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> سمط المشذور، والجواعو في حق تقييد الذير، بالسادة الاطلعر جهزته التعد الذليل عمَّاه وجامر رحقيًا نظيم عمَّاد مذرواسا حد الين اللمانية

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Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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### GENEALOGY OF INDONESIAN ISLAMIC EDUCATION: ROLES IN THE MODERNIZATION OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

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#### Abstract

Indonesian Islamic education has long and rich history. In fact Islamic education is one of the most important aspects of legacy of Indonesian Islam. Despite changes in the Indonesian history, Islamic education continues to flourish, consisting now at primary and secondary levels of pesantren. Madrasah, and sekolah Islam. While at the tertiary level, Islamic education institutions consist of State Islamic Higher Education (PTAIN/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri) and Private Islamic Higher Education (PTAIS/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Swasta). Both state and prove Indonesian Islam higher education institutions are the largest system in the whole Islamic world. In the last two decades, another significant development in PTAIN is the enlargement of its mandate through the creation of fullfledged Islamic Universities (UIN/Universitas Islam Negeri). With the historic transformation, the roles of Indonesian Islamic higher education is even becoming more and more important.

**Keywords**: *pesantren, surau, dayah, madrasah, sekolah Islam, IAIN, STAIN, UIN, MORA, MONE*, modernization.

Genealogy of Indonesian Islamic Education: Roles in...

#### Abstrak

Pendidikan Islam Indonesia memiliki sejarah yang kaya dan panjang. Pada kenyataannya, pendidikan Islam adalah salah satu aspek warisan Islam Indonesia terpenting. Meskipun terdapat perubahan dinamik dalam sejarah Indonesia, pendidikan Islam baik pada jenjang pendidikan dasar dan menengah, seperti madrasah, sekolah Islam, dan pesantren, tetap mengalami perkembangan pesat. Demikian pula terjadi pada jenjang pendidikan tinggi yang terdiri dari PTAIN/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri dan PTAIS/Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Swasta. Keduanya menunjukkan dan membuktikan bahwa lembaga pendidikan tinggi Islam merupakan sistem terbesar di dunia Islam. Pada dua dekade terakhir, perkembangan penting lainnya di PTAIN adalah perluasan mandat dan fungsi PTAIN untuk sepenuhnya menjadi Universitas Islam (UIN/Universitas Islam Negeri). Seiring proses transformasi ini, maka peran perguruan tinggi Islam di Indonesia menempati posisi sangat penting.

# Kata kunci: pesantren, surau, dayah, madrasah, sekolah Islam, IAIN, STAIN, UIN, MORA, MONE, modernisasi

History and genealogy of Islamic education in Indonesia is a very distinctive one compared to that of other areas of the Muslim world, particularly since the the period of the coming of European powers up until today. The rise and development of Islamic education in Indonesia were closely linked with the spread and dynamics of Islam in the country.

The fact that Islam puts a strong emphasis on education motivated the preachers of Islam, 'ulama' and Muslim rulers since the early history of Indonesian Islam to work deligently to develop Islamic education. For that purpose, they employ mosques and small mosques (*musalla* or *langgar*) as well existing local institutions such as *surau* and *pesantren* or *pondok* as the places for Muslims, particularly children, to study and learn basic knowledge on Islam (Azra 2003).

The Dutch colonialism in Indonesia since the early 16the century did not result in the decline of Islamic education. During this period, Islamic educational institutions not only survived, but also began in earnest to make certain adjustment by adopting certain aspects of European education. This can be seen in the rise of *madrasah* that introduced classical system and curriculum for instance. This in turn affected 'traditional' Islamic educational institutions such as *pondok* or *pesantren* to also modernize themselves (Dhofier 1982).

A new momentum in the modernization of Indonesian Islamic education has been taking place in the last four decades at least. There are least two approaches adopted in the modernization; firstly, by fully integrating Islamic educational institutions into national education run and financed by the government; secondly, by making standardization of Islamic education in accordance with the national standards while the ownership and administration remain in the hands of Muslim organizations or communities.

This article will discuss the complex and rich history of Islamic education in Indonesia, or more precisely 'Indonesian Islamic education'. The article however will pay attention only on major aspects of the history of Indonesian Islamic education with a particular emphasis on its process of modernization in the modern and contemporary times.

#### Pesantren and Madrasah

Educational institution is one of the most important factors in the development, dynamics and progress of Indonesian Islam. From the earliest stages of massive Islamization of the archipelago in the late 12th century onwards, various educational institutions from the traditional to modern ones have made great contribution to the progress of Indonesian Muslim society (Azra, 2007).

There are traditional Islamic educational institutions still existing today. They are *pesantren, pondok, surau, dayah* and *madrasah*, mostly with boarding system, have strong roots in the history of Indonesian Islam. All of them, in turn, contributed significantly to the dynamics of contemporary Indonesian Islam as one can observe today.

At the outset, it is important to delineate some important features of each of these educational institutions. Of the five, four of them, *pesantren, pondok, surau* and *dayah*, are generally regarded as 'traditional' Islamic educational institutions that have their history since the early centuries of Islam in Indonesia. There are at least three traditional roles of *pesantren* and similar educational institutions within the Muslim community; *firstly*, as center of transmission of religious knowledge, *secondly*, as guardian of the Islamic tradition, *thirdly*; as center of *ulama* reproduction.

They are traditional at least up to the 1970s in terms of the content of education that was mainly religious, of teaching and learning processes, and of management that was mainly in the hands of 'traditional' '*ulama*', commonly called with honorific titles such as *kiyai* in Muslim Java, or '*syekh*' in West Sumatra, or '*tuan guru*' in much of Eastern Indonesia.

The term '*pesantren*' (place of '*santri*', or student) and '*pondok*' (lit, 'hut') have often been used interchangeably. The term '*pesantren*', coming from the word '*santri*' or practicing Muslim students, means a complex of traditional Islamic boarding school. The typical *pesantrens* consist of mosque, class-rooms, dormitories, and *kiyai*'s house; all of these were very modest. In the last two decades, more and more *pesantrens* have permanent brick and concrete buildings; and more and more *pesantrens* have very impressive building complexes (Dhofier 1982).

Even though some small *pesantrens* are supposed to have been in existence in Java since the 16th century, it is only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century *pesantrens* gained momentum when returning *hajjis* and students from Mecca and Medina founded *pesantrens* initially in Java, but later also in other parts of Indonesia. From this period onwards, *pesantrens* became the only available educational institutions for Indonesian Muslims since Muslim parents by and large refused to send their childred to Dutch schools available mostly from the third quarter of the 19th century onwards.

