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DECLARATION

This thesis does not contain material, which has been accepted for any other degree in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is given in the text.

Signature: ____________________

Date:
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the Name of God, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

As a Muslim, I thank God who has given me blessings, insight, and strength to study and finish this thesis.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Gaell Hildebrand and Associate Professor Abdullah Saeed, for their assistance and guidance during my study, particularly during the process of this thesis. I am really indebted to them for their friendship and professional support.

I would also like to thank all the people who participated and helped me in this project, the kyais, ustadzs, staff, and santris, and the Indonesian government c.q. Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) in South Kalimantan. Without their commitment, this thesis would not have been possible.

To my Mum and brother: many thanks. I thank my friends, Khairussalim, Mujiburrahman, and Salafuddin Fitri who supported me during the data collection.
Since many Arabic terms have been used throughout this thesis, it has been decided to spell them in a special way. For this purpose, below is the transliteration table indicating how Arabic terms are spelled in this thesis. This transliteration fully follows what is commonly used in Bahasa Indonesia.

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*Not defined*
GLOSSARY

‘Ilal: the effective cause of a case on which a law is issued.

Abah: a Banjarese word meaning father.

Adab al Bahts: a subject dealing with methods of discussion and problem solving.

Ading (adik): a Banjarese word meaning younger brother.

Ahl al Sunnah wa al Jama'ah (Sunnis): a school of thought in Islam. This school views that the wills and actions of human beings are created by God. Human beings are responsible for their actions because of their kasb (effort) in their actions even though this kasb is created by God.

Akhlak/adab: Islamic manners and morals.

Al-‘Arudh: a subject: Arabic prosody.

Al-Ajrumiyah: a classical kitab of Arabic grammar.

Alim: (sing.) of ulama (see ulama).

Balaghah: Arabic rhetoric.

Bandongan: a method used in the pesantren learning and teaching in which santris sit in a circle surrounding the kyai listening to his lecture (lecturing method).

Du’at: (pl. of da’i) meaning preachers.

Fardhu ‘ain: an obligatory act addressed to every individual and cannot, in principle, be performed for or on behalf of another person such as performing the daily prayers, fasting in Ramadhan, etc.

Fardhu kifayah: an obligatory act addressed to the community as a whole. If only some members of the community perform it, the law is satisfied and the rest of the community is absolved of it. An example is a funeral prayer.

Fiqh Muqarin: comparative Islamic jurisprudence.

Fiqh: Islamic law; jurisprudence.

Gotong royong: a tradition in the Indonesian culture of cooperative work.

1 Most of the meaning of the terms in this glossary are adapted from Kamali (1991) and Sunnah Organization Home Page with some changes.
**Hadîts:** reports related to everything attributed to the Prophet as regards words, actions or tacit approval, physical features and characteristics.

**Halaqah:** a group discussion among *santris* talking about one or more problems in order to solve them under the guidance of the *kyai*.

**I'tirad:** turning away from something. In the *pesantren* tradition, it is defined as an attitude opposite to respect.

**Iftitah:** opening. A tradition in Islam is that each program is usually begun with this ‘opening’. It may contain *basmalah*, saying the name of God, and the recitation of the chapter of *al-Fatihah*, the first chapter of *al-Qur'an*.

**Ibsan:** a belief or attitude of a Muslim that s/he is always being watched by God. This Muslim is called *muhsin*.

**Ijtihâd:** individual efforts in order to infer the rules of *Syari'ah* (Islamic law) from their detailed evidence in the sources (*al-Quran* and the Hadîts).

**Ikhlas:** sincerity of the heart in worship and purity of intention.

**Ilmu Falak:** astronomy.

**Ilmu Fara'idh:** knowledge of shares of inheritance.

**Ilmu Tauhid:** Islamic theology. It is simply called *tauhid* in the *pesantren* tradition.

**Imam:** first, a Muslim scholar who has a spiritual and intellectual authority to be followed like Imam Syafi'i (or a spiritual leader). Second, a person who leads a communal prayer.

**Imla:** dictation.

**Kaka:** a Banjarese word meaning older brother.

**Kalpataru Prize:** a national award given by government to people concerned with showing their efforts to preserve the environment from damage.

**Kaylani:** a classical *kitab* of Arabic morphology.

**Khalafi:** an Indonesianised Arabic word indicating something modern.

**Khath:** Arabic handwriting.

**Kitab kuning:** literally ‘yellow books’ (a reference to the colour of the pages); classical scholarly texts of Islamic teachings written in Arabic.
Kitab: an Indonesianised Arabic word meaning book. In Bahasa Indonesia, the meaning changes to religious books, e.g. Kitab Injil (Bible), Kitab al-Qur’an, etc. as well as religious books other than the Holy Books.

Konsul: a santris representative found in Pesantren B.


Kuttab: an Islamic educational institution in the Middle East in which elementary Islamic teachings were taught.

Kyai: an Indonesian term indicating an Islamic scholar, teacher and leader. Kyai is always male.

Madrasah (pl. madaris): an Arabic word, literally, a place for learning, but in the Indonesian term it means an Islamic school.

Madzhab or (pl.) madzahib: school of thought in Islam, such as madzhab Syafi’i.

Maghrib: sunset prayer. There are five times a day for each Muslim to perform prayer as an obligation. They are Maghrib (sunset), ‘Isya (Evening), Shubb (Dawn), Zuhur (Midday), and ‘Asr (Afternoon).

Majlis Ta’lim: a learning group in the Islamic tradition.

Manthiq: Logic.

Masyaqqat: a difficulty that a Muslim faces in performing a lawful deed properly.

Mi’raj: the ascent of the Prophet to Heaven.

Mutaqilab: a theological school in Islam. This school views that human actions are created by human beings themselves, not by God (free will). God only created the power for human beings to create their actions.

Mudzakarah: a discussion method employed in the pesantren learning and teaching.

Mujtahid: a person who practices ijtihad.

Mukhlis: a person with sincerity (ikhlas).

Musholla: a prayer room. It is different from a mosque, because it is not used for the Friday prayer.
**Mutammimah**: a classical *kitab* of Arabic grammar, which is an extended explanation of the *kitab al-Ajrumiyah*.

