



THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PESANTREN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN WEST SUMATRA

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Abstract: The aim of the study is to investigate the characteristics of *pesantren* in the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. This region is well known for the early history of Islamic education in Indonesia. This is a qualitative study where the data were gathered through observation, interview, focus group discussion, and documentation in eleven *pesantrens* in the province of West Sumatra. This study reveals three main characters of the Islamic boarding schools, namely institutional system, curriculum and learning system and typology. Institutionally, Islamic boarding schools is under the auspices of a foundation. However, leadership and regeneration are still closely linked to the family of the *pesantren* founders. The curriculum and learning system are integrated from general/state school curriculum, classical *pesantren* curriculum, and modern Islamic school curriculum. Various classical-medieval literature in Islamic studies, commonly known as *kitab kuning*, are to a great extent also still used, especially in the institutions that only run traditional Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren salaf*).

Keywords: Characteristics, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic education

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Introduction

ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL which henceforth called as *pesantren* is inseparable part in the historical, intellectual and social discourse of Islamic education in Indonesia. In other words, *pesantren* becomes a model of a social system as well as the first and oldest Islamic education in Indonesia. Its presence inspires model and

educational systems today. *Pesantren* remains important throughout the ages. Therefore, many local and national researchers pay deliberate attention to this Islamic educational institution.¹ Several previous studies have explored varied issues regarding existence, function, and types of *pesantren* in West Sumatra.² For example, the study by Ashorah³ found that the ideas of transformation of Islamic education lead to the establishment of various models of *pesantren*, including the ones that adopt state or formal education system although the *pesantren* remains private institution and is not fully in the government system. This type of *pesantren* offers complete formal education, starting from elementary level up to university, and campus-based *pesantren*. Meanwhile, the studies about *pesantrens* in the other areas of Indonesia have shown that the system of education in those institutions is mainly based on learning cycle according to students' learning environment.⁴ One study found that the successful Islamic teaching in Indonesian *pesantren* was closely related to educational policy, teaching methods, environment, stakeholders, teachers' control, and the evaluation.⁵ In line with

¹ Edward Aspinall, *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia* (Stanford University Press, 2009); Mark Woodward et al., "Muslim Education, Celebrating Islam and Having Fun as Counter-Radicalization Strategies in Indonesia," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no. 4 (2010): 28–50; Jusuf Wanandi, "Islam in Indonesia: Its History, Development and Future Challenges," *Asia Pacific Review* 9, no. 2 (2002): 104–112.

² Hanun Asrohah, "The Dynamics of Pesantren: Responses toward Modernity and Mechanism in Organizing Transformation," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 5, no. 1 (2011): 66–90; Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, "Modern Pondok Pesantren: Maintaining Tradition in Modern System," *TSQAFAH* 11, no. 2 (2015): 223–248; Lyn Parker, "The Experience of Adolescent Students in Modernist Islamic Boarding Schools in West Sumatra, Indonesia," *Asian Studies M* 211 (2008).

³ Asrohah, "The Dynamics of Pesantren."

⁴ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Religious Education and Empowerment: Study on Pesantren in Muslim Minority West Papua," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 37, no. 2 (2016).

⁵ Muhammad Amri, SZAB Tahir, and Salman Ahmad, "The Implementation of Islamic Teaching in Multiculturalism Society: A Case Study at Pesantren Schools in Indonesia," *Asian Social Science* 13, no. 6 (2017): 125.

this study, Amri found that *pesantren* curricula, networking, and management are very inclusive.⁶

Pesantren is one of the types of indigenous Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. This institution focuses on the teaching of Islamic religion in order to acquire deep knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-dīn*) and practice it.⁷ *Pesantren* may function not only as Islamic educational institution but also propagation (*da'wa*). As an educational institution, Islamic boarding school conducts teaching and coaching activities by instilling Islamic understanding and practice to the students. As agency of propagation of Islamic religion, Islamic boarding school fosters the surrounding community to adhere to the Islamic teachings and promote Islam to a wider community.

In essence, there are three roles attached to Islamic boarding school, namely Islamic religious teaching institution, production of scholars, and preservation of Islamic tradition. Classically, the educational process at Islamic boarding school has five basic elements, namely dormitory, mosques, students, teaching of classical work of Islamic literature (*kitab kuning*), and religious leaders.⁸ Although the origin of Islamic boarding school in Indonesia is said to have come from Java and Madura, but this time the Islamic boarding schools education system has been included in the national education system. This is laid down in the Government Regulation (*Peraturan Pemerintah*) No. 55/2007 concerning Religious Education and Religion, as the explanation of Article 30 of Law No. 20/2003 concerning the National Education System. The latest legal development of *pesantren* is the

⁶ Amri, Tahir, and Ahmad.

⁷ Asrohah, "The Dynamics of Pesantren."