*Surau*, mostly found in West Sumatra, and *dayah* in Aceh were in many ways similar to *pesantrens* in Java. For a number of reasons, much of the two have not survived as traditional Islamic educational institutions in contrast to *pesantrens* that survive rapid changes occurred in Indonesian society since the early twentieth century. Many *suraus* were transformed either into Dutch-modeled schools introduced in the 1860s or into *madrasahs* which were initially introduced in the 1910s. One of most important factors in the survival of *pesantrens* is their ability to accommodate the rapidly changing situation without losing some of their fundamental distinctions. In fact, some new types of *pesantrens* have appeared in Indonesian Islamic educational scene in recent years; they are what we call as 'urban *pesantrens*'discussed again later.

*Madrasah* is a modern institution in Indonesia. The introduction of *madrasah* in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in fact a response among Indonesian Muslims to the introduction and spread of Dutch schooling. Madrasah is different from traditional pesantrens in a number of ways. Firstly, traditional pesantrens were non-graded institutions of learning; in contrast, the madrasah are graded and classical schooling; secondly, traditional *pesantrens* did not have established curricula; content of education depended almost entirely on kiyais. Madrasah on the other hand have their curricula; in the early period they had their own 'madrasah curriculum', and after national independence on 17 August 1945 they followed curriculum issued by Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). Finally they adopted national curriculum issued by Ministry of National Education (MONE), following the enactment of Law of National Education Number 2, 1989 that was revised in 2003. Thirdly, the educational content of traditional pesantrens was wholly religious, while madrasah progressively adopted a greater general 'non-religious' or 'secular' or rather 'general' subjects in their education.

Generally speaking, *madrasah* in Indonesia consists of three levels of education. Firstly, Madrasah Ibtida'iyah (MI), primary *madrasah* for six years; secondly, Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTS), junior secondary *madrasah* for three years; and third, Madrasah Aliyah (MA), senior secondary *madrasah* for three years. In the post-enactment of Law on National Education Number 2 of 1989 (UUSPN or Undang-undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional)—that was amended in the Law on National Education Number 20 of 2003—the Madrasah Aliyah consists of four divisions or specializations; first, MA division of natural sciences; second, MA division of social sciences; third, MA division of vocational training; and fourth, MA division concentrates on Islamic religious sciences (*li al-tafaqquh fi al-din*) (Cf. Haedari 2010).

The continuing existence and even the revival of *pesantren* and *madrasah* in recent Indonesia clearly show how they still occupy an important position in the midst of Indonesia's rapid political, cultural, socio-religious and educational changes. In terms of education, the number of students studying at *madrasah* and *pesantren* represent some 35 per cent of total Indonesian students. The share of Islamic education in Indonesian national education will likely to increase steadily.

The data shows that there is continued increase number of *pesantren* and *madrasah* in contemporary Indonesia. The data at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, for example, shows that there has been significant increase in the number of *pesantrens* throughout Indonesia. It shows that in 1977 there were about 4,195 *pesantrens* with total number of students 677,384. This number continued to increase in 1981, with 5,661 *pesantrens* and total number of students of 938,397. In 1985, the number of *pesantrens* reached 6,239 with 1,084,801 students. Meanwhile in 1997, the Ministry of Religious Affairs noted that there were 9,388 *pesantrens* with total students of 1,770,768, and in 2004 the number increased to 14,067 *pesantrens* with 3,149,374 students (cf Makruf 2009; Azra, Afrianty & Hefner 2007: 178-82).

Furthermore, some important figures about madrasahs need to be mentioned here. First, the number of madrasahs (in all levels; primary, secondary junior and secondary senior level) own and administer by government are fewer that those own by private and community organizations or foundations. The 2004 data released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) show that Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (primary level) owned by the state was only 1,484 compare to those madrasahs administer by private or community organizations and foundations which reached the number of 21,680. At the Madrasah Tsanawiyah (secondary junior level) similar trend was also found. There were only 1,239 Madrasah Tsanawiyah owned by the state, while Madrasah Tsanawiyah owned by private institutions were 10,465. At the Madrasah Aliyah (Secondary senior level), around 579 were owned by the state while almost 3,860 Madrasah Aliyah were owned by private and community organizations. Again, one can observe that the number of *madrasahs*—both public and private—also continues to increase in the first decade of the second millennium. This fact shows how the Indonesian Muslim community plays an important role in promoting Indonesian Islamic education

Another important point worth mentioning is the gender composition in all these *madrasahs*. According to 2004 data, it was only at Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (primary level), where the number of female students was slightly fewer that those of male students. There were 1,552,743 female students compared to 1,571,410 of male students. However, the number of female students at the higher education level was slightly bigger than those of male students. For

example, there were about 1,064,658 female students and only 1,016,918 male students at the Madrasah Tsanawiyah (junior secondary level). Similar figures were also found at the Madrasah Aliyah (senior secondary level). The number of female students was 392,701 and male students were only 334,192. Within all these *madrasahs* one can witness that the numbers of female students are almost always bigger than those of male students. Even though, their number is slightly smaller at the primary level but female students' composition at the higher level was bigger than male students (Makruf, Ibid).

This gender composition is very interesting due to the general assumption that in the Muslim world as whole, female are always perceived to have smaller opportunity and access to public space including to education. However, in Indonesia, females have similar opportunities to their males' counterpart in terms of getting access to education. Therefore, *madrasahs* play an important role in women empowerment. There is little doubt that when Muslim women are educated and so is Indonesian Muslim society in general.

The above data might also lead some to pose several questions. These questions are not only related to the issue on how *pesantren* and *madrasahs* have been able to maintain its existence and role within the Muslim community but also on how they have responded to rapid political, social, cultural and educational changes in Indonesia, particularly since the early 1970s This article will further discuss some complex issues surrounding *pesantrens*, *madrasah*, or Islamic education in general.

#### From Pesantren to Madrasah: Transformation of Islamic Education

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century was an important period that witnessed a significant transformation within the Islamic education of Indonesia. This began as the Dutch government built modern schools, in line with the introduction of the so-called 'Ethical policy' that showed their concern with the welfare of the native people. With this new policy, Dutch colonial government introduced a new schooling system, especially *volkschoolen* (people schools), intended to provide children of native Indonesian with some basic education. *Volkscholen* were initially established during the 1860s in several cities in Indonesia, particularly Batavia (now Jakarta) and Semarang, Central Java. After failing to gain positive response in Batavia and Semarang, they received

a lot of enthusiasm in West Sumatra. As a result, these schools were able eventually to produce new educated elite of Indonesian, particularly of West Sumatran origins. They formed a very important segment of Indonesian society and consequently determined much of the course of Indonesian history in the subsequent periods (Niel 1984: 46-72; Abdullah, 1971).

At the same time, networks among learned Indonesian Muslims with Islamic reformism or modernism in Cairo, Egypt, also began to find a fertile groundin the Indonesian archipelago. Cairo increasingly became new scholarly destination for Indonesian students in their search for knowledge. Different from Mecca as the most important traditional center of scholarly tradition of Indonesian Islam, Cairo provided students coming from various parts of the Muslim world also with the ideas of Islamic reformism or modernism propagated by such prominent scholars as Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida, in addition to the experiences living in urban circumstance where 'modern' Islamic schools and printing press increasingly became common phenomena. Not least important, Cairo also became a center of political activism among Indonesian students who came to this city in ever increasing number (Laffan 2003; Azra 1999b [2006]; Roff 1970).