**Muthala’ah**: a subject: Arabic reading comprehension.

**Nabwah**: a subject: Arabic grammar.

**Nyai**: a female Islamic scholar in the Javanese tradition.

**Pesantren**: a traditional Islamic boarding school. This kind of educational institution has spread out all over the Indonesia archipelago. There has been a controversy about where the system was adopted. However, the speculation tends to say that it is an indigenous institution, which emerged prior to the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, that is Hinduism era. It was then Islamised. It is also called a *pondok*.

**Pramuka**: Scouts.

**Qana’ah**: an attitude of being pleased to accept what God has given.

**Qawa'id Fiqhiyah or Qawa'id al-Fiqh**: a subject dealing with the rules of Islamic jurisprudence used as general normative principles for issuing a law.

**Rabi’ al-Awwal**: the third month of the Islamic calendar.

**Rajab**: the seventh month of the Islamic calendar.

**Rukhshah**: a legal status in Islamic jurisprudence in certain circumstances that Muslims receive a dispensation in terms of laws.

**Salafi(yah)**: an Indonesianised Arabic word indicating something traditional.

**Santri**: a *pesantren* student.

**Santri Kalong**: a *santri* who does not stay in the *pesantren’s* dormitory, but just come in accordance with the timetable.

**Santri Kelana**: a wandering *santri* who stays in one *pesantren* for a while, then moves to another, and so on.

**Santri Mukim**: a *santri* who stays in the *pesantren’s* dormitory.

**Satuan pelajaran or satpel**: a lesson unit plan.

**Sharf or tashrif**: Arabic morphology.
Sorogan: a method used in the pesantren learning and teaching in which a santri comes to the kyai with a kitab. The kyai then reads and explains a lesson of the kitab, while the santri listens and sometimes takes necessary notes. Each santri may bring with him a different kitab from each other.

Sufi: a person who practices tashawwuf.

Sufistic values: values that come from the teaching of tashawwuf which are dominantly concerned with inner characteristics of human beings.

Sunnah or al-Sunnah: syn. of hadits; the Prophet’s traditions.

Surau: a place for prayers and learning in West Sumatra; also called musbolla.

Syakl: signs put above, under, or on Arabic letters, which help the reader to read and understand the texts.

Syi’ab: a theological (or religio-political) school in Islam. Generally, this school puts ‘Ali (son-in-law to the Prophet) at the highest position among other companions and regards him as the legitimate successor to the Prophet.

Ta’lim al-Muta’allim Thariq al-Ta’allum: a kitab used in pesantrens containing issues about learning and teaching processes in accordance with the writer’s interpretations of Islamic teachings.

Ta’dib: a process of producing people who have akhlak or adab (education).

Tafsir: Quranic exegesis or interpretation.

Tarikh al-‘Arab: Arab history.

Tarikh al-Taryri‘ al-Islami: history of Islamic law and jurisprudence.

Tarikh: Islamic history.

Tashawwuf: Islamic mysticism.

Tawakkul: reliance on God.

Thariqah: sufi order; practices of religious teaching such as recitation etc. in a group in order to be closer to Allah.

Ulama: an Indonesianised Arabic word (pl.) meaning Islamic scholars.
Ushul al-Hadits or Mustahal al-Hadits or ‘Ilm al-Hadits: principles of hadits criticism.


Ustadz: an Indonesianised Arabic word meaning a teacher. This figure in the pesantren hierarchy is one level under the kyai.

Ushul al-Fiqh: principles of Islamic jurisprudence.

Yasin: a chapter in al-Qur’an, which is believed as having a special virtue. In the majority of Indonesian Muslim society, this chapter is usually recited each Thursday night to expect blessings from God.

Zuhd: refraining from an object of desire in the pursuit of a nobler objective.
ABBREVIATIONS

IAIN: Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute for Islamic Studies)

JIHSOP: Junior Islamic High School Open Program

MA: Madrasah ‘Aliyah (Islamic Senior Secondary School)

MNE: Ministry of National Education

MORA: Ministry of Religious Affairs

MTs: Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Junior Secondary School)

OSIS: Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (Intra-School Students Organisation)

SAW: Shallallahu ‘Alaihi Wa Sallama (Peace Be Upon Him)

SBCD: School Based Curriculum Development

SBMS: Site-Based Managed School
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ABSTRACT

This study aims at investigating similarities and differences in the curriculum development processes in two selected pesantrens in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. The research explores the involvement of key stakeholders in the curriculum development processes and the curriculum itself. The study is a qualitative approach, which, in collecting the data, employs in-depth interviews with the kyais (leaders), ustadzs (teachers), and santris (students); observation on the pesantrens’ daily life and classroom activities; and relevant documentation.

The findings suggest that there are similarities and differences in both pesantrens in the curriculum development processes. Both pesantrens can be classified as Site-Based Managed Schools in which all interactions of the members are permeated with some values. However, Pesantren A has a rather collaborative and goal-oriented curriculum development process, while Pesantren B tended to conduct a single-handed and content-oriented one. The curriculum of Pesantren A is a subject-based curriculum accommodating both religious and non-religious disciplines in relatively the same proportion, whereas that of Pesantren B is a kitab (book)-based curriculum accommodating largely religious disciplines.

Overall, it was found that both pesantrens need to conduct more collaborative and systematic curriculum processes. To do so, since ustadzs have a significant influence on the curriculum, there is a need for well-directed and organised professional development programs focusing on pedagogical issues. There is also a need to set some indicators for curriculum evaluation based on the context of Islamic education and immediate societal demands.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the curriculum development process in two pesantrens\(^2\) in Indonesia. A pesantren is an Islamic traditional educational institution that has some unique characteristics (Dhofier, 1985; Rahardjo, 1995). Besides the ustadzs (teachers) and santris (students) staying within a pesantren complex like a boarding school, the pesantren generally provides teaching of kitab kunings (Islamic classical texts written in Arabic). In addition, this kind of Islamic institution is mostly owned privately by the kyai (leader). Hence, his/her leadership is usually very strong in terms of policy-related decision-making.

Many pieces of research about pesantrens have been conducted, but they have mainly focused on socio-cultural dimensions (e.g. Bruinessen, 1999; Dhofier, 1985; Yacub, 1985). Only a few studies have been concerned with educational aspects of pesantrens (Lukens-Bull, 2000; Mastuhu, 1994; Oepen & Karcher, 1988), and, to my knowledge, there have rarely been studies conducted to investigate particularly their curriculum development. Investigating the pesantren curriculum development may significantly contribute to the pesantren literature especially on aspects such as who develops the curriculum and how it is developed.

