

# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL of PESANTREN STUDIES

## Articles in English

- ✻ PESANTREN AS A MODEL OF NON-FORMAL ISLAMIC EDUCATION  
A. Munir Sonhadji
- ✻ PONDOK PESANTREN SALAFIYAH AND REASONS OF  
MAINTAINING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM  
Inna Muthmainnah
- ✻ WHY KUDUS SANTRI IS MORE WELL-OFF?  
Abdurrahman Mas'ud
- ✻ RATIONALIZATION OF THE PESANTREN WORLD:  
The Absolute Authority of the Kyai in Weber's Perspective  
Achmad Zainal Arifin
- ✻ CONTESTING FUNDAMENTALISM:  
The Case of Islamic Education in Indonesia  
Florian Pohl
- ✻ PESANTREN AND SALAFI DAKWAH MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA:  
A case of Pesantren Ibnu Taimiyyah Banyumas  
Ahmad Bunyan Wahid
- ✻ PESANTREN AND THE NOTION OF GLOBAL TERRORISM  
Dedi Djubaedi

## Articles in Arabic

- ✻ المعهد العالي ودوره في تكوين كوادر العلماء في إندونيسيا  
Amin Haedari
- ✻ نظام "بيسنترين" مثل الكتاتيب في العرب  
Nashrullah

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## Contents

i Contents

iii Editorial

### ARTICLES IN ENGLISH

- 1 *Pesantren as a Model of Non-Formal Islamic Education*  
A. Munir Sonhadji
- 11 *Pondok Pesantren Salaf and Reasons of Maintaining Educational System*  
Inna Muthmainnah
- 37 *Why is Kudus Santri More Well-Off?*  
Abdurrahman Mas'ud
- 45 *Rationalization of The Pesantren World:  
The Absolute Authority of the Kyai in Weber's Perspective*  
Achmad Zainal Arifin
- 69 *Contesting Fundamentalism:  
The Case of Islamic Education in Indonesia*  
Florian Pohl
- 87 *Pesantren and Salafi Dakwah Movement in Indonesia:  
A case of Pesantren Ibnu Taimiyyah Banyumas*  
Ahmad Bunyan Wahib
- 113 *Pesantren and the Notion of Global Terrorism*  
Dedi Djubaedi
- 123 *Book Review: H. Amin Haedari, Transformasi Pesantren*  
Ruchman Basori

### ARTICLES IN ARABIC

- 129 المعهد العالي ودوره في تكوين كوادر العلماء في إندونيسيا  
Amin Haedari
- 135 نظام "بيسنترين" مثل الكتاتيب في العرب  
Nashrullah

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# **PONDOK PESANTREN SALAFIYAH AND REASONS OF MAINTAINING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

Inna Muthmainnah  
IAIN Antasari Banjarmasin

## **A. Introduction**

*Pondok pesantren* is a form of the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. This institution is established by social initiative and effort, so it is built, developed by and for the community. Historically speaking, it is difficult to determine when the first *pondok pesantren* was built. But based on historical accounts, it is traced that this institution was known in Indonesia in the 13th-14th centuries, and especially in Java in the 15th-16th centuries. Therefore, *pondok pesantren* has existed in Indonesia since 300-400 years ago.<sup>1</sup> Another work states that according to *Babad Demak*,

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<sup>1</sup> Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), pp. 19-20. See also Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Sejarah dan Budaya Pesantren," in *Dinamika Pesantren dan Madrasah*, edited by Ismail S. M., Nurul Huda, dan Abdul Kholiq (Semarang: Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Walisongo; Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002), pp. 3-26.

in the time of Rahmat (Sunan Ampel), *pondok pesantren* was established for the first time, in the same time with the reign of Kertawijaya in Majapahit.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning, mostly *pondok pesantrens* were built in the form of *salafiyah*, focusing in teaching and learning *kitab-kitab kuning*.<sup>3</sup> Time by time, educational system of *pondok pesantrens* has been developed. Some of them have offered formal education while still have applied their *salafiyah* method of teaching, this kind of *pondok pesantren* is classified as combination. Some others have changed totally by eliminating their *salafiyah* character, and this is called *khalafiyah* (modern).<sup>4</sup> Some others have maintained their *salafiyah* teaching without any change.<sup>5</sup> *Pondok pesantrens* have changed their educational system to respond to changes surrounding them for various reasons. For example, certificate is a requirement to have a job in the society nowadays. Moreover, some *pondok pesantrens* offer agricultural program (for instance Pondok Pesantren Darul Fallah, Bogor), and some others provide activities in poultry husbandry, goat, and milk cow raising, like in Pondok Pesantren Tegalrejo, Kediri.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Education Management Information System, *Laporan EMIS Pondok Pesantren Tahun Pelajaran 2002-2003 Propinsi Banten* (Jakarta: EMIS, 2002-2003), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Kitab kuning* is reference of Islamic studies. Various disciplines of Islamic studies are written on papers with chemical ingredient that made those papers yellow (*kuning*). Those textbooks are studied by *santris* (students). This method of teaching does not provide a certificate for its graduates.