As a result, Cairo networks accelerated the transformation of Indonesian Islamic, indicated by the establishment of various new Islamic educational institutions by alumna of Cairo and their local modernist counterparts which adopted modern system of Dutch school, an alternative to the traditional system of *pesantren* (Azra 1999b ]2006]; Steenbrink 1986). The rise of Islamic modern educational institutions, *madrasah*, therefore, became an important part of Islamic movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Hence, *madrasah* not only introduced new teaching method and system such as adopting class system, using new text books and teaching sciences other than Islamic religious sciences, it also began to function as a forum to disseminate ideas on Islamic reform. *Madrasah* also soon became a locus for the creation of modern and progressive Muslim. This development started to emerge as a dominant discourse in Indonesia (Abdullah 1971: 9-17) together with the rise of Indonesian nationalism. It is from this perspective that one can consider that *madrasah* has a strong socio-religious cultural and political dimensions in the rise and development of Indonesian nationalism.

The introduction of *madrasah* had modernizing effects not only on other Islamic educational institutions, but also on the dynamics of Indonesian Muslim society. In comparative perspective, in the *pesantren*, students learned religion from *kyais* and used *kitab kuning* (lit. 'yellow book' or classical Islamic text books) as the only sources of knowledge (Bruinessen 1995: 234-262; Dhofier 1982). While *madrasah* in addition to use new books. inserted new method to better understand Islam in a modern perspective. In addition, if *pesantren* was expected to produce '*ulama*', *madrasah* was hoped to produce educated Muslims (*Muslim terpelajar*), or in the end to produce intelligentsia and even intellectual '*ulama*'.

In line with this development, Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), one of prominent modernist Muslim figures in Minangkabau, established Adabiyah School in Padang in 1909. The establishment of this school was part of the efforts to produce Muslims with modern orientation, in accordance with the idea of modern transformation of the Muslims community in West Sumatra at that time. This idea strengthened Abdullah Ahmad's vision to establish such an institution. He created Adabiyah School to be a forum to disseminate new ideas about modernist Islam in Minangkabau. It is important to note that this is a school that based on Dutch model; so it is not really a *madrasah* that was based on Islamic ideas on education, or '*pesantren*-based educational institution (Noer 1985: 51-52). Besides that, Abdullah Ahmad published *al-Munir* (1911-1916)—the first journal on Islamic reform in Indonesia that also played an important role in the spread of Islamic modernism (Azra 1999b: 92-97).

Still in Minangkabau, Diniyah School in Padang Panjang was another Islamic School emerged after Adabiyah School. It was Zainuddin Labai al-Yunusi (1890-1924) who built the school in 1915. A few years later, in 1918, Mahmud Yunus (1899-1982) also built Diniyah School in Batusangkar, to replace *madrasah* built by Muhammad Thaib Umar which was closed in 1913 (Daya 1990: 83-84). The rise of all these educational institutions represents that fact the Minangkabau modernists tended to take the Dutch-modeled school rather than an Islamic-based one. Based on Dutch model, their schools possessed Islamic characters by adding a number of Islamic religious subjects in their curriculum. Genealogy of Indonesian Islamic Education: Roles in...

The transformation of Islamic education in Minangkabau continued intensively with the establishment of Sumatra Thawalib. Different from the two schools mentioned earlier, Sumatra Thawalib was a direct result of the transformation of a surau, traditional Islamic educational institution in West Sumatra, into a modern educational institution (Azra 2003). It was often called as a surau with class system (Yunus 1977: 73). Sumatra Thawalib began from a group of students who often held discussion in Surau Jembatan Besi under the leadership of the famous Haji Rasul. This group was clearly inspired by the idea of modern transformation of Islam and Muslim society through education. They became stronger as a similar group also emerged in Surau Parabek, Bukit Tinggi, under the leadership of Ibrahim Musa. In February 1919, both groups in the two suraus finally decided to unite and form a federation called as Sumatra Thawalib. Following this, similar development occurred in other suraus in West Sumatra such as in Padang Djapang, Manindjau and Batu Sangkar (Abdullah 1971: 36; Daya 1990: 91-92). In further development, Sumatra Thawalib continued to develop as a modern Islamic educational institution spread throughout West Sumatra.

All of these new schools represent another tendency among the West Sumatran modernists; that is to transform an Islamic-based educational institution—that is the traditional *surau*--into a modern one. The basis remained Islam, but at the same time included modern general subjects into it. Even though, they were called 'schools', they were in fact '*madrasah*'.

Other than Sumatra Thawalib, transformation in Islamic education can also be seen from numbers of *madrasah* established by al-Azhar graduates after their return from their study in Egypt. Mahmud Yunus (1979: 102-3) illustrates this case. He showed clearly that with the increased number of graduates from al-Azhar University in Cairo returned to Indonesia efforts to include sciences other than Islamic religious sciences into curricula of Islamic educational institutions were accelerated.

There were several *madrasahs* which began to include general sciences in their curricula; they were Al-Jami'ah Islamiyah in Sungayang, Batusangkar, built by Mahmud Yunus on March 20, 1931. Al-Jami'ah had three levels of education; Ibtidaiyah (elementary) 4 years of study; Tsanawiyah (junior high school) for 4 years and Aliyah

(senior high school) for 4 years. Besides teaching Islamic sciences, these *madrasahs* taught general sciences which also taught at modern Dutch School such as Schakel School (elementary) and Normal School (junior level).

Another school was Normal Islam (Kulliah Mu'alimin Islamiah) that was built by Islamic Teachers Union (Persatuan Guru Agama Islam, PGAI) in Padang on April 1, 1931, and was also led by Mahmud Yunus. It is also important to note that Islamic College was established as well by Indonesian Muslim Association (Persatuan Muslim Indonesia, PERMI) in Padang on April 1, 1931 and led by Mr. Abdul Hakim and later in 1935 he was replaced by Mukhtar Yahya. Other than that there was also a Training College established by Nasruddin Thaha in Muhballighin/Muballighat Pavakumbuh 1934, Kuliah in bv Muhammadiyah in Padang Panjang; Kulliah Mu'alimat Islamiyah by Rahmah el-Yunusiah in Padang Panjang on February 1, 1937 and Kuliah Diniyah by Syekh Ibrahim Musa in Parabek in 1940.

Meanwhile in Java, transformation of Islamic education was mainly carried out by Muhammadiyah, the largest modernist Islamic organization in Indonesia that was established in 1912 by Ahmad Dahlan (1869-1923). When he came up with the idea to establish Muhammadiyah, Dahlan thought that educational reform must be one of the primary agenda, alongside with the idea of Islamic reform in general (Noer 1984: 86). Similar to the development in Minangkabau, the efforts to transform education by Muhammadiyah were also based on the idea to achieve progress (*kemajuan*) for Indonesian Muslims. From the notes taken by Haji Rasul, which later on was written by Hamka (1958: 91), we could understand how Ahmad Dahlan emphasized strongly the need to transform Islamic education.