1.1. History of the Pesantren

There has been a controversy among researchers concerning the origin of the pesantren. One view assumes that the pesantren originated from the Hindu tradition that had existed in Indonesia before Islam was disseminated. This point of view is supported by some arguments, such as similarities found with pesantren and the previous Hindu education (Poerbakawatja, 1970 cited in Steenbrink, 1994). Also, the word ‘pesantren’ is derived from the Sanskrit language where Hinduism was sourced (Berg, 1932 cited in Dhofier, 1985). Another view argues that this Islamic institution came from the Islamic traditions itself. The nature of the dissemination of Islam in Indonesia by the advocators and the

\(^2\) Some non-English terms are used throughout this thesis to describe people, places, products and processes that do not have precise equivalents in English. A glossary of such terms preceded this chapter. The important terms are precisely discussed in the terminology section in this chapter.
similarities found between pesantrens and the Islamic education tradition in the Middle East are the reasons for asserting that the pesantren came from Islam (Azra, 1998, 1999b; Mitsuo & Setsuo, 1995). One other view is that the pesantren originated from the Hindu traditions, and was then Islamised by Muslim du’at (preachers) following the victory of Islamic kingdoms over the Hindu kingdoms (Madjid, 1997; Mansurnoor, 1985).

Regardless of such a controversy, the pesantren has certainly developed through time from its simplest form, that is surau or langgar (a special place for prayers located in a village) to a new and relatively modern institution that shares some features with schools (Azra, 1999b; Mitsuo & Setsuo, 1995; Steenbrink, 1994). Today, there are generally two kinds of pesantren found almost everywhere in Indonesia—salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern)3. Despite the disagreement of the pesantren researchers in the characteristics of both traditional and modern pesantrens (Kuntowijoyo, 1998), the official definition of the salafi pesantren, based on the joint decree of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and Ministry of National Education (MNE), is an institution that does not offer formal secular education (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Sebagai Pola Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar, 2000). It means that the salafi pesantren does not adopt curricula other than the traditional Islamic teachings or kitab kunings, while the khalafi pesantren offers curricula other than kitab kunings.

According to Mastuhu (1994), other curricula usually adopted in khalafi (modern) pesantrens are that of MORA, which are not only offered at the primary and secondary levels, but also at the tertiary level. These curricula are taught along with the teaching of the kitab kunings curriculum, which is the particularity of pesantren. While the adopted curriculum of the modern pesantren mainly contains non-religious subjects, the kitab kuning curriculum, common to both types of pesantren, comprises Islamic subjects such as fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), taubid (Islamic theology), tashawwuf (Islamic mysticism) and the like (Rahardjo, 1995).

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3 The translation of ‘salafi’ into ‘traditional’ and ‘khalafi’ into ‘modern’ is based on the common use in the pesantren traditions, even though such translations are not exactly precise or appropriate.
1.2. Aims and Research Questions

This study aims to investigate the similarities and differences in the curriculum development process in the two types of pesantren—salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern). The major concerns of this study are: who is involved in the process of curriculum development; how the curriculum is developed; and what the curriculum is in the two case study pesantrens in South Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Since curriculum is the heart of a school, its development process is very important. Curriculum development comprises several stages, namely: curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation (Brady & Kennedy, 1999; McGee, 1997). In this process, it is frequently argued that it is important to involve those stakeholders who are responsible for the education such as principals, teachers, students, parents and community, government, and so on (Connelly & Clandinin, 1993; Doll, 1992; Fullan, 1991; Marsh & Willis, 1999; Oliva, 1997). Another aspect in the curriculum development process is some consideration of: the philosophy of the school, and, more broadly, of the society and state; the development of the society and culture; the expectations of the community; the values prevailing the society; the resources available to the school; the students’ ability; and the like (Joseph, Green, Bravmann, Windschitl, & Mikel, 2000; Kelly, 1980; Pring, 1986; Skilbeck, 1984).

However, in the pesantren context, no single study, as far as I know, has been conducted concerning the process of curriculum development. The lack of research-based literature about this aspect of the pesantren has led to a superficial understanding of the pesantren curriculum. Hence, this study answered a primary research question of the curriculum development process in the two pesantrens with the focus on:

1. Who determines the curriculum in the two types of pesantrens?

2. How is the curriculum in the two types of pesantrens developed?

3. What is the curriculum in the two types of pesantrens?
I am interested in studying such aspects of the pesantrens for several reasons. First, I used to learn some kitab kunings in the way many santris learn. Even though I did not actually go to a pesantren myself, this experience gave me insights about what kitab kunings are, how they are important to be learnt, and the strategies used in teaching them. During my tertiary study in a Faculty of Islamic education, I still came to some ulama (Islamic scholars) to learn some other kitab kunings with more criticism of the content itself and the instructional strategies. At that time, I also taught in a public secular secondary school, which gave me another insight about the culture and system of the school. Then, I worked in an Islamic tertiary institute teaching a subject called Islamic education.

Second, with such insights and experiences, I believe that a pesantren, as an education system, should have a systematic, well-developed curriculum by which it may reach its educational goals. I also believe that qualified graduates of the pesantrens who will become informal, yet powerful, leaders in the society may only be produced in a pesantren that possesses a well-developed curriculum. Third, to have a well-developed curriculum, I believe that a transparent curriculum development process, which involves the key stakeholders, is necessary. This is because the more transparent a curriculum development process is, the more likely that it will be open to change and improvement to meet the needs of society.

1.3. Scope of the Study

In order to have a clear guidance of what is actually studied in this research, it is necessary to define the scope of this study.

First, this study is concerned with not only the overt, or explicitly written, curriculum, but also the covert, or implicit, curriculum as curriculum is all the experiences that students undertake in schools (Marsh & Willis, 1999; Wiles & Bondi, 1998). As the pesantren education system usually requires its santris to stay in the dorms within the pesantren complex, and as Islamic education is an holistic education, it is important to consider the daily life in the pesantren community as part of the curriculum (Chirzin, 1995; Karcher, 1988).
Second, the term ‘curriculum development’ in this study encompasses curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation as ongoing and dynamic processes (Brady & Kennedy, 1999; McGee, 1997). This includes the broader level of the institution and its programs, both overt and covert curriculum, and the curriculum development at specific subject and classroom levels.