<sup>4</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), pp. 95-107; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), fourth edition, pp. 41-42.

<sup>5</sup> Education Management Information System, *Laporan EMIS Pondok Pesantren*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> M. Dawam Rahardjo, "The Kyai, the Pesantren, and the Village: A Preliminary Sketch," in Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, and Yasmin Hussain, *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), pp. 241-246. See also M. Dawam Rahardjo (Ed.), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan* (Jakarta:

Interestingly, that assumption does not work in *pondok pesantrens* in the Regency of Pandeglang, especially in the District of Cimanuk. Pandeglang is in the Province of Banten, a province which is considered as a religious province.<sup>7</sup> The evidence of this is that there are a considered number of *pondok pesantrens* built and developed in this province. According to EMIS Report, in the academic year 2002-2003, there are 1.365 *pondok pesantrens* in Banten.<sup>8</sup> However, 1.051 of them or 77% are *salafiyah*.<sup>9</sup> In particular, in the Regency of Pandeglang, according the Center of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik) in 2001 there are 188 *pondok pesantrens* with 21.965 *santris* (students) and 188 *kyais* (leaders),<sup>10</sup> while according to EMIS Report in the academic year 2002-2003 there are 236 *pondok pesantrens* and 180 of them apply the *salafiyah* system. Moreover, 13 out of 20 *pondok pesantrens* in the District of Cimanuk apply the *salafiyah* system.<sup>11</sup>

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Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES), 1995); Suprayetno Wagiman, *The Modernization of the Pesantren's Educational System to Meet the Needs of Indonesian Communities* (Master thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Tubagus Ronny Rahman Nitibaskara, "Unsur-unsur Budaya Masyarakat Banten sebagai Tumpuan Kemajuan di Masa Depan," in *Membangun Propinsi Banten dengan Bertumpu pada Potensi Insani dan Kekuatan Budaya Masyarakat*, papers on Seminar Interaktif, Anyer, January 18-20, 2001, compiled by Bambang Sugiharto, et. al., A-4. See also Tubagus Fathul 'Adzim Chatib, "Peran Ulama dalam Pembangunan Propinsi Banten", in *Membangun Propinsi Banten dengan Bertumpu pada Potensi Insani dan Kekuatan Budaya Masyarakat*, papers on Seminar Interaktif, Anyer, January 18-20, 2001, compiled by Bambang Sugiharto, et. al., M-1.

<sup>8</sup> Education Management Information System, *Laporan EMIS Pondok Pesantren*, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Biro Pusat Statistik, *Pandeglang dalam Angka 2001*, p. 163.

<sup>11</sup> Education Management Information System, *Laporan EMIS Pondok Pesantren*, pp. 1-5.



This phenomenon is interesting to be discovered, namely to answer the questions: why do the *pondok pesantrens* which apply *salafiyah* system not follow the trend of change, changing into combined or modern ones?

### **B. *Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah* in the District of Cimanuk**

According to EMIS Report, *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in this area are 13 out of 20 *pondok pesantren*. However, as mentioned before, some *pondok pesantrens* have been changed in terms of their educational system. For example, Pondok Pesantren Al-Barkah, Kemalangan has conducted mixed educational system since 9 years ago. Another example is that sometimes a *pondok pesantren* is registered twice, like Pondok Pesantren Mathlaul Huda that is mentioned in EMIS Report under the name Mathlaul Huda and Batubantar with the same name of *kyai* (KH Busro). In fact, there is only one *pondok pesantren* at Batubantar led by KH Busro. However, there are some *pondok pesantrens* that have existed for a long time, but they are not listed in EMIS Report, like Pondok Pesantren Nurul Huda led by KH Memed which has been built since 24 years ago and Pondok Pesantren Nurul Hidayah led by KH Badri.

Through snowball method, the researcher has in hand a number of *pondok pesantren salafiyah*, and it is a belief that the list does not cover the whole names of *pondok pesantrens*, because those names are mentioned based on the memory of the informan at that time. Due to the limited time, there are 8 *pondok pesantrens* visited and their *kyais* or *ustadz/ustadzah* interviewed.

Generally, *pondok pesantrens* in Cimanuk are not different from *pondok pesantrens* in Java, as described by Dhofier.<sup>12</sup> *Sorogan* (individualized) dan *bandongan* (classical) are the main methods of teaching. Textbooks (*kitab kuning*) taught are the same with ones at other

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<sup>12</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp. 28-31.

*pondok pesantren salafiyah*. For example, in *nahwu* (Arabic grammar), *Ajrumiyah* and *Alfiyah* are common references to study, while in *fiqh* (Islamic law), *Fath al-Mu'in* is commonly taught. *Tafsir Jalalayn*, *al-Munir*, and *al-Qurthubi* are textbooks in Qur'anic exegesis that well-known among *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in Cimanuk.