⁸ Mustain Thahir, "The Role and Function of Islamic Boarding School: An Indonesian Context," *TAWARIKH* 5, no. 2 (2014); Azyumardi Azra and Dina Afrianti, "Pesantren and Madrasa: Modernization of Indonesian Muslim Society," in *Workshop on Madrasa, Modernity and Islamic Education*, Boston University, CURA, 2005; Nana Herdiana Abdurrahman, "Character Education in Islamic Boarding School-Based SMA Amanah," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam UIN Sunan Gunung Djati* 2, no. 2 (2016): 287–305; Tamin Ritonga, Azawar Ananda, and Helmi Hasan, "The Teaching Learning Methods Of Islamic Classical Books In Islamic Boarding School," *Asian Journal of Management Sciences & Education* 6, no. 4 (2017): 126–132.

promulgation of Islamic Boarding School Statute (*Undang-undang Pesantren*) No. 18/2019.

Islamic education in West Sumatra originally stems from a small Islamic religious teaching held at a *surau* (small mosque). According to Mahmud Yunus, the first person to establish a *surau* in Minangkabau (West Sumatra) was Sheikh Burhanuddin (1066-1111 H/1646-1691 AD). Returning from Kotaraja Aceh, where he studied religion with Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkili, a well-known Acehnese scholar, Sheikh Burhanuddin established a *surau* in his hometown in Ulakan, Pariaman.⁹ In this *surau*, Sheikh Burhanuddin pursued the Islamic religion and taught subjects of Islamic knowledges to his students. The same method was taken by his pupils. For example, *Tuangku Nan Tuo* founded small mosque in Koto Tuo. From this process, in the early 20th century, the *surau* educational system gradually changed into the Islamic education and transforms into the Islamic boarding school system. According to Azyumardi Azra,¹⁰ the term "Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*)", as a distinctive Islamic educational institution, is adopted by a number of Islamic educational institutions in West Sumatra only in recent decades. It seems that in the past, the Islamic boarding schools, which had been developed in Java, did not have much affect on the growth and development of Islamic educational institutions in Minangkabau at least until the modernization of Islamic boarding schools lately.

In the era of the 1980s to the 1990s, the institution and system of Islamic school education in West Sumatra began adopting the *pesantren* education system, which was a new mode of institution of Islamic education in West Sumatra. At that time, the managers of Islamic school in West Sumatra were eager to change their teaching system and adjusted it to that of the *pesantren*.¹¹ In fact,

⁹ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam; Dari Zaman Nabi SAW, Khalifah-Khalifah Rasyidin, Bani Umaiyah Dan Abbasiyah Sampai Zaman Mamluks Dan Usmaniyah Turki; Untuk Mahasiswa-Mahasiswa Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN* (Hidakarya Agung, 1979).

¹⁰ Azra and Afrianty, "Pesantren and Madrasa."

¹¹ Muhammad Kosim, "Tradisi Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Di Sumatera Barat," 2018; Zainal Efendi Hasibuan, "The Portrait of Surau as a Forerunner of Madrasah: The Dynamics of Islamic Institutions in Minangkabau Toward

the founders and managers of Islamic school transformed their institutions' name into *pesantren* simply to gain popularity like Javanese Islamic boarding schools. Besides, the changing name of institution was also due to the regulatory demands related to Islamic boarding schools based on Minister of Religious Affair Decree (*Keputusan Menteri Agama/KMA*) No. 6/1979, subsequently supported by Regulation of Ministry of Religious Affairs No. 1/2001 and No. 3/2006). In other words, Islamic schools were prevalent in West Sumatra with their own characters and only lately transformed into the model of *pesantren*, following the Javanese style of Islamic boarding school.

The process of adoption and transformation from educational institutions (Islamic school) to typical of West Sumatra is henceforth called as "Islamic boarding school" or *pesantren*. The system also adopted the typical of Java in management and ownership systems, the learning systems, the teachers, the textbook books used, and so on. There is even an Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra that implement a non-Islamic curriculum (secular subjects), especially in junior high and senior high school.

Based on the above phenomena, it is interesting to conduct in-depth research related to characteristics of the *pesantren* within the framework of the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method, where the data were gathered through interviews, observation, documentation and focus group discussion (FGD). Interviews were used to explore the thoughts, feelings, intentions, behaviors, or responses from the informants related to the characteristics of

Modernization," *AJIS: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–28; Erman Erman, "Tradisi Keilmuan Madrasah Perti: Pewarisan Kitab Kuning Di Minangkabau," *Hadharah*, 2019; Widia Fithri, "Dinamika Pendidikan Islam Di Minangkabau (86 Tahun Perjalanan Madrasah Diniyyah Pasia)," n.d.; Saharman Saharman, "Sejarah Pendidikan Islam Di Minangkabau," *Turast: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian* 6, no. 1 (2018): 93–104; Arnelis Arnelis, Marjohan Marjohan, and Syahniar Syahniar, "Usaha Kaum Mudo Minangkabau Dalam Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pelayanan Bimbingan Dan Konseling," *Konselor* 5, no. 3 (2016): 194–203; Saharman Saharman, "Surau Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Minangkabau," *Pendidikan Islam* 1, no. 2 (2017): 53–75.

the *pesantren* in the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. The data obtained through this interview was about institutional characteristics, teachers and students, curriculum and learning in the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. This study also made observation directly at Islamic boarding schools to look at how they carried out their businesses, such as learning activities, prayers, and routine activities after learning hours. Observations in this study were aimed at obtaining the data about the characteristics of teachers and students interactions in learning and teaching processes in the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra.