Third, as “curriculum is always, in every society, a reflection of what people think, feel, believe, and do” (Smith, Stanley & Shores, 1950, p. 3, cited in Brady & Kennedy, 1999), the curriculum of the pesantren should be appropriate to the socio-cultural contexts, both broader and immediate contexts. The broader context is an ideal concept of curriculum of Islamic education, which is based on the Islamic ideology, philosophy, and traditions. The broader context also means the aims of Indonesian education that is:

to produce Indonesian people who have intellectual qualities and integrated personality: people who believe in and are pious to God Almighty and possess good morality, knowledge and skills, who have spiritual and physical health, who are independent and responsible to the society and nation [my translation] (Depdiknas, 2001).

The pesantrens, thus, should be an integral part of the Indonesian education, supporting the achievement of the national goals. The immediate context is the situation surrounding the pesantrens. This local context in particular is the culture of the community where the pesantrens are situated.

1.4. Significance of the Study

As discussed earlier, pesantrens in Indonesia are generally categorised into two types—salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern). Many studies have been conducted mostly on Javanese pesantrens (Dhofier, 1985; Karcher, 1988; Mastuhu, 1994; Yacub, 1985), even though pesantrens in the thousands are located everywhere across all of Indonesia. It was decided, thus, to situate this research in two pesantrens, one salafi (traditional) and the other khalafi (modern) in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. Very few studies have been conducted on pesantrens in this region. The two types of pesantren, regardless of their differences, are considered to play a very important role in producing ulama (Islamic scholars) or du’at (preachers) in the region.
Also, as mentioned earlier, there have been studies about pesantrens, but no single research, to my knowledge, focuses on curriculum development, in particular on its process. As a matter of fact, the process of curriculum development leads to the curriculum product and in turn, results in graduates or outcomes. Since the pesantren graduates will return back to, and, in some cases, become informal leaders in, their society, the curriculum then can be assumed to indirectly influence the society or community in the important aspect of religious affairs.

In addition, as far as I know, there has not been a study that specifically compares and contrasts the curriculum development in the two types of pesantrens. A study by Mastuhu (1994), which selected six pesantrens in Java, did not specifically compare and contrast the two types of pesantrens, but merely looked at a common pattern of the pesantrens education system. I believe that my study produces a new and original perspective on curriculum development in the two types of pesantrens—salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern)—a comparative view.

1.5. Key Terminology

This section explains some key terms used throughout this thesis. I retain the use of these terms because they indicate implicit unique meanings within themselves that cannot be sufficiently represented by the direct English-translation of these words.

First, pesantren is a term indicating an educational institution in Indonesia. It does not indicate just an Islamic boarding school, as translated into English, but it also implies some unique characteristics and culture that are embedded in that term. One of the characteristics is the way people within the pesantren interact with each other, permeated strongly with some religious values (see Chapter Two for further elaboration).

Second, kyai is a term indicating a person who understands Islamic knowledge and leads a pesantren as well as the Muslim community. The term kyai does not simply mean a school principal as in the English translation, but more than that, it indicates a unique position of a person within his pesantren and community. The term kyai is used for a male and nyai is for a female leader.
Third, *ustadz* is a term that indicates a person who teaches in the *pesantren* or in Islamic education institutions. The English equivalent word ‘teacher’ cannot sufficiently represent the substance of what the term *ustadz* indicates. This is because an *ustadz* is associated with, besides teaching, educating pupils to have good Islamic morals. For this, s/he (*ustadzah* for female) is a model for pupils not only in the *pesantren*, but also outside the school. Therefore, s/he commands a high respect from pupils and the community, and the role encompasses a broader concept of respected Islamic model that is absent from the term ‘teacher’.

Fourth, the term *santri* indicates a person who learns in the *pesantren* characterised by his or her full obedience and respect to his or her *kyai* and *ustadz*. The English word ‘student’ insufficiently represents the culture embedded in the term ‘*santri*’. This is because ‘*santri*’ is also identified with and claimed as having, a simple life, being pious to God, and a strong commitment to Islam.

Fifth, *kitab kuning* is a term indicating classical Islamic Arabic books or texts. It becomes an inseparable part or characteristic of a *pesantren*. The English literal translation is ‘yellow book’, and it will be oversimplified and out of context to use this phrase. Similarly, the term ‘textbook’ does not convey the specificity and uniqueness of these classical scholarly works.

These important terms and the concepts they represent will be discussed in Chapter Two.

### 1.6. Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. Chapter One contains an introduction to the *pesantren*, the aim, scope, and significance of the study, and outlines key terminology. Chapters Two and Three, with the intention of establishing a theoretical basis for the study, examine the related literature about Indonesia’s *pesantren*, including a brief overview of Islamic education and of curriculum development. Chapter Four presents a framework of the study as a guideline for proceeding through this investigation. Chapter Five details the methodology: procedures and methods employed in the study. Chapter Six and Seven compare and contrast the curriculum development of the two *pesantren*
based on the findings. Chapter Eight draws conclusions, and speculates on some implications for the development of the *pesantren* curriculum and proposes some directions for further investigation.
CHAPTER TWO: PESANTREN AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION

One of the important things about studying *pesantrens* is the impossibility of generalising the results. This is because *pesantrens* seem to be independent from each other and from the government. Marzuki Wahid (1999a) named this as the ‘plurality’ of the *pesantrens* that there is no centralised management, administration, structure, or curriculum. This chapter, therefore, will only give a basic general description of the Indonesia’s *pesantrens* covering such topics as the elements of a *pesantren*, the role of a *kyai* in the *pesantren* community, the goals and curriculum, and the methods used in the *pesantren* learning-teaching process. This chapter also outlines the curriculum of Islamic education in general.

2.1. Pesantren Education System

2.1.1 The elements of *pesantren*

As an educational institution, a *pesantren* has several elements which vary from one *pesantren* to another (Soedjoko Prasodjo, 1982 quoted in Kuntowijoyo, 1998). Dhofier (1985) identified some basic elements that must be available in any *pesantren*: *pondok* (dormitory), *mosque*, *kitab kuning* teaching, *santris* and the *kyai*.