For Ahmad Dahlan, the backwardness of mainly the Javanese Muslims, compared to the Christians, laid on the traditional education system of *pesantren*, which in his view was no longer able to provide solution for the changing society. Because of that reason, Dahlan attempted to 'build educational institutions by applying modern school system (*sekolah*), so that the teaching processes can be done properly' (Hamka 1958: 91). Therefore, instead of *pesantren* and *madrasah*, Ahmad Dahlan with Muhammadiyah built modern Islamic schools. He added Islamic elements to the adopted Dutch education system, in which the students were provided with both secular and Islamic subjects.

As a result, one model of the *sekolah*s of Muhammadiyah was the 'HIS met de Qur'an', or Islamic religious subjects. With this, Muhammadiyah took the leading role in the efforts to integrate Islam to the modern educational system of Dutch school.

Muhammadiyah schools grew rapidly in line with the spread of the organization throughout Indonesia. Until 1932, this organization owned about 316 schools in Java and Madura islands; there were 207 general schools which adopted Western educational system and method, 88 religious schools and there were 21 of other schools (Alfian 1989: 189). The number of Muhammadiyah's schools continued to grow alongside with its spread to every corner of the country. This should be seen as the organization's real contribution towards Indonesian Islamic education. Through its schools, Muhammadiyah teaches both Islamic and general education, based on its objective to produce Muslims with adequate knowledge on modern sciences as well as on Islamic knowledge. Mukti Ali (1958: 28) stated that Muhammadiyah schools, ranging from kindergarten to university, are developed in order to produce well-educated Muslims (*Muslim terpelajar*) so that they will have the ability to cope with modern world with a strong Islamic basis.

# Change and Continuity of the Pesantren

The strong wave of transformation of Indonesian Islamic education represented by the rise of Islamic schools and madrasahs, finally touched on *pesantrens*, which had for long time been a target of criticism of modernist thinkers and leaders such as Ahmad Dahlan. While continuing to maintain traditional aspects of educational system, some *pesantrens* in Java began to modernize certain aspects of their institutions such as management, curricula and adoption of madrasah system. The experience of Tebuireng pesantren in East Java is worth mentioning here. This pesantren was built by one of the leading ulama in Java in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947). It became a model for other *pesantrens* in Java. Almost all leading *pesantrens* in Java were built by former students of Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari and, therefore, they applied similar content of education and methods as the ones in Tebuireng (Dhofier 1982: 96, 100). With the establishment of the traditionalist organization, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) in 1926, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari gained a central position in the tradition of *ulama* and

*pesantren* in Java. He was and is still acknowledged as the Hadratus-Syekh (master teacher) of the all *ulama* in Java (Dhofier 1982: 90-99).

In the 1930s, when the wave for transformation of Islamic education was intensified, the efforts to renew educational system at *pesantren* continued also to take place. More and more *pesantrens* started to adopt *madrasah* system, by opening six levels of class which consisted of preparatory class for a year and *madrasah* class for six years. More than that, *pesantrens* also began to adopt non-religious or general subjects into their curricula. They included Dutch language, history, geography and mathematics (Dhofier 1982: 104). At the Pesantren Tebu Ireng this process continued to develop under Kyai Wahid Hasyim (1914-1953), the son of Hasyim Asy'ari. He even put strong emphasis on bringing *pesantren* tradition into a more modern system (Dhofier 1982: 73-81). In 1950, he completed the adoption of *madrasah* system at Tebuireng *Pesantren*, while at the same time continued to maintain certain aspects of traditional educational system of *pesantren*.

As suggested above, Tebuireng was not the only *pesantren* that carried out major transformation of its educational system. Pesantren Krapyak in Yogjakarta was another leading *pesantren* that since early 20<sup>th</sup> had followed some major transformations. Kyai Ali Maksum (1915-1989), the leader of this *pesantren* was later known as one of the progressive NU '*ulama*' leaders. Like Kyai Wahid Hasyim, he adopted *madrasah* system in his *pesantren* and turned it as a major teaching institution within *pesantren* (Arief 2003: 69-92). It is also important to include along this line the Pesantren Tambak Beras and Rejoso in Jombang, East Java. They all led by Kyai Hasbullah and Kyai Tamim, who also pioneered in adopting *madrasah* system and general subjects into their curricula (Yunus 1977: 246-248).

Thus, along with socio-religious development, the transformation of Indonesian Islamic education had become a general tendency in the dynamics of Indonesian Islam in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. '*Ulama*' or, rather *kyai*s from *pesantrens* were known as strong defenders of traditional system in education. However, they gradually understood the need to alter some of the old educational system and began to adopt modern system, such as *madrasah*. Along with it, the objective of education at *pesantren* was also challenged. Here, we can look at the case of Tebuireng. Dhofier (1982: 113) points out that the role of

*pesantren* which previously was simply to train students to become '*ulama*' was also changed. As with other modernists, the teachings at Tebuireng were now directed to also educate students to develop their knowledge in order for them to be intellectual *ulama* who can talk not only about Islam but also other sciences.

In all of these developments, the old and original characteristics of traditional *pesantrens* such as mentioned above are increasingly more difficult to find nowadays. Since early 20th century and especially after independence, *pesantrens* have continually experienced far-reaching transformation. In the last three decades, *pesantrens* are no longer simple traditional educational institutions. Because of rapid social, cultural, and religious changes that took place since the years of the New Order economic development under President Soeharto (1966-1998), the *pesantrens* was also 'forced' to respond, not only to survive, but also to play a greater role in Indonesian society. The end result is that the *pesantrens* are now increasingly becoming what I call 'holding institutions'. This is because *pesantrens* now are no longer simply traditional educational institutions that consist of madrasah such they were in the past, but also have also general schools from primary to university levels. In fact only a small division of the *pesantrens* now concentrates on *tafaqquh fi al-din*, Islamic religious knowledge.