Focus group discussion (FGD) is a data collection technique that is generally performed on a qualitative research with the aim of finding the meaning of a theme by conducting a group discussion with informants. This technique is used to gather data or information about a certain topic. The FGD participants consisted of Islamic boarding schools leaders, teachers, community leaders and education leaders in eleven *pesantrens*, namely Sumatra Thawalib Parabek Agam, Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung Agam, Sumatra Thawalib Padang Panjang, Serambi Mekah Padang Panjang, Tarbiyah Islamiyah Teluk Kabung Padang, Ar-Risalah, Darul Ikhlas Sarang Gagak Pakandangan Pariaman, Nurul Yakin Padang Pariaman, Modern Putri Ulul Albab Koto Baru Darmasraya, Darus Salam Sitiung I Damasraya, and Al-Barokah I Sitiung Damasraya. There are three main focuses that this study aims to examine regarding the characteristic of *pesantren* in West Sumatra: institution, curriculum and learning and typology.

Institutional Characteristics of Pesantren in West Sumatra

This study found two aspects of the character of the Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra.

The History of the Emergence of the Term Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren) in West Sumatra

Historically, Islamic educational institutions in West Sumatra emerged along with Islamic boarding schools in Java and Madura. Martin van Bruinessen contends that the first *pesantren* in Java was

Pesantren Tegalsari in Ponorogo, East Java, which was established in 1742.¹² Meanwhile, *surau* in West Sumatera appeared in the era of Sheikh Burhanuddin (1646-1691) when he established *surau* in Ulakan, district of Pariaman in 1681. In West Sumatra, the Islamic educational institution was originally conducted in small mosques. The education in this place was carried out through a system called *halaqah*, where students gathered around the teacher while listening to the teacher's explanation. Sometimes, students offered the books that they wanted to learn from the teacher. In the early 20th century, there was a renewal of *surau* education into modern education with a classical system. With this advanced system, students graduated with a diploma. This new institution called "madrasah" or also referred to as "perguruan" (institution). With this renewal of education came the *Perguruan Diniyah* (1915), the institution of Sumatra Thawalib Padang Panjang (1918), the institution of Sumatra Thawalib Parabek (1919), the institution of Diniyah Putri Padang Panjang (1924), the institution of Islamic School Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) Candung (1926) and others *perguruan*.

From the 1980s until 1990s, the term Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) was used frequently and thus developed in West Sumatra in the subsequent decades. The adoption of the term Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra was not due to the society's consideration that Islamic boarding schools system is better than the growing local Islamic schools in West Sumatra at the time, but rather, it was because there were regulatory demands. Prior to 2000, Islamic boarding schools were managed by Sub-Directorate of the Islamic Education Development (*Direktorat Pembinaan Perguruan Agama Islam*), namely the Islamic Boarding School Subdivision (*Subdit Pondok Pesantren*) in accordance with the Minister of Religion Decree No. 6/1979. Subsequently, it developed into the Directorate of Religious Education and Islamic Boarding Schools (*Direktorat Pendidikan Keagamaan dan Pondok Pesantren*) based on Decree of the Minister

¹² Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia," *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, 2007, 172–98.

of Religion No. 1/2001. In 2007, the Islamic boarding school educational institutions, as educational and religious institutions, is regulated by Government Regulation (PP) No. 55/2007.

On the basis of these regulations, around the 1980s, Islamic educational institutions in West Sumatra, namely the "*perguruan*", that had already existed, were renamed to "*pondok pesantren*", such as Perguruan Sumatera Thawalib turned into Pondok Pesantren Sumatera Thawalib, the institution of Perguruan Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah was renamed as Pondok Pesantren Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, Perguruan Diniyah Putri was renamed Pondok Pesantren Diniyah Putri. Similarly, Islamic educational institutions established after the 1980s were directly given the names of *pesantren* like Pesantren Serambi Mecca Padang Panjang (1995), Pesantren Al-Barokah Dharmasraya (2000), Pesantren Arrisalah Padang (2003), and Pesantren Modern Putri Ulul Al-Bab Dharmasraya (2011).