2.1.1.1 Pondok

According to Dhofier (1985), a *pondok* is a basic characteristic of a *pesantren*, which means a dormitory where the *santris* stay. The *pondok* usually is located beside or surrounding the *pesantren*. The *pondok* size is dependent on the number of resident *santris* (*santri mukim*)

Each unit of the *pondok*, generally about eight square metres, is usually lived in by more than eight *santris*. As pictured by Dhofier, life in the *pondok* is modest in which *santris* have to provide their own meals.

There are three reasons for the *pesantren* to provide a dormitory for its *santris*. First, it enables *santris* to study in a regular and disciplined manner (Dhofier, 1985). In the *pondok*,

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4 See *santri*’s classification in the *santri* section.
there are some rules that all santris must obey to ensure that no one may have a privilege within the pondok just because s/he is coming from a socially higher family status. Second, it integrates all santris’ activities, both academic and social (Saifullah, 1995) to prepare santris with the knowledge and skills beneficial once they return back to their society. Last, it can facilitate a good relationship between the kyai and santris (Dhofier, 1985). This relationship is pictured as a father-child relationship, which enables the kyai to guide and watch his santris closely.

According to Saifullah (1995), who experienced schooling in a pesantren in East Java, activities in the pondok—ranging from prayers, class learning, sports, to social activities—begin in the early morning and end in the evening. All activities, intra and extra-curricula, are integrated in order to reach the educational goals of the pesantren. Therefore, it can be assumed that all activities in the pondok constitute the whole curriculum in the pesantren, and are regarded as part of the learning process (Chirzin, 1995). Karcher (1988) argued that by living in the pondok santris are able to acquire knowledge both theoretically and practically.

2.1.1.2 Mosque

The second element of a pesantren is the mosque. Makdisi (1981) and an-Nahlawi (1996) said that the mosque was the first institution of learning in Islam, where the Prophet Muhammad (SAW⁵) taught his companions about Islam, and it was also a place for performing prayers and consulting about many affairs. This tradition has been continuing in many places where some ulama (Islamic scholars) teach people about Islam in the mosques. Hasbullah (1995) and Nakamura Mitsuo (1995) asserted that, prior to the establishment of pesantrens, the mosque was the first Islamic education institution in Indonesia. The mosque, according to Dhofier (1985), has still been used today as another learning place in the pesantrens, besides the classrooms.

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⁵ SAW stands for Shallallahu 'Alaihi Wa Sallama meaning peace be upon him (the Prophet).
2.1.1.3 Kitab kuning

Kitab kuning is another basic element of a pesantren. The term kitab kuning indicates traditional or classical Islamic books, which have been taught in the pesantren (Bruinessen, 1999; Dhofier, 1985). In this pesantren tradition, according to Mochtar (1999), kitab kuning is a basic universal reference in a sense that the pesantren community always seeks the solution for each socio-religious problem in a kitab kuning. It is even considered as an undoubted truth by the community (Nasuha, 1999). A question then arises about the position of al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah (the Prophet tradition) which are widely believed as the only sources of all Islamic teachings.

Mochtar (1999) explicated that kitab kuning advocates argued that considering kitab kuning as a universal reference does not mean ignoring al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah, but it is even following them. Kitab kuning, which comprises various Islamic disciplines such as fiqh, taubid, and tashawwuf, was based on the two sources, too. It is regarded as a set of comprehensive interpretation of al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah (Mochtar, 1999). Following al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah is not in the sense of referring to them directly and literally by ignoring the great Islamic traditions, that is, kitab kuning tradition.

However, the tendency of perceiving kitab kuning as the literal sole truth could lead to narrow curriculum choices or instructional methods in the pesantrens (Abdalla, 1999; Mochtar, 1999; Muhammad, 1999). For instance, fiqh, Islamic jurisprudence developed as a result of Islamic scholars’ ijtihad (individual interpretations of al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah), has become a high priority to teach in the pesantrens. On the contrary, usul al-fiqh, the methodology or principles of the Islamic jurisprudence, has been less appreciated (Mochtar, 1999; Muhammad, 1999). Yet, this discipline can actually be useful in exercising the critical thinking skills of the santris.

The attitude of the pesantren community towards kitab kuning could also lead to a lack of variety and creativity in instructional methods. The kyai in teaching kitab kuning rarely offers a chance for the santris to question a concept or theory written in a kitab (Muhammad, 1999). They both tend to accept what kitab kunings say as unquestioned truths. In the sorogan and bandongan methods (see the description of these later), both
widely used in the pesantrens, as Chirzin (1995) explained, santris merely listen to and take notes of the kyai’s reading of a kitab. In most cases, according to Muhammad (1999), santris may not even ask a question of the kyai.

2.1.1.4 Santri

Another basic element of a pesantren is the santri or the student. A santri, in a wider sense of the Indonesian culture, could mean “those who had been in a religious school at any time in his life or who even sympathised with the sentiments fostered by such schools whether he had in fact been in one or not” (Geertz 1968, p. 67). This definition has been expanded further to indicate those (Muslims) who have the commitment to Islam, regardless of what and who they are (see Mulkhan, 1994; Jamali, 1999; Alfian, 2000; Republika, 2000).

According to Dhofier (1985), there are basically two kinds of santri, santri mukim and santri kalong. Santris mukim (literally resident santris) are those who come far from the pesantren, and consequently they stay in the pondok during their schooling. Dhofier explained that besides studying, santris mukim are also responsible for the pondok daily affairs and teaching younger santris elementary kitab. Santris kalong (literally bat santris) are those coming from the surrounding areas. They do not stay in the pondok, but just come daily to and from the pesantren in accordance with their learning timetable. Normally, santri mukim constitutes the major proportion of the santri populations in the pesantrens. The age of santris in a pesantren could range from 10 to 50 years old.