Furthermore, as 'holding institutions', many pesantrens recently also own economic institutions, particularly cooperatives, peoples' credit union (BPR/Bank Perkreditan Rakyat; or BMT/Bayt al-Mal wa al-Tamwil). Many pesantrens also become community development centers for the application of appropriate technology as well as for the preservation of environment. Some *pesantrens* operate also community health centers. In addition, more and more pesantrens adopt modern management, where there are distribution of power and policy among the founding owner and Yayasan (foundation), and executing body of day-today matters of the pesantrens. In the midst of all of this development, in the last two decades at least some leaders and figures in the *pesantren* circles have been worried about the future of the pesantren as institution that in the past was also responsible for the reproduction of *ulama*. They fear with so many institutions within pesantrens they would not be able to concentrate on the reproduction of cadres of *ulama* who would play a crucial role in guiding the Muslim *ummah* in the future

The transformation of *pesantrens* again indicates that there are continuities and changes in the system of *pesantren*. But again, the *pesantrens* are not only capable of maintaining its existence but are also able to balance and respond to various changes in and the needs of the society. In the course of all changes the *pesantren*'s tradition has its own flexibility which allows it to continue develop within the community. It is important to note that this transformation does not really remove the strength of *pesantrens* as typical Islamic educational institution. In contrast, in the last three decades there is a growing number of Indonesian Muslim parents who prefer to send their children to *pesantrens* rather than to general school. They hope that when they complete their education in the *pesantren* they will be good Muslims, who practice Islamic teachings in their every day life as well as master modern sciences needed in the competitive age of globalization.

Furthermore, with the increased 'santrinization' (becoming santri, or practicing Muslim) of Indonesian society in the last three decades, the *pesantrens* surprisingly gain new momentum. The *pesantrens* now can be found in big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and many others, creating what I call 'urban' *pesantrens*. This recent development contributes to changing the image of *pesantrens* that in the past mainly located in rural area and, therefore, were perceived as backward institutions. In addition, a growing number of new breed of Islamic schools adopt certain features of *pesantren* system, such as the boarding system as well as its leadership system that is based on religious credentials.

It is important to mention that *madrasah*s, both state and private, and *pesantrens* since the early years of independence have been put under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). The government subsidy for them is also been put in the budget of this ministry. For supervision of *madrasah*, there is a Directorate of Madrasah at MORA since the early 1970s at least. However, it is only in 2001, MORA also formed a Directorate of Pesantren that aims to help improve various aspects of *pesantren* education.

The recognition of the *pesantren* education also came from Ministry of National Education (MONE); since 2001 MONE began to recognize the senior secondary level of Islamic education known as KMI (Kulliyah Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah) available at certain *pesantrens* such as at the famous Pondok Moderen Gontor, East Java, as equivalent to both general Senior Secondary School (SMA, or Sekolah Menengah Atas) and senior secondary *madrasah* (Madrasah Aliyah). Not least important, MONE in the last several years also began to help with some facilities such as computer laboratories for a number of *madrasah* and *pesantrens*.

## Modernization of Madrasah

The efforts to improve the quality of *madrasah* have been a major concern of MORA. Since the time of Indonesian independence, one of the ways to achieve them is to integrate and modernize Islamic educational institutional as a whole into mainstream of modern national education system. To achieve this, it is necessary for *madrasah* to absorb modern element of education embedded in the national education system, so that the quality of it can be improved. From this point of view, the integration of *madrasah* into national education system is a must.

The modernization of madrasah initially took place in earnest particularly since the early 1970s when the New Order government under President Soeharto began to launch Indonesian economic development. For that reason, the regime felt that madrasah should be also modernized in order not to simply become an object-but a subject-of national development. With this frame-work, different from the previous periods, during the Dutch and Old Order under President Soekarno (1945-1965), in the New Order period it was not only the community who took initiatives a number of programs in the modernization of *madrasah*, but also the government, particularly through MORA. The processes occurred systematically, meaning that the initiative came from various levels of officials at MORA. In that regards, it must be mentioned that most of these officials were graduates of State Institute of Islamic Studies (Institut Agama Islam Negeri/IAIN); and some of them gained their advance degrees from various universities abroad both Middle Eastern and Western universities.

It is important to mention in passing that State Institutes for Islamic Studies (IAIN) as a unique Indonesia Islamic higher education were mostly established by the Indonesian government under the supervision MORA from the late 1950s onwards to the 1970s in the capital cities of provinces. But some faculties of IAINs were also founded in towns outside of capital cities of provinces; and in 1997, these faculties were converted into autonomous State College of Islamic Studies (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam/STAIN). IAINs and STAINs generally consists of five faculties or study programs of Islamic religious sciences; Tarbiyah (Islamic Education), Shari'ah (Islamic Law), Adab (Islamic Literature), Ushuluddin (Theology), and Da'wah (Islamic Preaching).

In addition, there are also full-fledged Islamic Universities (UIN, or Universitas Islam Negeri). The conversion of IAIN Jakarta into UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2002, followed by IAIN Yogyakarta, STAIN Malang, IAIN Pekanbaru, IAIN Makassar and IAIN Bandung in 2004, and the latest IAIN Bandaaceh, IAIN Surabaya, IAIN Medan, IAIN Palembang and IAIN Semarang in 2013 and 2014 all also into UINs, is undoubtedly, another major transformation of Indonesian Islamic education (Azra 2006; Azra & Jabali 2010).

With the conversion, UINs—different from IAINs—consist of not only faculties and study programs of Islamic religious sciences, but also of faculties and study programs of 'general sciences, such as Science and Technology, Economics, Psychology, Medical and Health Sciences, and Social and Political Sciences. In fact the UIN Jakarta can be rightly called as a 'comprehensive university' since it has study program of medicine. The aims of the conversions, among others, are: firstly, to integrate Islamic religious sciences and general sciences; secondly, to provide graduates of all the four divisions of Madrasah Aliyah with study programs that are in accord with their educational background (Azra 2006; Kusmana & Munadi (eds) 2002; UIN Jakarta 2005; Yatim & Nasuhi (eds) 2002).

The number of public Indonesian Islamic higher education is expanding in the last two decades. As of the end of 2014, there are 11 UINs, 19 IAINs, 26 STAINs across the country. In addition, there are 674 private Islamic higher insitutions. With that number, the Indonesian Islamic higher education is certainly the largest public education institutions in the whole Islamic world.

The graduates of IAINs, STAINs and UINs all over Indonesia play a very important role not only in the reform and modernization of the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, but also, as shown by Jamhari and Jabali (2003), of the Muslim society as a whole. All these Indonesian Islamic higher education insitutions at first instance produce Muslim intelligentsia that occupy certain position in almost all walks of lives. They increasingly become the backbone of the rising Indonesian Muslim middle class.

As their role in the modernization of *pesantren* and *madrasah*, this has a lot to do with approaches to Islam employed at IAINs, STAINs, and UINs which are mainly historical, sociological, cultural, rational and non-denominational (*non-madhhabi*) rather than theological, normative and denominational that was common in Islamic educational institutions in the past (Jamhari & Jabali 2002). With these kinds of approaches, these Islamic higher educational institutions are at the forefront in the introduction and dissemination of not only new interpretation of Islam, but also of contemporary ideas on compatibility between Islam and democracy, civic education, civil society, gender equity and women empowerment, multi-cultural education program, originally introduced at IAIN/UIN Jakarta in 1999, was very successful and, in the end was adopted not only by all IAIN/STAIN/UIN system, but by private Islamic universities such Muhammadiyah Universities.