According to Fithri,¹³ the managers or principals of Islamic schools in West Sumatra were busy to change the name of their educational institution and adopted a common term of *pesantren* like in Java. It cannot be denied the fact that there are slightly differences between *perguruan* or *pesantren* in West Sumatra with *pesantren* in Java. In Minangkabau (West Sumatra), madrasah or *pesantren* system is an organization of modern education, such as *diniyah* school, madrasah school and others that do not apply full-day learning system as found in Java.

The school hours have been arranged in such a way that it was also applied to the colonial education system. The exchange of institutional name from college or "*perguruan*" into "*pondok pesantren*", in fact, encouraged new motivation to the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. However, such a changing name from *perguruan* into *pesantren* was not executed properly. They did not fully apply elements of *pesantren* as this term originally emerged in Java. In other words, the changing *perguruan* into *pesantren* does not reflect the whole characters of Javanese *pesantren*. For example, *kyai* (male *pesantren* leaders) was central in

¹³ Fithri, "Dinamika Pendidikan Islam Di Minangkabau (86 Tahun Perjalanan Madrasah Diniyyah Pasia)."

pesantren in Java. *Kyai* serves as a leader, owner, as well as charismatic teacher. But the term 'kyai' was not capitalized as the power in West Sumatra *pesantren*. Neither were the other terms such as "santri" with all its derivative terms, such as *nyantri*, *santri kalong*, and *santri mondok*, which were not popular in West Sumatra.

Institutional and Leadership Systems

Based on the data gathered in the field, the leadership system of Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra were all under the auspices a foundation, both Islamic boarding schools founded before the 1980s and the ones after that decade. Although being under foundation, leadership system and the appointment of new leader of Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra can be classified into two patterns.

First, the appointment of leader and changing leadership is made through deliberation in a foundation. It is a pattern of modern management. Each foundation member is entitled to become leaders of Islamic boarding school. This pattern is open to all members of the foundation, and even for members of community or society where Islamic boarding school belongs to or is located. The Islamic boarding schools that adopts this system include Sumatra Thawalib Islamic Boarding School Parabek, Sumatra Thawalib Islamic Boarding School Padang Panjang, Serambi Mecca Islamic Boarding School Padang Panjang, Arrisalah Islamic Boarding School Padang, and Modern Putri Ulul Al-Bab Islamic Boarding School Dharmasraya. The weakness of this system is that not every elected leader truly know and understand about Islamic boarding school that he/she will lead. There is a risk of ignorance of new leaders since they can be alien to the school.

Second, the change of leadership is based on genealogy. Unlike the first pattern, this second model of leadership or school principal and chairman of the foundation is bequeathed to the family of the school founders. The foundation serves as a regulatory demand (the rules of establishing an Islamic boarding school from the Ministry of Religion). Nonetheless, the foundations can reinforce the existence and development of

Islamic boarding school, since the foundation is also to a lesser degree involving the community. The *pesantrens* or Islamic boarding schools that adopt this pattern include Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiah Candung, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiah Batang Kabung Padang, Nurul Yaqin Pariaman, Darul Ikhlas Sarang Gagak Pariaman, Darussalam Dharmasraya, and Al-Barokah 1 Dharmasraya. Each *pesantren* prepared a cadre of successors from the family circle, especially the children and grand-children of the founder.¹⁴

Characteristics of Curriculum and Learning of Islamic Boarding School in West Sumatra

The second character of West Sumatra *pesantren* is concerned with curriculum and learning method.

Characteristics of the Curriculum

The educational curriculum in *pesantren* plays an important tool to achieve the goal of Islamic education. It also serves as a guideline in the implementation of the Islamic educational process.¹⁵ *Pesantren* curriculum is arranged in accordance with the objectives, content and learning materials as well as the means used to guide the implementation of learning activities to achieve specific goals of Islamic education. In *pesantren*, curriculum sets the number of subjects that must be taken or studied by students

¹⁴ Hasibuan, "The Portrait of Surau as a Forerunner of Madrasah."

¹⁵ Azra, Afrianty, and Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasa"; Azra and Afrianty, "Pesantren and Madrasa"; Saidna Zulfiqar Bin Tahir, "Multilingual Teaching and Learning at Pesantren Schools in Indonesia," *Asian EFL Journal* 89 (2017): 74–94; Din Muhammad Zakariya, "The Concept Of Islamic Education Curriculum: The Study Of Tawhid In Al-Islam Pesantren Lamongan Indonesia," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 1, no. 2 (2015): 98–104; Hasan Baharun and Siti Maryam, "Building Character Education Using Three Matra of Hasan Al-Banna's Perspective in Pesantren," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam UIN Sunan Gunung Djati* 4, no. 2 (2019): 51–62; Taufik Rizki Sista, Safruddin Al Baqi, and Agus Budiman, "The Implementation Of Islamic Education In Student Moral Guidance On Traditional And Modern Pesantren Institution," *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 3 (2018).

or *santri*.¹⁶ The *pesantren* curricula are very inclusive and open to various materials.¹⁷

Each school has a curriculum as the embodiment of the vision and mission mandated by the founder. The school maintains the core curriculum and its material and supplemental support. Based on the findings of this study, Islamic school curriculum in West Sumatra are classified into three groups, namely *pesantren* curriculum, madrasah curriculum (thanāwiyyah and 'āliyah), and state-school curriculum (for which organizes junior high school and senior high school). The three curriculums were integrated into Islamic boarding school curriculum.