Another kind of santris is so-called santris kelana (wandering santris) (Azra, 1999b; Fealy, 1996). This kind of santris only stay or learn in one pesantren for a few years, then move on to another pesantren for another few years, and so on. According to Azra (1998; and 1999a), this (wandering santris) tradition has positive values for scholarly exchanges. By learning Islamic teachings from various kyais, the santris will be able to acquire and reproduce knowledge, and, at last, they will be able to enrich knowledge in the pesantren community.
2.1.1.5 Kyai

The *kyai* is the most essential element of a *pesantren*, because he, assisted by some *ustadz*, leads and teaches Islam to the *santris*. In many cases, he is even the founder of the *pesantren*. According to Dhofier, the word ‘*kyai*’ signifies three things. Firstly, the word *kyai* may indicate something believed as having an associated superstition or magic (B. Ind.: *benda keramat*) like “*Kyai Garuda Kencana*”, for a golden chariot in the Yogyakarta Palace. Secondly, it refers to ordinary elderly people. Thirdly, it indicates a person with Islamic knowledge leading and teaching in a *pesantren*. The last is used in the context of this study. Despite other terms used to indicate a person with Islamic knowledge (*alim*) such as *adjengan* in West Java (Dhofier, 1985; Yacub, 1985) and *tuan guru* in Kalimantan and Nusa Tenggara (Hasbullah, 1995; Yunus, 1979), the term *kyai* is most widely used across all of Indonesia. The term *kyai* always indicates a male Islamic scholar, while a female Islamic scholar is called *nyai* (Zuhri, 1987).

The above five elements are fundamental to all *pesantrens*. However, a *pesantren* may have other elements such as a fixed curriculum, library, shared kitchen, and laboratories, depending on the nature and development of the particular *pesantren*.

2.1.2 The role of the *kyai*

Due to the fact that the *kyai* is not only a central figure in the *pesantren*, but also in the society, it is important to understand his roles both in the society and in the *pesantren*.

2.1.2.1 Kyai in the society

The literature suggests that the role of the *kyai* has been beyond the field of religious teaching (Kuntowijoyo, 1998; Oepen & Karcher, 1988; Rahardjo, 1995; Yacub, 1985). Rahardjo (1993) narrated that Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary (1710-1812), a very famous *kyai* in South Kalimantan was a village headman intensively developing the irrigation system in his area. At the same time, as Azra (1998) explicated, he was also a great Islamic scholar who wrote many Islamic books and some of them have become references for the Indonesian-Malay Muslims community as well as *pesantrens*. 
In the struggle against the Dutch and Japanese colonialists, it was quite often the *kyais* who became commanders in the battles. In West Sumatra, for instance, an *alim* called Tuanku Imam Bonjol led his people to fight against the Dutch (Abdullah, 1986). Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassary (1627-1699) led Muslim people in Banten, West Java, to struggle against the Dutch until he was exiled to South Africa and died there (Azra, 1998). Saefuddin Zuhri, a *kyai* in Java, was also a freedom fighter along with other *kyais* against the Japanese and Dutch from 1945 to 1949 (Zuhri, 1987). These instances strongly indicate the importance of *kyais* for their role in the Indonesian struggle for freedom and independence. They fired the spirit of Indonesian Muslims to perform *jihad* (the holy war) against the invaders.

Some *kyais* also have become political leaders. Among them have been some Parliamentary leaders and members, both in the central and regional government such as *Kyai* Idham Khalid (Wahid, 1999; Zuhri, 1987, Barton & Fealy, 1996). Some of them even became ministers, such as *Kyai* Wahid Hasyim, *Kyai* Ilyas, *Kyai* Saefuddin Zuhri and the like. The most recent example is *Kyai* Abdurrahman Wahid, who became the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia in 1999.

Many *kyais* also become society leaders, as indicated by Kuntowijoyo (1998) and Yacub (1985). In East Kalimantan, in the 1970s, a *kyai* called Abdullah Said, through his *majlis ta’lim* (Islamic learning group) successfully convinced the people in his society to develop their village. Through the *kyai’s* guidance, they changed the swamps surrounding the village into fish embankments. They also agreed not to destroy the forests around them but to preserve them, instead. He even succeeded in persuading his people not to practice shifting cultivation any longer. He urged people to build a dam for irrigation watering their fields. Finally, he has been regarded as successfully leading people from “darkness” into “enlightenment”, and was awarded a *kalpataru prize* in 1984, a national prize for those who are regarded as successful in preserving the environment from damage.

From these examples, the role and function of the *kyai* in the Indonesian society can be seen as:

1. a spiritual leader. The *kyai* is a teacher, guide, and religious consultant.
2. a social leader. The kyai is a motivator, pioneer, and even an activator of societal development.

3. a political leader. The kyai is a member of a pressure group either because of his involvement in a political party or of his influential being. Some kyais may also be a facilitator or mediator between the government and society.

These three roles and functions of the kyais in the Indonesian society imply that they guide and assure changes happening in the society that are consistent with the Islamic teaching of achieving al-maslabat al-‘ammah (the common good) (Falakh, 1999). If this is the case, it can be assumed that they have a big dilemma (Dhofier, 1985; Rahardjo, 1995). On one hand, they have to preserve the Islamic traditions, while on the other hand, they have to respond to changes that might be opposite to such traditions. As a matter of fact, there is a basic principle in usbul al-fiqh that kyais are believed to follow, that is, al-mubafazhatu ‘ala al-qadim al-shalih, wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah (Ali, 1999; Dhofier, 1985; Jamali, 1999). This means ‘to preserve the old good traditions and adopt the new better ones’. Therefore, Dhofier (1985), Karcher (1988), Kuntowijoyo (1998), and Rahardjo (1993; 1995), viewed that, kyais, in fact, have shown their careful adaptations to changes and challenges.

2.1.2.2 Kyai in the pesantren

A pesantren is paralleled by some experts as a kingdom in which the kyai is the king. This implies that the kyai has total power and authority to control any aspect of his pesantren. An illustration given by Nurcholish Madjid (1985) is that a kyai who is illiterate in Roman alphabet letters tends to be reluctant to include such kind of literacy into his pesantren curriculum. Another example which I, myself, experienced was that the weekly holiday in my junior Islamic secondary school was Friday, following the Islamic tradition, even though it is a state school affiliated to the government’s recommended curriculum. This is contrary to the other state schools where the holiday is Sunday, historically following the Dutch Christian pattern. The school is under a pesantren management led by a kyai. Later on, when I was a student of an Islamic institute, a government official said that, in South Kalimantan there is only one state school not following the government’s policy.
regarding the weekly holiday, that is my school. He further said that it is difficult to change because the kyai has not approved the change.

