern World* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1954-56), v.1, p.16; also Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), pp.1635, 1676).
3. For information on Islamic education during the Abbasid caliphate, see George Makdisi, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad," BSOAS 24 (1961), pp.1-56; also Delacy O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs* (London: Routlege & Kegan Paul, 1948).
4. See Gavin Jones, "Religion and Education in Indonesia," *Indonesia* 22(1976), pp.40-2; Kenneth Orr, "Education for This Life or for the Life to Come: observations on the Javanese Village Madrasah," *Indonesia* 23 (1977), pp.131-2; Deliar Noer, *Administration of Islam in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1978), p.25.
5. H. Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," *Islam the Straight Path*, ed. K.W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p.381.
6. See A.M. Mukti Ali, "The Muhammadijah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction," (Montreal: McGill University, M.A. thesis 1957), p. 19.
7. A.H. Dasuki, "The Pondok-Pesantren: An Account of Its Development in Independent Indonesia (1965-1973)," (Montreal: McGill University, M.A. thesis 1974), p.29.
8. See Orr, "Education for This Life," p.130.
9. See Jones, "Religion and Education," particularly p. 51; Noer, *Administration*, pp.33-4; William K. Cummings, "Pendidikan Tinggi dan Masyarakat Indonesia," *Prisma* 2(1981), p.37.
10. See Dasuki, "Pondok-Pesantren," p.31.
11. For discussion of the early Islamic movements in Indonesia, see H. Fiederspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform in the Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1970); *Ali, "Muhammadijah Movement;" Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford-University Press, 1973); Harry Benda, *Continuity and Change in Indonesia Islam* (New Haven: Yale University, 1965).
12. For more information on the Muhammadiyah's madrasas, see *Statistik Sekolah Madrasah Muhammadijah* (Jakarta: pp. Muhammadijah, Madjlis Pengadjarah, 1962); Ali, "Muhammadijah

Movement," p.74; Dasuki, "Pondok-Pesantren," p.32; Noer, *Modernist Movement,* p.83.

13. The instruction in foreign languages is generally poor. After the the completion of the secondary level, most students do not master these languages.
14. See R.A. Kern, "Pesantren," *Shorter Encyc lopaedia of Islam,* pp.460-2; H. Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim dan Kar angan Tersiar* (Jakarta: Panitia Buku, 1957), pp.43-52; Geertz, *Religion,* pp.177-82.
15. See Geertz, "The Javanese Kijaji: the Changing Role of a Cultural Broker," Comparative Studies in Society and History 2(1960), p.234-5; and "Modernization in a Muslim Society: the Indonesia Case,' Religion and Progress in Modern Asia, ed. Robert N. Bellah (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp.98-9.
16. "Laporan Penelitian dan Seminar Pendidikan pada Perguruan Agama' (Jakarta: Depag, 1971), p.5.
17. See S. Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung 1970), pp.17; S. Bradjanegara, *Sedjarah Pendidikan Indonesia* (Yogya: UGM, 1956), p.25: I.J Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs In Nederlandsch Indie* (Groningen: J.B.Wolters, 1938), especially pp.-34-7; also Selosoemardjan, *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* (Ithaca: Cornell -University Press, 1962),pp.341-2.
18. See Aboebakar, *Wahid Hasjim,* pp.5-9; H.j. Graaf, "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century, *"The Cambridge History of Islam,* ed. P.M. Holt et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), v.2A, pp.130-5; Bernhard Dahm, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century,* tr. P.S. Falla (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971) p.10; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Makkah in the Later Part of the Nineteenth Century,* tr. J.H. Monahan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931), especially pp. 217-20.
19. C. Berg. "Indonesia", *Wither Islam?* ed. H.A.R. Gibb (London: V. Collancz, 1932), p.372.
20. See Dasuki, "Pondok-Pesantren," p.49.
21. Ibid., p.51.
22. M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Kyai, Pesantren dan Desa," *Prisma* 4(1970), pp.85-7.
23. See A. Wahid, "Pesantren Sebagai Subkultur," *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan,* ed. Rahardjo (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), particularly p.-267; also Z. Dhofier, "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai," *Indonesia* 29 (1980), pp.52-3.
24. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980),. especially pp.63-72).