In the context of the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs*, the graduates of IAINs, STAINs and UINs have certain advantages compared to graduates of other higher educational institutions. Since most of them were graduates of the *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* before continuing their education at certain IAIN or STAIN or UIN, they are familiar with system and environment at the *pesantren* and *madrasah*. So, when they had finished their studies at IAIN or STAIN, or UIN a good number of them returned to their home villages and some of them taught and dedicated themselves to the improvement of *madrasah* and *pesantren*. While, those who decided not to teach or return to the *pesantren* or *madrasah*, were involved in government or non-government activities related to the empowerment of *madrasah* and *pesantren* either as officials in MORA, or leaders of Islamic organizations, or founder of Islamic foundation working in field of Islamic education.

The alumna of IAINs, STAINs, and UINs of course also played an important role as teachers of religious instruction in general schools from primary to university level under the auspicies of MONE. On the basis of Pancasila (the five pillars of the ideological basis of the Indonesian state), National Constitution of 1945, and Indonesian Law on National Education Number 20, 2003, religious instruction is made an obligatory subject from elementary school to university. For that purpose both MORA and MONE recruite graduates of IAINs, STAINs and UINs as teachers of religious instruction that is given two hours a week.

Despite their important roles, the graduates of IAINs in the 1970s faced a lot of problems in their efforts to modernize madrasahs and pesantrens. From the period of the Old Order government, not long after the independence, up to the time of enactment of Laws on National Education Number 2, 1989 and Number 20, 2003, they had to face one of the main problems of the Islamic education institution vis-à-vis national education in general, that was the issue of legitimacy. Although the Indonesian State has positioned religion as one of the most important aspects in the state affairs, the integration of Islamic education into national education system, meaning under MONE, remained a big agenda. It was expected that by integrating Islamic educational institutions into MONE would not cause further dualism in the administration of education. Since the time of foundation of the Indonesian State there were two state departments which had the authority to administer education in Indonesia, namely MORA and MONE

In much of state point of views and national leadership such as President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), education should be administered under one single roof that is under MONE. However, this attempt failed for there was strong opposition from the Muslim community from time to time. They were worried that by bringing Islamic education into MONE, it would diminish the role of MONE. This also concerns many members of Muslim community who felt that Muslims had struggled to maintain the existence of MORA, and at the same time had nurtured Islamic educational institutions since the Dutch colonial period. Therefore, Indonesian Muslims insisted that Islamic education must remain under the administration of MORA not only for Islamic education itself, but also for the very existence of MORA.

Although the state since the early period of independence failed to integrate *madrasahs* into MONE, it continued to pay its attention through MORA to the development of Islamic education in general. It can be seen from the subsidy—though much less compared to that given to general schools—provided by the state to the Islamic educations. The state actually began to legally acknowledge the existence of Islamic education institutions through the Law on Education (*Undang Undang*  Genealogy of Indonesian Islamic Education: Roles in...

*Pokok Pendidikan dan Pengajaran*) No. 4, 1950. It stipulated that the state acknowledged the education of students graduated from *madrasahs*. However, the state in practice still perceived and treated *madrasahs* as an educational institution that was not in the same level with or equivalent to general schools under MONE. Therefore, to overcome this inequivalency, the government felt the need to modernize and upgrade *madrasah* quality and by implication other Islamic educational institutions (Azra 2012: 99-101).

The efforts to modernize *madrasahs* began in a more serious way in the 1970s when an IAIN Yogyakarta Professor Mukti Ali, was appointed Minister of Religious Affairs. During his tenure as minister, he introduced several strategies to mainstream *madrasahs*, *pesantrens* and other Islamic educational institutions into national education system. Efforts that had been taken by Mukti Ali, a graduate of McGill University in Canada, reached momentum with the issuance of "Agreement of the Three Ministers" (*SKB Tiga Menteri*)—Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of National Education and Minister of Internal Affairs—in 1975 on *Madrasah* (Azra 2012, *Ibid*).

This 'mainstreaming' agreement stated that graduates of *madrasahs* had the same status with those graduated from general schools. It means that *madrasah* graduates would have no difficulty to continue their education to general schools; on the other hand the same rules applied to graduates of general schools if they wanted to study in *madrasah* or other Islamic educational institutions. The implication of this policy to *madrasah* was that it had to revise its curricula by adopting general subjects or general sciences that amounted to some 70 per cent of its curricula and maintaining only 30 per cent of Islamic religious sciences.

In 1989, as mentioned earlier, Indonesian government enacted a new law on National Education System (UUSPN). This law gave an even significant impact to the development of *madrasahs*. Through this law, *madrasahs* and other Islamic educational institutions are put as a subsystem of the whole national educational system. And most importantly, *madrasahs* is stated as 'general schools' at the three levels, and are legally made as equivalent to general schools. Furthermore, *madrasahs* are also required to participate in the government nine-year compulsory education program. This law also, once again emphasizes that religion is one of the compulsory subjects that has to be taught at all levels of education; from primary to university level. It also acknowledges the important role of these Islamic education institutions in the process of the nation and character building.

Thus, a major change in *madrasah*, as a result of the Law on National Education, is the transformation of identity. *Madrasah* from its origin as a religious education institution is transformed into a general school with an Islamic identity or character. The implication of these can be seen in some fundamental changes in *madrasah* curriculum; since it is a general school, the curriculum of *madrasah* needs to be the same with those general schools administered by MONE. That is why *madrasah* has to adopt curricula issued by MONE. In order to develop some kind of distinctions of *madrasah* vis-a-vis general school, MORA develops a policy to produce text-books for general subjects with Islamic perspective. While, at the same time, religious subjects are still being taught. With this, it is expected that *madrasah* will continue to have its distinctive identity.

However, one of the implications of this policy on *madrasah* students is that they will have more subject-matters to learn compared to their fellow students in general schools. As a response to this, the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) began to reopens its teaching departments on sciences to prepare teachers for *madrasah* in these subject-matters. In later development, in order to accommodate students who want to continue to higher education, Indonesian government enhanced further the quality of IAINs, STAINs and UINs in order for them to be able to teach better in *madrasah*s.

Why the transformation of *madrasah* in that way seems to be so smooth, almost without resistance, let alone opposition, from Muslim community at large? The answers lie on the two long-held expectations among Muslim society; on the one hand, they expected that existence of *madrasah* can be maintained, and on the other, they expected that the quality of *madrasah* education should be on par with that of general schools. The final transformation of *madrasah* through the Law on National Education Number 2, 1989—that has been amended by the Law on National Education Number 20, 2003—has seemed to fulfilled those two expectations. As a result, three years after the implementation of the National Curricula of 1994 issued by MONE the graduates of senior secondary *madrasah* (Madrasah Aliyah) are able to continue their education not only to IAINs, STAINs, or UINs, but also to 'secular' or rather general universities; they now even can be admitted to military

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and police academies, an unprecedented and unimaginable thing in the past.