### C. *Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: a Literature Review*

The term of *pondok* is from Arabic, namely *funduq* meaning *hotel* or *inn*,<sup>13</sup> while the word *pesantren* is derived from *santri* which embedded the prefix *pe-* and suffix *-an*, means a place of *santri* (student). According to A. H. Johns, the term *santri* comes from Tamil, means a teacher.<sup>14</sup> C. C. Berg states that the word *santri* is derived from the word *shastri* (Indian language), meaning a person who masters the Holy Books of Hinduism.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the term *salafiyah* literally means a person in the past, ancestor.<sup>16</sup> This term is also used to refer to a type of *pondok pesantren*, means "traditional" *pondok pesantren*, or one that is full of Islamic practices as historical heritage, especially in Islamic law and mysticism.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, *pondok pesantren salafiyah* means a place or boarding school where people learn Islamic texts by applying traditional method/system which is the heritage of the ancestor. Abdul Aziz and Saifullah Ma'shum state that the original form of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* has a category of only teaching Arabic classical texts and educational system applied is classical

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<sup>13</sup> Ahmad Warson Munawwir, *Al-Munawwir: Kamus Arab-Indonesia* (Surabaya: Pustaka Progressif, 1997), fourteenth edition, p. 1073.

<sup>14</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, 18, quoting from A. H. Johns (personal interview on December 1, 1980).

<sup>15</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, 18 quoting from C. C. Berg, 257.

<sup>16</sup> Munawwir, *Al-Munawwir*, p. 651.

<sup>17</sup> Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*, p. 94.



and individual, or "semata-mata hanya mengajarkan atau menyelenggarakan pengajian kitab kuning (KK) yang dikategorikan *mu'tabarah*, ...."<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, based the types of *pondok pesantren* classified by the Minsitry of Religious Affairs, *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is classified as type A.

Type-A is that which retains the most traditional characteristics where the students (*santris*) stay in boarding house (*pondok*) around the *kiai's* house; there is no set curriculum and thus the *kiai* holds full authority over the teaching-learning process including the type and depth of the offered subject matter. The method of teaching is typically 'traditional', relying on the *sorogan* (individualized instruction) and the *bandongan* (collective learning) methods. In either one the *santri* sits around the *kiai* who reads, translates and explains his lesson, which are repeated or followed by his students. The lessons consist only of religious subjects and Arabic language, usually taken from or using classical religious texts.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, three important characteristics of this type of *pondok pesantren* are that it offers solely religious subjects and Arabic language, uses classical religious texts or *kitab kuning*, and applies *sorogan* and *bandongan* methods of teaching.

Regarding the types of *pondok pesantrens*, the *salafiyah* one is often considered as the oldest type of *pondok pesantren*. *Pondok pesantren salafiyah* could be classified into 2 categories, namely:

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<sup>18</sup> Abdul Aziz and Saifullah Ma'shum, "Karakteristik Pesantren Indonesia," in Saifullah Ma'sum (ed.), *Dinamika Pesantren (Telaah Kritis Keberadaan Pesantren Saat ini)* (Jakarta: Yayasan Islam al-Hamidiyah and Yayasan Saifuddin Zuhri, 1998), 43. See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp. 28-33; Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: P3M, 1986), pp. 98-111.

<sup>19</sup> A. G. Muhaimin, *Prelude to Tradition & Change in Indonesian Islamic Education*, by A. G. Muhaimin (ed.) (Jakarta: Office of Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1995), pp. 14-15.

1. *pondok pesantren salafiyah* that only teaches *kitab kuning*
2. *pondok pesantren salafiyah* that put teaching *kitab kuning* as the main program and is attributed by *madrasah diniyah*, namely a classical program with the wholly religious materials and local curriculum.<sup>20</sup>

Concerning the curriculum at *pesantren*, generally the educational goal in a *pondok pesantren* is to produce and develop Muslim personality, meaning a person who believes in Allah, has good behaviour, gives a contribution to his/her community through being a servant of his/her community as the Prophet personality (following the Prophet tradition), lives independently, freely and consistently, preaches Islam in the community, and loves knowledge in developing Indonesian community. In short, the personality that is developed is not only being a *Muslim*, but also a *muhsin*.<sup>21</sup> To be specific, because *pondok pesantren salafiyah* focuses on Islamic studies and Arabic language as a tool to understand the sources of Islamic studies, the educational goal of this type of *pondok pesantren* is to uphold Islam, therefore it is expected that the *santris* studying at this kind of *pondok pesantren* to understand Islam well.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, based on Raihani's research, *pondok pesantren*, especially *salafiyah*, applies "a single-handled and content-oriented one" or "a *kitab* (book)-based curriculum".<sup>23</sup> This is relevant with a characteristic of *pondok pesantren salafiyah*, namely using *kitab kuning*. Because of this *kitab kuning* curriculum, the subjects taught are focused on Islamic and Arabic ones. This could be seen in the subjects taught in a *pondok pesantren salafiyah*