First, *pesantren* curriculum, known as Islamic boarding schools curriculum, consists of religious sciences. Students are taught main core of curriculum of traditional Islamic subjects in order to be familiar with religious issues (*tafaquh fi al-din*), as the founder envisioned. The literature and sources mostly refer to classical Islamic religious work, better known as *kitab kuning*. These literature include *Matn al-Jurūmiyyah*, *Mukhtashar* and *al-Khudurī* in the field of Arabic grammar (*nahwu*) and *Matn al-Binā'*, *al-Kaylānī*, and *al-Taftāzānī* for Arabic morphology (*ṣarf*). The literature also cover the field of Islamic law (*fiqh*), such as *Safnat al-Najāh*, *Minhāj al-Tālibīn*, and *al-Mahallī*, Qur'anic exegesis, such as *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, theories of Islamic law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), such as *al-Waraqat*, *Lutfi al-Ishārah* and *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*. In the field of logic (*mantiq*) and rhetoric (*balaghah*), the literature include *al-Īdāh al-Mubham* and *Jawhar al-Maknūn*. Meanwhile *Nūr al-Yaqīn* is the most popular reference in studying Islamic history and *Muhktār al-Ḥadīth* in the science of hadith. The field of creed (tahwid), the literature include *al-Dusūqī*, *Kifāyat al-Awwām*, and *Fath al-Majīd* and Sufism uses the famous work of *al-Hikam*. Apart from that, the Sumatra Thawalib Islamic boarding school used broader reference, including more modern works, such as *Mu'īn al-Mubīn* (*fiqh*), *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* (*fiqh*), *Mabāhith fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, *Tafsīr al-Manar* and *Tafsīr al-*

¹⁶ Che Noraini Hashim and Hasan Langgulung, "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia," *Bulletin of Education & Research* 30, no. 1 (2008): 1–19.

¹⁷ Amri, Tahir, and Ahmad, "The Implementation of Islamic Teaching in Multiculturalism Society."

Marāghī (tafsīr), Taysīr Muṣṭalāh al-Hadīth (hadīth), and Mabādi Awaliyah (uṣūl al-fiqh).

Second is madrasah curriculum. This is adopted from the curriculum offered by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. This curriculum serves as supporting the main curriculum of *pesantren*. Several Islamic school in West Sumatra adopt this curriculum. They include Pesantren Nurul Yaqin Ringan - Ringan, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiah Batang Kabung, Pesantren Darussalam Darmasraya, Pesantren Al-Barokah Darmasraya. The other schools that the curriculum of Ministry of Religion include Pesantren Sumatra Thawalib, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiah, Pesantren Serambi Mecca, Pesantren Arrisalah, and Pesantren Modern Putri Ulum Al-Bab Darmasraya.

Third is the state-school curriculum, developed by the Ministry of Education. Pesantren Serambi Mecca (at the level of junior and senior high school) and Pesantren Arrisalah (at the level of junior high school) used this curriculum. The curriculum was integrated with school curriculum, so that the graduates of junior and senior high schools in *pesantren* were different in character or moral from junior and senior high school graduates because they got both field of knowledge deeply. Unlike the other *pesantrens*, Pesantren Darul Ikhlas Sarang Gagak Pariaman just held only *pesantren* curriculum or curriculum of *tafaqquh fī al-dīn*. It only runs a *pesantren* model and does not hold the Islamic school education (*madrasa*) and state school education (*sekolah*). It is therefore well-known as *salafiyyah* Islamic boarding school (*pesantren salaf*). To get a diploma of Islamic school or public school, the students only take the exams in packages A, B, and C. Package A was a similar test to get Elementary School Sertificate, Package B for Junior High School, and Package C for Senior High School respectively.

Characteristics of Learning Based on Local Culture

The characteristics of learning system of West Sumatra *pesantren* can be classified into two types: a learning system in the classroom and outside of the classroom. Characteristically, the learning systems of *pesantren* that implement either *pesantren* curriculum, madrasah curriculum, or state-school curriculum in the classrooms are carried out by the traditional method of

learning. It means that the methods of teaching in the process of transferring knowledge of Islam, cultural values and Islamic ethics to students are very strong in the education process. To empower learning in the classroom, it is integrated with the outside learning in the classroom. It is conducted through the *halaqah* system, as well the *pesantren salafiyah* like *sorogan*, *weton*, and *bandongan*.¹⁸

Usually, before the class begins, the students always study in groups through *halaqah* supervised by senior students or teacher *tuo* related to the topics of the study, especially religious subjects of *kitab kuning*. The students read a particular work or text (*matan*) and then translate, explain and understand it. The learning of *kitab kuning* will allow the students to know the Arabic language method and understand its meaning. The teachers of *kitab kuning* are alumni of the *pesantren*, who continued their education to State Islamic University (UIN) or State Islamic Institute (IAIN)¹⁹ and after graduation, they returned to teach at their Islamic boarding school where they graduated from. The other alumni, they directly became *Tuangku* at their *pesantren*.