#### **New Trends of Islamic Education Institution**

It is clear from the above discussion that many efforts have been carried out both by the Muslim community and the Indonesian government to modernize *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* and in fact all Islamic educational institutions from Bustan al-Atfal (kindergarten) to university level (IAINs, STAINs, and UINs). All of these efforts have been taken in order to achieve progress in science and technology, and to meet the practical needs of the community as well as to minimize the disparities in terms of resources and quality between Islamic educational institutions administered by MORA and general schools by MONE. In this sense, graduates of *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* are expected not only capable in Islamic religious sciences but in general or the so-called 'secular sciences', which in turn will make it more possible for them to contribute in a more significant way to the betterment of community in general.

The community and government success in developing and modernizing *pesantrens* and *madrasahs* have significantly transformed the image of Islamic educational institutions. All of these processes of transformation coincided with the awakening of the new religious consciousness among Indonesian Muslims since the period of 1990s, known as the period of *santrinisasi* (*'santrinization'* or becoming more pious) or *Islamisasi* (Islamization), among the new and younger generation of Muslim families in urban areas like Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Makasar and many other cities. It is apparent that many of them are now middle class. These families graduated from prominent universities both in Indonesia and abroad and they are very keen with the advancement of sciences and technology, but lack of religious education; therefore, they were looking for a better way for their children to better understand and practice Islamic teachings, and Islamic education institutions will cater this need.

Some believe that this new urban religious consciousness resulted from the betterment of education, steady economic growth and global revival of Islamic awareness because of international movement and impact of television, radio broadcasting as well as internet and, more importantly, easy access to huge information on Islam in printed media like books, journals and magazines. This development in its turn has led to the rise of certain feeling of *ghirah* (sentiment) to also develop and advance Muslim community in general *vis-à-vis* other communities in Indonesia.

Therefore, in terms of education, it is understandable if they paid a more serious attention to the quality of output of Islamic schools for their children's further studies and careers. They insist on their having education in science and technology on the one hand, but also expect them to be familiar with religious tradition and practices on the other.

It is clear that this Muslim middle class is the main actors of the development of new trend of Islamic educational institutions. They initiated and invested in the development of new offshoots of *sekolah Islam* (Islamic school) as a new genre of Islamic educational institution that is to some extent different with *pesantren* and *madrasah* and older *sekolah Islam*, discussed above. In many ways, this new *sekolah Islam* is 'secular' or general school in its character in terms of system and curriculum. It adopts heavily the system and curriculum of general school (*sekolah umum*) under the auspices of MONE. Some of these new schools are explicitly named as *sekolah Islam* while others are named as model school (*sekolah model* or *sekolah unggulan*).

The difference between the new sekolah Islam mentioned above and other Islamic educational institution, such as pesantrens, madrasahs and old sekolah Islam can be seen, among others, from the association of these institutions to different government ministry or department. As described before, madrasahs, which according to Laws of National Education System (UUSPN) Number 2, 1989 and Number 20, 2003 is not considered as a religious educational institution but rather as a general school with Islamic characters (sekolah umum bercirikan Islam), is an integral part of national educational system. However, according to this Law, madrasahs remain still under the administration of MORA, while sekolah Islam that adopts heavily the system and curriculum of 'general school' is under MONE. Some believe that being attached to MONE's system is more promising than under MORA that in turn will lead to general acceptance and recognition from the community. Therefore, they prefer to name the new institution as sekolah Islam to differentiate it with general school (sekolah umum) so they can affiliate to MONE's system rather than if they name it madrasah and therefore will be under to MORA's administration.

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The new *sekolah Islam* however, makes some adjustment of the MONE curriculum. They put a stronger emphasis on certain subjectmatters like natural and social sciences, and on foreign languages, particularly English. In a more recent development, some of the new *Sekolah Islam* adopted the boarding system of *pesantren* in order to conduct a twenty-four-hour education (Azra 2012:78-93).

What makes the new sekolah Islam substantially different from pesantren and madrasah and old sekolah Islam is on its practical emphasis on religious education. As previously explained, pesantren, madrasah and old sekolah Islam are well-known with specific religious knowledge like Islamic history (tarikh), Islamic jurisprudence (figh) and law (figh), theology and any other subject-matters on Islam in conjunction with general knowledge like mathematics, economics and other natural and social sciences. Rather than emphasizing Islamic knowledge simply as subject-matters taught regularly in the classes, the new sekolah Islam gives more practical emphasis on Islamic values into daily interaction. In this sense, sekolah Islam neither considers Islamic sciences to be core subjects in the curriculum as in *pesantren*, *madrasah* and old sekolah Islam nor to be only supplementary subjects as can be seen in sekolah umum (general schools). What the new sekolah Islam emphasizes is that it aims at building student's Islamic character based on religious ethics and values. In other words, religion is not considered only as part of cognitive knowledge as has been outlined in the curriculum, but rather to be manifested in the daily life of students. Islam accordingly should be practiced as values and ethics to which the students become accustomed in their life. It is therefore in the new sekolah Islam, the detailed exposition of Islamic sciences commonly taught in *pesantren* and *madrasah* are hardly available.

It is also worth mentioning that *sekolah Islams* of this new genre are well equipped with complete facilities like air-conditioned classrooms, libraries, laboratories and sport arena as well as any other teaching and education services like computer, internet and, of course, well-organized extra curricula. As a modern institution, the new *sekolah Islam* is run by professionals in terms of management, teaching and learning processes and curriculum development. Teachers, managers and administrative staff are recruited in a highly competitive selection and most of them earned advanced and qualified degrees. In the same token, requirements for being admitted as student in this school are also very competitive. Only those who reach certain score in entrance test and pass the interview can be admitted. Therefore, this new *sekolah Islam* is very expensive in terms of entrance fee and other monthly cost. It is not surprising, since this kind of school is established partly to attract the middle class Muslims in urban areas and to fulfill their need of having quality education for their children that combined secular sciences and religious values. With these kinds of features, it is not surprising that the private new *sekolah Islam* in many cases are able supersede the quality of state-owned *sekolah negeri* or *madrasah negeri* administered by MONE and MORA.

The most perfect example of the new sekolah Islam in Indonesia is Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar founded in the late 1960s by Haji Amrullah Karim, well-known as Professor Hamka, one of the most prominent *ulama* in Indonesia who in the late 1970s was appointed to be the chairman of MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia/Indonesian Ulama Council). The name of 'al-Azhar' was inspired by that of al-Jamiah al-Azhar (University of al-Azhar) in Cairo Egypt as Professor Hamka was conferred a Doctor of Honoris Causa in 1960s (Azra, 1999: 74-75). Located in an elite enclave of the middle class in Kebayoran Baru South Jakarta, this institution, under the auspices of Yayasan Pesantren Islam (YPI), grows tremendously since the 1990s. Its branches can be found not only in Jakarta and its surrounding areas like Ciputat and Pamulang. but also in other cities like Cirebon and Sukabumi in West Java, Surabaya in East Java and Medan in North Sumatram and in other cities. As of the end of 2013 there were 130 al-Azhar schools across Indonesia. It maintains general education from kindergartens to senior high schools (SMA, or Sekolah Menengah Atas). Since five years ago, this foundation opened the Universitas al-Azhar Indonesia (UAI) and was once led by Professor Ir Zuhal, M.Sc., former Minister of Sciences and Technology in the cabinet of President B.J. Habibie.