<sup>20</sup> Abdul Aziz and Ma'shum, "Karakteristik Pesantren Indonesia," p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> Mastuhu, *Dinamika Pesantren*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>22</sup> Raihani, "Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren: A Comparative Case Study of Curriculum Development in Two Pesantrens in South Kalimantan," (Ph.D. diss. The University of Melbourne, 2002), p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> Raihani, "Curriculum Construction," p. 19.

as Raihani reports, namely *akhlak/tasawuf* (morals/sufism), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tawhid* (Islamic theology), *al-Qur'an*, *nahwu* (Arabic grammar), *sharf* (Arabic morphology), *ushul al-hadits* (principles of the hadits criticism), *hadits* (the Prophet's tradition), *balaghah* (Arabic rethoric), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *ushul al-fiqh* (principles of Islamic jurisprudence), *tarikh* (Islamic history), *fara'idh* (knowledge of shares of inheritance), *'arudh* (Arabic prosody), *manthiq* (logic), *qawa'id al-fiqh* (rules of Islamic jurisprudence), and *Kitab al-Mi'raj* (the Book of Story of the Prophet's ascent to Heaven).<sup>24</sup> The references of those subjects are written in Arabic scripts, either in Arabic language, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, or other local languages. Besides, as mentioned before, some *pondok pesantrens* provide vocational curriculum for their *santris*, like Pesantren Darul Fallah in Bogor that offers agriculture program.

Because the *santris* at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* focus on learning *kitab kuning*, their daily routine consists of hours of reading *kitab kuning*. This is described by Raihani in his dissertation by taking a *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in South Kalimantan as an example.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Raihani, "Curriculum Construction," p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Raihani, "Curriculum Construction," pp. 107-108.



Time	Activities	Location
04:00 – 06:00	Dawn Prayer, Reciting al-Qur'an	Musholla
06:00 – 07:00	Break, Breakfast	Dorm
07:00 – 10:00	Learning-teaching Time	Classrooms, Musolla, Ustadzs' houses
10:00 – 12:00	Rest time, some selected <i>santris</i> work in the firmland, English and Arabic teaching for some	Dorm, Farm, Classrooms
12:00 – 12:30	Midday Prayer	Musholla
12:30 - 13:30	Lunch time	Dorm
13:30 – 15:30	Learning-teaching time	Classrooms, Musolla, Ustadzs' houses
15:30 – 16:00	Afternoon Prayer	Musholla
16:00 – 18:00	Some optional curriculum, exercises	Musholla, Ustadzs' houses, court
18:00 – 19:30	Sunset prayer, some optional curriculum	Musholla, Ustadzs' houses
19:30 – 20:00	Evening Prayer	Musholla
20:30 – 21:30	One optional curriculum	Kyai's house

Nowadays, most of *pondok pesantrens* have developed and could not survive merely from community support. *Pondok pesantrens* also need support from government. Furthermore, *pondok pesantrens* are also in need of competent teachers. To have those things, *pondok pesantrens* have to adopt government curriculum. For this reason, *pondok pesantrens* apply *salafiyah* method of teaching as well as national curriculum.

Furthermore, because a certificate is a requirement to work, people choose a school that does not only offer mastering knowledge, but also provides a certificate as a proof that a student has finished the study. That certificate is not provided by a *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. For this reason, a *pondok pesantren* has to offer a formal education, namely *madrasah*. In

other words, there is no choice for the *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to have students; they have to adopt formal educational system or *madrasah*.<sup>26</sup> This means that they change to be mixed/combined ones.

However, there are number of *pondok pesantrens* which hold their *salafiyah* educational system. The reasons of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* not to change its method of teaching could be differentiated into two factors, internal and external. Internal ones covers the ideology of *pondok pesantren*, finance, human resources, (*kyai, ustadz/ustadzah*, and all parts involved), while external ones are community values and government support.<sup>27</sup>

## D. Method of Research

### 1. Type of Research

The research is considered *field research* using qualitative approach. Qualitative approach is applied because the aim of the research is to explore factors/ reasons of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in the District of Cimanuk to maintain *salafiyah* as their educational system. According to Nancy Arsenault and Gary Anderson, "Qualitative research is a form of inquiry that explores phenomena in their natural setting ..."<sup>28</sup> Concerning the benefit of research, this reasearch is *pure research*, while regarding the time it is *cross-sectional research*.

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<sup>26</sup> See research report written by Asep Suryana and Dede Suryadi, "Kurikulum, Dinamika Sosial-Politik dan Otonomi Daerah: Kasus Pesantren Pertanian Darul Fallah, Bogor," *Jurnal Studi Indonesia*, vol. 12, no. 1 (March 2002), pp. 26-44; Asep Suryana, "Menolak Instrumentasi Negara: Ruang Gerak Pesantren dalam Otonomi Daerah," *Antropologi Indonesia*, (2001), pp. 96-108; Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), pp. 103-108.

<sup>27</sup> See Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>28</sup> Nancy Arsenault and Gary Anderson, "Qualitative Research," in Gary Anderson, *Fundamentals of Educational Research* (London: Falmer Press, 1999), p. 119.