**Figure 1. Pesantren Organisational Structure**

*adapted from Mastuhu, 1994*

To understand more clearly the role of the kyai is in the pesantren, Figure 1 indicates a general picture of the pesantren organisational structure summarised from Mastuhu’s (1994) study. However, this structure can vary from one pesantren to another.

The above figure indicates that the highest authority in the kyai’s hands as the leader in the pesantren. All people in the structure under the kyai are responsible to him for the activities they do. Abdullah Syukri Zarkasyi (1998) explained a kyai manages all activities in the pesantren in material, economic, physical aspects and the like. However, in the case where the pesantren is owned by a society represented by a board or foundation, the role of the kyai is restricted to some extent. He still has the power to control the pesantren, but he also should consult with the people of the foundation (Mastuhu, 1994; Wahid, 1999b).
Some particular reasons, as conveyed by Steenbrink (1994), Wahid (1988) and Zarkasyi (1998), may explain such a high position being held by the kyai either in the society or in the pesantren. These are the key values that prevail in the society—piety and knowledge. Piety includes such characteristics or values as devotion to God’s commandments, *ikhlas* (sincerity: not expecting other than God’s pleasure) and *zuhd* (modesty based on a belief that the hereafter is much better than the earthly lives) (Steenbrink, 1994). It seems that in the society the kyai is a model, the more pious he is, the more respect and appreciation he deserves and commands.

In the Islamic traditions, knowledge is positioned as equal with faith. Various verses of al-Qur’an⁶ and pieces of Hadits⁷ are concerned with the importance of knowledge and the strength of those having knowledge, urging Muslims to seek knowledge and to be knowledgeable people. Hence, in the Islamic society, Muslims who have knowledge, particularly of Islamic knowledge, are highly respected and appreciated by people. The more knowledgeable the kyai, the more respect and appreciation he deserves and receives (Rahardjo, 1993).

### 2.1.3 The goals and curriculum of pesantren

Mastuhu (1994) reported that within the six pesantrens he studied there was no single written goal of pesantren education. He could just draw a conclusion from interviews that the pesantren educational goal is to develop the personality of pupils to become *muhsin*. The term *muhsin* is derived from an Arabic word *ihsan* that, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (SAW) means a belief or attitude within a Muslim that s/he is always being watched by God⁸ (Sulthan, 1997). In light of this, Saifullah (1995) asserted that the

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⁶ There are 48 places in al-Qur’an mentioning the word *‘ilm* (knowledge). Among others is al-Qur’an 58:11, “O you who believe! When you are told to make room in the assemblies, (spread out and) make room. Allah will give you (ample) room (from His Mercy). And when ye are told to rise up (for prayers and any other good deed), rise up. Allah will exalt in degree those of you who believe and who have been granted Knowledge. And Allah is Well-acquainted with all you do” (Khan & al-Hilali, 1995, pp. 854-855).

⁷ Among others is a very famous one that is seeking knowledge is compulsory for both male and female Muslims.

⁸ The translation of the hadits is: ...Then he (the man) said: “Inform me about Ihsan”. He (the Messenger of Allah) answered, It is that you should serve Allah as though you could see Him, for though you cannot see Him yet He sees you” (Al-Nawawi, 1996, p. 4). William C. Chittick and Sachiko Murata (1997) gave an illustration to explain such a hadits of a car driver as if he sees a traffic policeman while he is driving, or if he could not see, he believes that the policeman is seeing him.
goal of the pesantren education is to produce people who have Islamic characteristics—high morality, healthy, deep knowledge, freedom of thinking, and sincerity.

It can be assumed, therefore, that pesantrens form a moral-oriented education, which is also the general basic orientation of Islamic education (Al-Attas, 1979; Langgulung, 1987). However, this orientation does not mean to ignore other aspects such as intellectuality and skills. Islam highly appreciates knowledge and urges Muslims to seek knowledge, regardless of time and place. This understanding is assumed to be one major factor contributing to the formation of the curriculum of pesantrens.

As explained earlier, kitab kuning teaching is the typical curriculum of pesantrens. Some pesantrens still strictly use kitab kuning as their whole curriculum, whereas some others include other curricula into their overall curriculum. Mastuhu (1994) asserted that the need for formal acknowledgment by government, so that pesantrens’ graduates may continue on to state tertiary education, is one of the reasons for the acceptance of curricula other than just kitab kuning. As a result, within some pesantrens, there is formal schooling such as madrasah affiliated with the MORA or sekolah9 affiliated with the MNE. Some pesantrens even have a tertiary program that affiliates with an Institute for Islamic Studies or Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN)’s faculty such as the Faculty of Syari’ah (Islamic Law).

Kitab kuning curriculum, as Chirzin (1995) reported, covers mainly Islamic and Arabic disciplines such as taubid (Islamic theology), fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), hadits (the Prophet’s traditions), nabwu (grammar), sharf (morphology), and balaghah (rhetoric), as well as manthiq (logic). Meanwhile, the madrasah curriculum comprises 30% religious courses and 70% non-religious courses, such as maths and sciences. However, pesantrens that adopt the madrasah curriculum have the freedom to change the proportion adapted to their needs (Mastuhu, 1994).

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9 Sekolah, an Indonesian word, has literally the same meaning as madrasah, an Arabic word. However, in the Indonesia education context, madrasah is used to indicate formal Islamic school, while sekolah is to indicate formal secular school. Madrasah or religious schools are under the MORA and sekolah is under the MNE.
In addition, a very few pesantrens, either traditional or modern ones, have also developed entrepreneurship programs to provide santris with the necessary skills useful for living once they enter the real community. Pesantren Dar al-Fallah in Bogor is one of the examples. This pesantren has provided and developed an agricultural program mixed with a religious one for the santris (Widodo, 1995).

In short, the goal of the pesantren education is to produce Muslims with strong Islamic morals, or akhlak, and possess Islamic knowledge. To reach this goal, the curriculum consists largely of kitab kunings as the particularity of the pesantrens. Regardless of the types of curriculum of the pesantrens, the literature so far has not provided information about the development of such curriculum in the pesantren context.

2.1.4 The methods of instruction in pesantren

In imparting the curriculum of the pesantrens, particularly the kitab kuning curriculum, as the literature such as Chirzin (1995), Dhofier (1985), Mastuhu (1994), and Suyoto (1995) suggests, the instructional methods used can be classified into two types: individual and group learning methods. Figure 2 indicates this classification and how the methods work.