The learning system implemented at Thawalib Padang Panjang is almost the same as the Thawalib Parabek and other *pesantrens*. The learning process is conducted through face-to-face meeting in the classroom, class discussion, homework, and writing papers/reports. In addition, those *pesantrens* occasionally invite scholars, community leaders, and Thawalib alumni, to give a public speech with the topics relevant to the mission and goals of Thawalib's education. The school hour starts from dawn, ends up prior to late afternoon prayer (asr) on the day and continues at night. Students are also directed to be able to participate in *muhādarah* (public/general speech) and *khuṭbah* (sermon). These are among the most desirable additional skills of the students at *pesantren*, where they learn not only skill of speaking but also of

¹⁸ Masjkur Anhari, "Integrasi Sekolah Ke Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren," *Surabaya: Diantama*, 2007.

¹⁹ One distinction between UIN and IAIN is that the former run general, non-Islamic departments, such science and computer, while the latter only has Islamic departments, such as *tarbiyah* (Islamic education), *syariah* (Islamic law) and *dakwah* (Islamic propagation).

organizing ideas and thoughts and deliver them systematically for public audience after they graduate.

There is no failing a grade in Thawalib school. Students with low understanding will be guided and assisted to overcome the problems. If the maximum effort has been made but such problems remains, the students concerned will be removed from the school. Teachers as the most important element for the success of the teaching and learning process are selected and determined in accordance with the educational standards of Thawalib Padang Panjang. With a background of educational achievements at home and to teach in their respective disciplines, teachers of Thawalib Padang Panjang are considered as the best and the most appropriate teachers for their respective subjects.

Based on FGD, interviews and observations on October 6th and 7th, 2019, in Pesantren Darul Ikhlas Pakandangan, Pariaman, it is found that the learning system employs the concept of the "complete learning" (*belajar tuntas*) under the leadership of Buya Zubir Tk. Kuniang. The concept of complete learning, according to *pesantren salafiyah*, is that students must complete studying literature or books hierarchically, starting from the lowest level, to the medium, and, finally, the high level. Students cannot study the material and literature of the higher level without mastering the lower one. They must finish reading and understanding any material and literature before continuing to the higher level. This concept of learning puts everyone in the same opportunity and learning service under the guidance of senior students (*guru tuo*). All subject matters are taught in a complete, detailed and well-decomposed manners. After one topic is done, then it will be followed by sessions of question and answer, consolidation, discussion, and enrichment.

The learning system like this in this boarding school is maintained from generation to generation. Buya Zubir Tk. Kuniang, a *pesantren* principal, had made all forms of empirical experiences in teaching and learning activities. Those experiences transferred and completely transformed to the students. Then naturally and conditionally it passed on from generation to generation.

The learning process is tightly guarded by strict discipline and fully obedience by all students, who must take an oath of obedience (*bay'at*). Sincerity and obedience are the basic educational culture that students must fully understand and comply. Conversely, students' disobedience and insincerity to teachers is seen as a big trouble in their studies. Such principle come from the view that knowledge cannot be transformed from teachers to students without teacher's permission.

Each subject matter that is applied in accordance with the syllabus and *pesantren* curriculum must be studied sequentially and systematically, starting from the easy or low to the difficult or high material. Every step of the process of transferring material is assessed directly by *guru tuo*. This assessment is carried out to measure students' mastery of material that students have learned. One *guru tuo* usually supervises 7 up to 10 students.

Before studying with the *buya*, the authoritative person, *guru tuo* or senior teacher provides guidance to each student to master a certain subject thoroughly and then proceed to the next subject. Before a student truly masters any subject, then she/he will not be allowed to study any other subjects. If the student fail or has not fully mastered the subject, she/he will be assisted by senior students, who guide him/her in front of student fellows. In connection with this activity, the motto "*Lanca kaji de diulang – pasa jalan dek batampuah*" (material is mastered because it is often repeated, the road can be memorized because it is often traveled).

The learning activities are conducted together and led by the head of the boarding school (Buya H. Suhaili Tuangku (TK) Mudo every day except on Thursday and Friday. The learning activities begin at 8 a.m. to noon, which is followed by all students (186 *santris*). The lower level *santri* only attend and listen, while the senior *santri* learn from *guru tuo* or (senior teachers) and *buya*. Then after the midday prayer, at 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., learning activities begin again which is led by their respective *guru tuo*. In the evening, starting at 8 p.m. to 10 p.m., senior students (*guru tuo*) guide the junior students back. After the rest time, this activity resumes up to the dawn prayer.