## 2. Subject and Object of Research

The subjects of the research are 8 *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in the District of Cimanuk. They are Pondok Pesantren (PP) Samsul Huda, PP Mathlaul Huda, PP Al-Hidayah, PP As-Suqiya, PP Mathlaul Ulum, PP Nurul Huda, PP Nurul Hidayah, and PP Baqiyatus Shalihah. Those *pondok pesantrens* are chosen through *snowball* method. While doing the research, the researcher finds out that some *pondok pesantrens* which are listed in EMIS Report as *salafiyah* have been changed into the types of combination or modern. Therefore, there is no valid data of *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. Moreover, it is also found that there are a number of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* that are not in EMIS Report. Another reason is that because the District of Cimanuk has been divided into several districts (*pemekaran*), some *pondok pesantren* which are previously put in the District of Cimanuk are out of the district. For these reasons, the researcher decides to apply *snowball* method to choose the *pondok pesantrens* as samples. Starting from one *pondok pesantren salafiyah*, then from the information of this *pondok pesantren* or community figures, the researcher goes to another *pondok pesantren*. Until the deadline of the research, the researcher has collected the data from 8 *pondok pesantrens*. They are shown in Table 1.

The object of the research is factors/ reasons of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to maintain their educational system, do not follow the trend of changing and applying formal educational system.

## 3. Data and Sources of Data

The data needed is factors/ reasons of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to maintain their educational system, without changing anything. Therefore the unit of analysis is institution, namely *pondok pesantren*. Data is collected from individuals whose authority to provide the data, especially leaders of *pondok pesantren* or *kyais* as shown in the following table:



**Table 1**  
**NAMES OF PONDOK PESANTREN AND SOURCES OF DATA**

No.	Names	Addresses	Sources of Data
1	PP Samsul Huda	Kp. Bojonghuni, Desa Rocek	KH Sanwani ( <i>kyai</i> )
2	PP Mathlaul Huda	Pakancilan Girang, Desa Batubantar	1. KH Busro ( <i>kyai</i> ) 2. Yuyun ( <i>ustadzah</i> , the daughter of <i>kyai</i> )
3	PP Al-Hidayah	Jl. AMD, Desa Gunungcupu	1. KH Asep ( <i>kyai</i> ) 2. KH Asep's wife
4	PP As-Suqiya	Kebon Awi, Desa Pareang	1. KH Djunaedi ( <i>kyai</i> ) 2. Cipi Bambang S. (chairperson of Yayasan As-Suqiya)
5	PP Mathlaul Ulum	Cidangdeur, Desa Wirasinga	1. KH Saiman ( <i>kyai</i> ) 2. KH Saiman's wife 3. 2 of KH Saiman's daughters
6	PP Nurul Huda	Kp. Pasir Haur, Desa Kadubalang	1. KH Ahmad Dimiyati/Memed ( <i>kyai</i> ) 2. Asep Damanhuri ( <i>ustadz</i> , <i>kyai</i> 's son)
7	PP Nurul Hidayah	Kp. Lebak, Desa Gunungdatar	KH Badri ( <i>kyai</i> )
8	PP Baqiyatus Shalihat	Kp. Lebak Jaya, Desa Gunungdatar	1. Mubin ( <i>ustadz</i> , <i>kyai</i> 's son) 2. Muhyiddin ( <i>ustadz</i> , <i>kyai</i> 's son)

#### 4. Method of Collecting and Analyzing Data

The data is collected by interviewing individuals who are the key informant to provide the data, as mentioned in table 1. The questions given to the informan are open-ended ones for Michael Quinn Patton states, "The purpose of gathering responses to open-ended questions is to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of

questionnaire categories.”<sup>29</sup> The points of the interview in some cases are checked through clarifying with other informan. Then the data is analyzed inductively for “... the abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered are grouped”<sup>30</sup> and reported descriptively. The answers of the informan are classified based on the same topic/ issue. Referring to research that have been done by other scholars is also used in analysis.

## **D. Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah and Reasons for Maintaining Educational System**

### **1. Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Trademark of Kyai**

Almost all of *kyais* that lead *pondok pesantren* in this research graduated from *pondok pesantren salafiyah* only. To some extend it is a good reason why those *kyais* apply what they have learnt. Like a person takes a course in repairing a car, it is very difficult for the person to teach English. In other words, those *kyais* do what they could do for their community, according to their ability and skill.

Even though those *kyais* graduated from elementary school (Islamic or public one), a formal school, they did that to master basic knowledge, such as reading, counting, writing, and Bahasa Indonesia. The basic knowledge is needed for our practical life, like in a trip we are supposed to be able to read signs on the road, count the distance, and speak to or ask people. Moreover, counting is a requirement to learn some Islamic knowledge, such as *fara'id* (inheritance) and *falak* (astronomy). For this reason, graduating from a formal school is a minimal requirement for students to study in a *pondok pesantren salafiyah*.

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<sup>29</sup> Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002), third edition, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> Robert E. Slavin, *Research Methods in Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992), p. 67.