Some 'breakaway' *sekolah Islam* from Sekolah Islam Al-Azhar also made appearance. These include the Sekolah Islam al-Azhar Kemang and Sekolah Islam al-Izhar, Pondok Labu, both in Jakarta. After bitter conflicts that ended in court, they have been legally allowed to continue to exist. Despite their separation from the Sekolah Islam al-Azhar, Kebayoran Baru these breakaway *sekolah* have been able to maintain their quality education and, thus, remain among the favorite *sekolah Islam* among Muslim middle class families.

Another worth mentioning model of this new genre is the Sekolah Madania under Yavasan Madania. This institution, established in the mid 1990s, is mainly associated with the Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina (Paramadina Foundation), a prominent middle class forum that regularly hold discussions on religious and social issues located in another wealthy class enclave in Pondok Indah South Jakarta. Paramadina was founded in 1985 by the late Professor Nurcholish Madjid, a University of Chicago's graduate who is well-known as one of the most important pioneers of Islamic renewal movement in Indonesia since the early 1970s. Sekolah Madania is mainly located in Parung West Java. It runs kindergarten, elementary schools (SD, or Sekolah Dasar) and Junior Secondary (SMP or Sekolah Menengah Pertama) and also senior secondary schools (SMA or Sekolah Menengah Atas) subsequently. Initially, Madania opened and adopted the pesantrens model of boarding for the SMA level. However this model of boarding school is no longer available due to technical difficulties and very high costing.

Madania is now also well-known for its efforts to promote the idea of pluralism and multiculturalism. This can be seen from the curricula and teaching learning methods. Therefore, Madania allows non-Muslims to be admitted as the students. It also maintains weekly religious teaching for non-Muslim students by having class of religion they professed. This provision is of course very common for sekolah umum (general schools) under the MONE or for some private schools run by Catholics foundations like Santa Ursula or Santa Maria, but quite distinctive for educational institution affiliated to Muslim community. Recently, there is, at least, over 3 per cent of non-Muslim student population in Madania. Although the number is relatively very small, Madania is proven to be one of the leading "Islamic" schools that introduce the idea of pluralism in its actual and practical teaching and learning processes. Along with the idea of pluralism and multiculturalism, Madania put a strong emphasis on individual character building and life skills in response to globalization by introducing students to other languages and cultural orientation of other civilization like China and Japan.

Another unique model is SMU Insan Cendikia located in Serpong, Banten. This school was initiated in 1996 as general Senior Secondary School (SMU) by some prominent scientists mostly work at the BPPT (*Badan Pengkajian, Pengembangan dan Penerapan Teknologi*/Council for Researches, Development and Applied Technology) of *Kementerian Riset dan Teknologi* (the Ministry of Advanced Research and Technology). This state-sponsored council is strongly connected with Professor B.J. Habibie, the former Minister of Research and Technology, in 1998 replaced Soeharto as President of Republic Indonesia, who graduated from a German university and the former chairman of ICMI (*Ikatan Cendikiawan Muslim se-Indonesia*/All-Indonesia Muslim Intellectual Association).

SMU Insan Cendikia—that later was converted into MAN Insan Cendekia as a MORA-owned madrasah—aimed at producing Muslim scientists who are also knowledgeable in Islamic knowledge. It gives a strong emphasis on students to be well-versed also in science and technology. And therefore this institution maintains links with ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) and IPB (Bogor Agriculture Institute) to channel its prospective graduates for further studies. Moreover, it also offers opportunity and scholarship for graduates to have overseas advanced studies on sciences and technology in Germany, in particular.

SMU/MAN Insan Cendikia adopts boarding school system in which achievement of each student is being scrutinized closely and their daily interaction is supervised 24 hours a day. The requirement of SMU/MAN Insan Cendikia is very competitive and high, and it is worth noting that this school accepts candidates only those graduated from *madrasa* Tsanawiyah who earned grade of 'A' for all subjects. The candidates should also pass the entrance examination, interview and some other tests. Several years ago the SMU Insan Cendikia was converted into State Senior Secondary Madrasah (MAN) and was put under MORA.

#### Conclusion

It may be seen that the logic behind the development Islamic education institutions may differ from one to another. *Pesantren*, *madrasah*, the old *sekolah Islam* and the new *Sekolah Islam* are to certain ways different in the way they have developed. However, all of them have arrived at one single objective that is to develop quality Islamic educational institutions for Indonesian Muslims.

At this point, all of these Islamic educational institutions are in accord that an Islamic educational system that could implant religious and moral values within its modern curricula is both very important and prospective. With that Islamic educational institutions will be able to maintain their instrumental role in the continued modernization of Muslim community as a whole.

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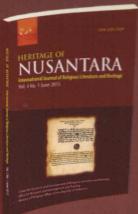
خير الفؤاد يوسف مدير التحرير: فخرياتي هيئة التحرير: عبد الرحمن مسعود (وزارة االشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية) أدوين ويرينجا (جامعة كولونيا) أنابيل تيه جالوب (المكتية البريطانية، المملكة المتحدة) نيكو ج غ كابتين (جامعة لايدن، هولندا) أحادياتي إكرام (جامعة أيدونيسيا، إندونيسيا) أزيوماردي أزرا (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا) مام طلحة (وزارة الشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية) عاتق سوسيلو (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا)

المحررون:

رئيس التحرير :

لقمان الحكيم آيانج أتريزا يقين أحمد رحمان محمد مرتضى رضوان بوستامام ماسميديا بينم ريزا بارويرا مساعد هيئة التحرير: ياسين رحمات أنصاري كوسنانتو عارف شبرا ملسى الصورة في الغلاف الأمامي مأخوذة من الصورة في المقالة A Taqriz for a Nineteenth Century Indonesian Manuscript محور هذه المجلة هو تزويد القراء بمعلومات حول خطة إندونيسية ودولية في تطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني من خلال نشر المقالات والتقارير البحثية ومراجعات الكتب. توكزت هريتيج اوف نوسانتارا للبحث في المؤلفات الدينية سواء كانت معاصرة أو قديمة، والتراث الديني الواقع في جنوب شرق آسيا، وترحب بمساهمات المثقفين والعلماء المتخصصين في هذا المجال. مركز البحوث وتطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني العنوان: مبنى وزارة الشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية الطابق الثامن عشر، الشارع محمد حسني تامرين رقم 6 جاكرتا اندونيسيا ت/الفاكس: +62 21 3920713 - 3920713 ت/الفاكس: البريد الالكتروني:heritage@kemenag.go.id الموقع: http://jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage

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