In addition to learning *kitab kuning*, the students were also trained with life skill education, especially in carpentry (civil

engineering). All buildings in the Pesantren Darul Ikhlas (study room, dormitory, building of the burial place of the founder of Buya Haji Zubir Tuangku Kuniang, and other facilities) were built in mutual cooperation by the students themselves. The ability to carpenter can be used as a skill to strengthen the family economy. This skill was transformed from the late *pesantren* leader Buya Haji Zubir Tuangku Kuniang and his son Buya Haji Suhaili Tuangku Mudo, who is now the current leader. Both have expertise in building construction.

Graduated students from this *pesantren* are granted the title of *tuangku* through an academic ceremony. *Tuangku* means people who understand religion and master the classical Islamic knowledges, especially those in *kitab kuning*, and are considered of being able to offer Islamic religious-legal perspectives on various religious and social problems in society. The particular social and religious title of *tuangku* is only available in Pariaman.

Characteristics Typology of Pesantren

According to Manfred Ziemek,²⁰ there are five types of *pesantren* or Islamic boarding schools. He classifies it into type A, B, C, D, and E. Islamic boarding school with type A has very limited facilities, namely the mosque and religious leader's house. Islamic boarding school type B has more complete facilities than Islamic boarding school type A. There are three facilities in type B namely: mosques, religious leader's house, and dormitory. Islamic boarding school type C has four important facilities for educational activities, namely: a mosque, religious leader's house, dormitory, and the Islamic school.

Unlike these A, B and C, the three type have more comprehensive facilities and programs. Islamic boarding school type D has three elements: (1) major components of Islamic boarding school, (2) an Islamic school (*madrasa*), and (3) the skills program. Islamic boarding school type E has five elements, namely: (1) major Islamic boarding school components, (2) an

²⁰ Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren Dalam Perubahan Sosial* (Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M), 1986).

Islamic school, (3) skills programs, (4) a public school (*sekolah*), and (5) university (*perguruan tinggi*).

Based on the five types or categories of Islamic boarding school above, Islamic boarding school in West Sumatra can be grouped into three types. First, Islamic boarding schools with type B plus. They have mosques, religious leader's house, dormitory, study room and run skills program. Darul Ikhlas Islamic Boarding School Sarang Gagak Pariaman belongs to this type. This Islamic boarding school is *salafiyah* Islamic boarding school which only emphasizes a study on traditional Islamic knowledge (*kitab kuning*). However, it carries out activities of skills or life skills. The form of the skills taught include carpentry (wood and stone). The carpentry buildings of schools and mosques nearby this *pesantren* were carried out by the *tuangku* along with the students and old teachers. This form of Islamic boarding school is widely found in Pariaman, Tanah Datar, Pasaman and other areas.

Second, the Islamic boarding schools belong to type D. They have a mosque, religious leader's house, dormitory, Islamic school and programming skills. Based on the data obtained, a number of Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra belong to this type, such as Nurul Yaqin Islamic Boarding School Ringan- Ringan Pariaman, Sumatra Thawalib Islamic Boarding School Padang Panjang, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung Islamic Boarding School and Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Batang Kabung Islamic Boarding School Padang, Darussalam Islamic Boarding School, Modern Putri Ulul Al-Bab Islamic Boarding School and Al-Barokah Islamic Boarding School.

Third, Islamic boarding schools show a combination of type D and type E. They have Islamic boarding school education (*pesantren*), schools (*madrasa/sekolah*) and colleges or university, such as in Pesantren Sumatra Thawalib, Pesantren Parabek (Islamic school [*madrasa*] and college/*ma'had aliy*), Pesantren Serambi Mecca Padang Panjang (Islamic schools [*madrasa*], schools [*sekolah*] and colleges/*Ma'had Aliy*) and Pesantren Arrisalah, Islamic school [*madrasa*] and schools [*sekolah*]).

Indeed, a change of name from *perguruan* to *pondok pesantren* provides new motivation for the development of Islamic education in West Sumatra. However, the changing name was not carried

through, such as not applying the elements of the Islamic boarding schools, like those ones in Java, but only a formality. In Islamic boarding schools in Java, the religious leader element is a key element. The religious leader serves as leader, owner, and a very charismatic teacher. However, the term religious leader is not used as a force for Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra.²¹ Accordingly, the term "students" with all its form, like *nyantri*, *kalong students*, boarding students, were unpopular in West Sumatra.