Furthermore, the emphasis of teaching materials is also based on the *kyai*'s expertise. For example, Kyai Busro put an emphasis on *nahwu* (Arabic grammar) in his *pondok pesantren* because he masters that discipline very well, while at Kyai Sanwani's *pondok pesantren*, the Qur'an has a big proportion of time to study because Kyai Sanwani masters that area. Zamakhshari Dhofier states, "Kemasyhuran seorang kyai dan jumlah maupun mutu kitab-kitab yang diajarkan di pesantren menjadi faktor yang membedakan antara satu pesantren dengan pesantren yang lain." (Charisma of a *kyai* and the number as well as quality of textbooks he teaches at a *pondok pesantren* are factors differentiating one *pondok pesantren* from another)<sup>31</sup>

Based on those examples, *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is like a mirror of its *kyai*. In one side, this phenomenon eliminates the possibility of conflict, because the *kyai* is the central figure and the person to refer for problems. In the other side, this is a weakness. This kind of *pondok pesantren* could be considered as a non-democratic-institution, particularly if the *kyai* could not manage his *pondok pesantren* wisely and use wrongly his charismatic power.<sup>32</sup>

It is important to put a note on Pondok Pesantren As-Suqiya which applies *salafiyah* method in teaching even though its *kyai* (KH Achmad Djunaedi) studied at formal schools, got a bachelor degree from a university. However, the *kyai* spent much of his time in *pondok pesantren salafiyah*, in addition with studying at formal schools.

Preparing a successor is another issue in *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. A number of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* could not survive after the death of the *kyai* because there is not a qualified successor to replace the central figure.<sup>33</sup> To sustain their *pondok pesantrens*, usually the *kyais* prepare people around him, especially his family, such as son and son-in-law. Some *kyais* send their sons/daughters to a *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. Kyai Busro and

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<sup>31</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>33</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 33.



Kyai Badri, for instances, send all of their sons and daughters to *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in the hope that they are able to continue the leadership of their *pondok pesantren*s. In the next teens years we will prove whether this method of sustainability works in order to answer Malik Fadjar's anxiety concerning the centralistic leadership of *kyai*.<sup>34</sup>

The declining activities at Pondok Pesantren Mathlul Ulum in Cidangdeur are an example for other *pondok pesantren*s. During its successful time, there were about 300 students studying at this *pondok pesantren*. But after Kyai Saiman and his wife were sick, the number of students decreased because Kyai Saiman did not have a kader to continue running the *pondok pesantren*. Now the *pondok pesantren* has been recovered under the supervision of two of Kyai Saiman's sons-in-law. Concerning this issue, Azyumardi Azra suggests that the change of leadership in *pondok pesantren*, from centralistic figure of *kyai* to foundation that consists of a number of people collectively is an alternative to avoid the falling after the death of the *kyai*.<sup>35</sup>

## 2. Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Independence

Independence is another reasonable factor for *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to maintain its educational system. An evidence of this independence is refuting support from political party for they do not want to have a moral dependence/ debt to that party, as Kyai Badri, Kyai Memed, and Kyai Asep declare. They mention that if they accept the help (generally in building of *pondok pesantren*); they feel that they have a moral debt to take a part in that party's campaign in general election. If they do that, they spend a part of their time and attention on that political activity; consequently they have less time for their *pondok pesantren* that bring their *pondok pesantren* to declining condition.

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<sup>34</sup> A. Malik Fadjar, *Reorientasi Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Fajar Dunia, 1999), p. 115.

<sup>35</sup> Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*, p. 104.

That case is closely related with community's opinion that *pondok pesantren* cannot be separated from the figure of *kyai*. If a *kyai* is busy with business outside *pondok pesantren* -even though that is an effort to gather support for the *pondok pesantren*- then the management of the *pondok pesantren* is handled by an *ustadz* (teacher), the community will see that the *kyai* focuses on worldly business, and slowly the community will leave the *pondok pesantren*. For that reason, the *kyais* do not want to focus on business outside the *pondok pesantren*, but focuses on teaching their *santris* (students).

This anxiety is also obvious in their refuse to apply a national curriculum at *pondok pesantren salafiyah*, either the curriculum from the Ministry of Religious Affairs or the Ministry of National Education. According to them, if they apply the national curriculum, it means that they also have to deliver the messages of the government. In avoiding that case, the *pondok pesantren* decides to apply their own curriculum and focuses on teaching *kitab kuning*. This is what the *kyais* of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* call as "freedom" and "independence".

This opinion does not mean that they refute totally help or support from outside, they are welcome for help as far as there is no consequence in terms of moral dependence, the fundings does not bring any message, like from women's group (*majlis taklim*) or alumni of the *pondok pesantren* who are successful and concerned with their previous *pondok pesantren*.

It is important to note that even though *pondok pesantren salafiyah* will have a significant support in terms of finance, *kyais* will not change their educational system, or apply national curriculum. Kyai Sanwani, for instance, states that if the *pondok pesantren* receive a financial support, they will use it for building a dormitory and conducting skill training. Then they also want to improve educational levels they manage until 'ulya level, without changing *salafiyah* method in their teaching.

However, the chairperson of Yayasan As-Suqiya, Cepi Bambang S., holds that independence could be maintained even though the *pondok*



*pesantren* employs national curriculum as the Yayasan applies. They have Islamic Junior High School which applies curriculum from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and that of the Ministry of National Education, receiving support from the government, while it is still independent. As an example, when Cepi was involved in defending the community interest, then the local government wanted to remove him to another school, but this effort was not successful because he was not a civil servant (government official), could not be removed by the government.

Relating with decentralization issue, it provides more opportunity for *pondok pesantren* to improve and develop. Therefore, *pondok pesantren salafiyah* does not need to change its educational system.

### **3. Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Inherited Tradition**

A classical reason that is usually given by *kyais* at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to maintain their educational system is "amanat" (message) or "warisan" (inheritance). The example is the case of Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah. Kyai Asep continues their educational system because that is what has been received and left by his ancestor.

This reason is also mentioned obviously in the case of Pondok Pesantren Mathlaul Ulum led by Kyai Saiman. Kyai Saiman studied with a support of a *jawara* (a heroic figure in Banten). The *jawara* had a dream to build a *pondok pesantren*. To make this dream true, the *jawara* asked Saiman who graduated from a *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in Pasir Haur, to marry one of his daughters, then asked Saiman to build a *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. Based on this message and also education he gained, Kyai Saiman built a *pondok pesantren salafiyah* and still keeps this method of education.

### **4. Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Challenge and Community Acceptance**

A common opinion affirms that in the recent times morality in community is getting worse, and sending their children to *pondok pesantren salafiyah*



is an alternative to protect their children from that problem. This condition is also a good reason for *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to focus their education totally on religious teaching. Even Kyai Badri argues that *kitab kuning* that are references in *pondok pesantren salafiyah* contains a lot of teachings in good attitudes and behaviour. In other words, *salafiyah* as an educational method of teaching is an alternative to preserve morality in a community.

Community trust towards *pondok pesantren salafiyah* as a medium of teaching morality seems to be a reason for the *kyais* to send their children to this type of *pondok pesantren*, even though the reason they mention is to prepare the successors for their *pondok pesantrens*. Moreover, they are also confident that they have their own market, people who are interested in studying at that kind of education. They maintain, "Biar sedikit, asal benar akhlaknya." (It is more important to have good students in attitude even though the number is few).

Another reason for their refuse to apply national curriculum is that if they apply that curriculum, male and female students will be mixed in the same class. In their opinion, mixing male and female students in one class is not a good method in teaching morality while teaching students with morality is a mission of *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. However, Kyai Mukhtar Syafaat (a *kyai* of Pesantren Darussalam, Blok Agung, Banyuwangi) provides a wise answer when he was interviewed by Zamakhsyari Dhofier concerning "kuliah bersama" (male and female students attending a lecture in the same class). The answer was "Para kyai itu sebenarnya dapat diumpamakan dengan pendiri rumah. Dalam usaha mendirikan rumah ini, banyak risiko yang harus dihadapi, antara lain satu dua genteng jatuh dan pecah. Kalau memang tidak mau menghadapi risiko, ya, sebaiknya tidak usah mendirikan rumah saja."<sup>36</sup> (Those *kyais* are like building a house. During building a house, there are risks that have to be taken, for example one or two ceiling is broken. If we don't want to take a risk, don't build the house).

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<sup>36</sup> Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 42.

The community gives a trust towards *pondok pesantren salafiyah* to teach good attitude, as mentioned by Asep Damanhuri. Perhaps the reason for this trust is that *kyais* use persuasive method that does not invite resistance in community.

Regarding the capability of *pondok pesantren* to empower its community, government should accommodate this but without disturbing their independence. Particularly in the period of Regional Autonomy, the government should provide more space to express their existence without provoking their fear and anxiety.

### 5. *Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Modesty*

The modesty of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* could be seen in some aspects. Firstly, it is obvious at their dormitories and classes they have. At eight *pondok pesantrens* that the researcher visited, their dormitories and classes are not permanent and modest and built by funding from the *kyais* themselves, donation from alumni and community surrounding the *pondok pesantren*.

Another picture describing the modesty is the management of the *pondok pesantren*. For example, students studying at the *pondok pesantren salafiyah* are not registered properly. When the informan are asked concerning the number of students studying, they answer, "They are about ...." For the *kyais*, seriousness of the students to study is much more important. Therefore, it is common in *pondok pesantren salafiyah* students come and go whenever they want, so registration is not essential. Moreover, because *pondok pesantren salafiyah* have a small number of students (usually less than 100), they do not take administrative issue as important.

The modesty of management is also noticeable in recruitment of teachers. All *pondok pesantren salafiyah* involved in the research recruit their teachers from their own families, like son, daughter, son/ daughter-in-law, brother/ sister-in-law, or brother/ sister. The various reasons for this are given. One of them is that the number of teachers needed is only a



few, so this position could be fulfilled by their families. Another reason is that this way of recruitment is easy to do. The last reason mentioned is their lack of finance to recruit teachers from outside their families. The *pondok pesantren salafiyah* could provide a very modest compensation as salary for the teachers, usually only accommodation and meals for the teachers and their families. This compensation is enough and could be accepted by the teachers who are from the *kyais'* families because they feel being a part of the *pondok pesantren*, so their sense of belonging is not in question.