Students were traditionnaly called '*murid*' and '*orang siak*' in West Sumatra. The term '*murid*' was tradition inherited from *Tarekat* (Sufi order) which was called '*santri*' and '*mursyid*' (Sufi master) to refer to *kiyai* in Java. These terms had been popular along with the establishment of surau *Tarekat Syatariyah* in Ulakan Pariaman in the 17 century. The term '*Orang Siak*' came from students who learnt in the *surau*. Most of them at that time were from the regency of Siak (Riau province). Today, however, students are called '*murid*' in the *pesantren*, but the other *pesantrens* began to use the word '*santri*' to the students. Infact, the terms like "*nyantri*", (to become *santri*) "*santri mukim*" (*santris* stay in dormitory) and "*santri kalong*" (*santris* who do not stay and live in *pesantren*) were not found in West Sumatra *pesantren*.

Mursyid or Sufi teacher is not known in the current learning of *surau* or *pesantren*, except in the sufi order or tarekat, such as Naqshabandiyyah and Shatariyyah. In the following development of *pesantren* in West Sumatra, the term '*sheikh*' appeared at the beginning of the 20 century. Some are called with this title, such as Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek, Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli Candung, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah in Maninjau. Nevertheles, this term also disappeared and there came out local and national terms, such as '*tuangku*, *buya*, *guru* and *Ustaz*'. However, when the institution of "*perguruan*" was changed into "*pesantren*" in the 1980s, it did not completely change the tradition of West Sumatra *surau*, particularly in addressing '*santri*' to the

²¹ Robert W. Hefner, "Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia," *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, 2009, 55–105; Azra, Afrianty, and Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasa."

students. Neither was the use of 'kyai', except for annual formal report to the Religious ministry.

Seen from the five elements of Islamic boarding school (religious scholars/kyai, students, dormitory, *kitab kuning*, and mosques), then most Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra do not have religious scholars, who owe Islamic boarding school and are charismatic, like in Java. first element is the religious leader, not found as the (call). Rather, it is *ustādh* and *ustādhah* and tuangku who lead Islamic boarding schools. They also do not live in Islamic boarding schools.

Based on the types of Islamic boarding schools defined by Ziemek,²² and on the findings of this present study, it turns out that none of Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra exatly refer to the above types, such as type D. Instead of following a single type, the *pesantren* in West Sumatra combines those type and create their own type, such as Type B plus tip. There is also a combination of type D and type E, that run Islamic school (*madrasa*) and public schools (*sekolah*).

Note that in some Islamic boarding schools, leaders were provided with a house, so he/she stayed together with students in Islamic boarding school, but many schools don not provide a house for religious leaders or because they preferred living in their own house. Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra do not have a charismatic religious leader or leaders such as religious leader (*kyai*) in Java. This is probably due to its leaders who do not stay in Islamic boarding house. Except for Islamic boarding schools that provide religious leader's house or Islamic boarding school leaders, the charismatic leaders or religious leader will appear, as always in the Islamic boarding school.

Conclusion

The development of the term "Islamic boarding school" in West Sumatra began in the 1980s and 1990s. Islamic boarding school in West Sumatera still taste as "institution". Therefore, the meaning of "Islamic boarding school" in West Sumatra cannot be equalized to "Islamic boarding school" in the place of origin,

²² Ziemek, *Pesantren Dalam Perubahan Sosial*.

namely the tradition of Java and Madura, because the character of schools as educational institutions in West Sumatra were still affected by character of Minangkabau culture and tradition.

From leadership system, Islamic boarding school in West Sumatra was under a foundation, but some foundations only limited to regulatory demands, for leadership and successor of an Islamic boarding school still come from the descendants of Islamic boarding schools' founder and owner. The leadership system does not prepare a cadre who will lead that Islamic boarding.

Seen from the five elements of Islamic boarding school (religious scholars, students, dormitory, holy yellow book, and mosque), then at the Islamic boarding school in West Sumatra lack the first element, namely the "religious leader". The West Sumatran Islamic boarding schools do not have charismatic leaders, like *kyai* in Javanese *pesantren*. Instead, they use a more common term such as *ustādh* or local term such as *tuangku*. They generally do not live in boarding schools.

The curriculum in Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra were integrated into three forms of curriculum, the curriculum of Islamic boarding schools, Islamic school curriculum, and the school curriculum (for boarding which organizes general school). Related to the learning system, Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra used two systems, the system of learning in the classroom, both the subject of Islamic boarding school or Islamic school and the system of outside learning in the classroom, which is in the mosque, in the dorm and even in the classroom. The second learning pattern is a pattern that learn the holy yellow book in order to prepare and to learn in the classroom, and as well as to deepen the knowledge in accordance with the contents of the book and scientific Arabic.

There are three types of Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra, when associated with a typology Ziemek: (a) Islamic boarding school type B plus, that there are mosques, religious leader's homes, classrooms and programming skills; (b) Islamic boarding school type D, namely the school that has mosques, religious leader's house, dormitory, Islamic school and programming skills and (c) Islamic boarding school type D and E,

are schools that have mosques, religious leader's house, dormitory, Islamic school, as well as school and university.

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