Management in finance at *pondok pesantrens* is also simple. For example, students at the most *pondok pesantrens* do not pay for registration. Moreover, they pay only a little amount of money for tuition fee and dormitory, from Rp. 1.000,- to Rp. 5.000,- (about US\$ .11 - US\$ .55), while for living cost, the students themselves cook that is called "ngeliwet".

This low cost to study at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is a point to attract community to send their children there. *Santri* (students) at Kyai Asep's *pondok pesantren* admit that they choose to study at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* for its cheap cost. In conclusion, this cheap price of living cost at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is one factor for it to survive and be needed by Muslim community.

This phenomenon means that each type of *pondok pesantrens* have their own market. Modern and combined *pondok pesantren* provide *madrasah* which gives certificates for their graduates because some people need the certificate to apply a work. Nowadays generally work requires a certificate. However, there are some people who believe that they could survive without having a certificate. This last group of people is a market for *pondok pesantren salafiyah*.

Moreover, people of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* believe that the number of *kyais/ ulama* needed is still considerable. In the context of Cimanuk or Pandeglang especially, this argument is still relevant. But what about we consider cities that to have a job, a certificate is a must? For this, it is understandable why students at *pondok pesantren salafiyah* in Cimanuk



come from rural areas surrounding it, such as Cirebon, Bogor, and Pandeglang.

Relating with occupation where the alumni of *pondok pesantren salafiyah* work, according to the informan, they generally work in private business, such as establishing and managing a *pondok pesantren*, or teaching in their own village/ home town. Even some alumni become businesspeople or *entrepreneurs*. But Nurcholish Madjid questions, whether that entrepreneurship is gained for a person's education at *pondok pesantren* or his/her family background, because a person could be an entrepreneur without studying at a *pondok pesantren*.<sup>37</sup>

Based on data explained above, it is clear that *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is managed in a simple way. This simplicity also becomes a reason for *pondok pesantren salafiyah* not to apply national curriculum, to avoid complexity or "tidak mau ribet."

According to Nurcholish Madjid, the spirit of modesty is a positive point for *pondok pesantrens* to encounter this modern era and contribute to this country. But this modesty must be seen carefully if it is just a representation of the condition of social and economical society, namely agricultural and non-well-educated society. For this reason, *pondok pesantren* should emphasize encouraging the spirit of modesty that reflects Islamic teachings.<sup>38</sup>

However this modesty invites a question: is modesty that is echoed in *pondok pesantren salafiyah* a representation of avoiding complexity ("keribetan") or lack of management? For example, if a *pondok pesantren salafiyah* is managed very well in fundings without being dependent, a considered number of *santris* will be interested to study and come there. This becomes an input financially for the *pondok pesantren*. Then this condition brings to the demand of more teachers. Recruitment of teachers outside family could be conducted without the fear of elimination. Pondok Pesantren Darussalam, Gontor, Ponorogo is one interesting model. While maintaining its independence and modesty, the *pondok pesantren* has

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<sup>37</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren*, p. 97.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

improved, even its certificate is acknowledged and could be used by its alumni to continue their study.

## 6. *Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah: Perfect Storage of Knowledge*

*Kitab kuning* is the main reference in teaching and learning process at *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. It is a belief that *kitab kuning* is a perfect storage of knowledge in all disciplines needed in our lives, as argued by Kyai Badri. This opinion is relevant with what Malik Fadjar maintains that some *pondok pesantrens* continue their *salafiyah* method of teaching because they believe that their method is still *sophisticated* in answering various problems, including the problems outside the *pondok pesantren*.<sup>39</sup>

It is important to put a note that the wish of *pondok pesantren* to conduct skill training is a sign of their awareness that having a skill is valuable and needed for their students' future in society. Yuyun (a daughter of Kyai Busro) and Kyai Sanwani declare if they have a big fundings, *pondok pesantren* will offer skill training for their students, such as sewing and poultry.

## E. Conclusion

*Pondok pesantren salafiyah* is an asset of Islamic education in Indonesia. It has proven that it has contributed in the history of Indonesia. For example, during the struggle of Indonesia under the occupation of Dutch and Japan, *santris*, including ones from this kind of *pondok pesantren*, stood in the front to fight in order to gain the independence. Moreover, it is undeniable that a number of figures in Indonesia have studied at *pondok pesantren salafiyah*. This means that *pondok pesantren salafiyah* has a contribution in shaping those figures' personality. Therefore, it is a good idea to give them a room to express their way of thinking, including their method of teaching. Giving a room to express should be followed by real support, for instance donation/ foundation without pushing a message.

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<sup>39</sup> A. Malik Fadjar, *Reorientasi*, p. 115.

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