The figure implies that sorogan, hafalan, and bandongan or weton are methods with the emphasis of knowledge comprehension and transmission from the kyai or ustadz to the santris. Hence, this learning process is kyai or ustadz-centred, and one-way communication. Meanwhile, the halaqah method seems to exercise understanding, the critical thinking, and problem solving skills of the santris (Muhammad, 1999), and is two-way communication. This problem-based learning model (Eggen & Kauchak, 2001) or interaction model (Brady, 1985) in the pesantrens is only applied to senior santris or sometimes only ustadz (Dhofier, 1985; Muhammad, 1999).
In pesantrens where some government curriculum is partly adopted, there is a variety of instructional methods that are already stated in the written curriculum package (Mastuhu, 1994). However, the application of the methods depends on the skills and expertise of ustads, the facilities and the available media for instruction. In the case of Indonesia, generally, not only the pesantrens, but all schools also suffer from a lack of qualified teachers and funds (Thomas, 1991).

2.2. Curriculum of Islamic Education

As mentioned in the previous section, in Islam knowledge is equal with faith. Al-Qur’an says that “Allah will exalt in degree those of you who believe and who have been granted Knowledge. And Allah is Well-acquainted with all you do” (Khan & al-Hilali, 1995, pp. 854-855). The Prophet (SAW) said, “If a man seeks the path of acquiring knowledge, God guides him to a path leading to Paradise” (Fazul-Ul-Karim, n. d. p. 20). He (SAW) also said, “Seeking knowledge is as blessed as worship and any trouble in acquiring it is considered as Jihad (holy war)” (Shalabi, 1954).
Two kinds of knowledge classified based on the sources they originate are *fardhu 'ain* and *fardhu kifayah* knowledge. The first, *fardhu 'ain*, means that it is compulsory for each individual Muslim to seek the knowledge, while the second, *fardhu kifayah*, means it is compulsory only for some Muslims in a community to seek the knowledge.

Figure 3 indicates that *fardhu 'ain* knowledge originates from God through revelations, that is, al-Qur'an and Hadits. While al-Ghazali (Fazul-Ul-Karim, n.d) argued that this knowledge includes only disciplines of *tauhid* (Islamic faith), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and *tasawwuf* (Islamic morals), al-Attas (1979) clearly stated that, besides the three disciplines, it includes all disciplines of religious knowledge such as *Hadits* (the Prophet’s traditions), *Tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), and the like. Al-Attas named this knowledge as knowledge of pre-requisites since it is to be first instilled in Muslims.

**Figure 3. The Classification of Knowledge**

![Diagram of Sources of Knowledge](image)

While al-Ghazali’s definition is, in my opinion, too narrow and simplistic, that of al-Attas is an overgeneralisation. Each Muslim is not able to acquire the variety of Islamic knowledge because of many reasons. It is important, therefore, to relate the concept of *fardhu 'ain* and *kifayah* to the context of both individual and community where and when both exist.

The *fardhu kifayah* knowledge, originating from human beings through reasoning and empirical experiences, includes all disciplines other than *fardhu 'ain* such as natural, physical, human sciences. This kind of knowledge may become *fardhu 'ain* for certain Muslims as the dotted line indicates. Al-Attas (1979) said: “the obligation for the latter
Such a classification of knowledge implies that the curriculum of Islamic education is not merely concerned with religious knowledge, but also non-religious ones. It has been practised through time that Islamic education curriculum in Muslims’ madaris (schools) covers the two kinds of knowledge (Qasim, 1980; Shalabi, 1954). Teaching this integrated curriculum to Muslim students is to empower them to become the vicegerents of God \( (khalifatullah fi al-’ardh) \) who has a balanced and integrated personality submitting his/her life to God on the level of the individual, community and humanity at large.

2.3. Summary

It is clear that the pesantren has been one of the important educational institutions in Indonesia. Regardless of the traditional picture embedded in the majority of pesantrens, they have constituted a sub-culture of the whole Indonesian culture in which Islamic teachings and practices are assumed to be ideally applied. Pesantrens have a great influence on, and a give-and-take relationship with, the Indonesian Muslim society. The role of the pesantrens’ kyais as informal leaders is very significant in the Indonesian development as they are highly respected and honoured by the society.

As an education institution, the curriculum of pesantrens seems to reflect the style and will of the kyai who leads the pesantren, reflect his interpretations of both Islamic traditions, and the changes happening in his society. Therefore, an investigation of curriculum development processes in the pesantrens will be of interest. The following chapter will examine how curriculum development should or could be undertaken in a systematic way.

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\[ [fardhu kifayah] \] can indeed be transferred to the former category \([fardhu 'ain]\) in the case who deem themselves duty-bound to seek it for their self-improvement” (p. 32).

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10 In many verses in al-Qur’an, God stated that the function of human beings on earth is vicegerent of Him, managing this world so that it is in peace and harmony. Among others is Chapter 2:30, ‘And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels, “Verily, I am going to place a vicegerent on earth”. They said, “Will you place therein and shed blood, while we glorify you with praises and thanks and sanctify You”. He (Allah) said: “I know that which you do not know” (Khan & Al-Hilali, 1995, p. 39).
CHAPTER THREE: CURRICULUM THEORIES

This chapter outlines some key concepts related to curriculum, that is: definitions of curriculum, the context of curriculum, the development of curriculum, factors that affect the implementation of curriculum, and the role of various stakeholders in curriculum.

3.1. Definition of curriculum

It is hard to define the term “curriculum”, for at least two reasons. First, there are various ways people view curriculum depending on their interests. Second, the society in which schooling takes place changes over time and “forces” education to evolve in the light of the changes. This leads to changes in the definition of the curriculum.

Curriculum experts such as Brady and Kennedy (1999) point out the vested interests of different people and their influence on the curriculum. People grouped as internal to the school such as teachers, students and parents will have different interests from those external to the school such as government and the business community. This leads them to view the meaning of the curriculum differently. For instance, as given by Brady and Kennedy, the business community has similar interests to curriculum in general as the government, and needs literate and skilled workers in a variety of ways. Hence, they view the school curriculum as “the means by which students gain the requisite knowledge and skills to make them productive workers” (p. 5). On the other side, parents who need to have faith in the school curriculum, view the curriculum as “linked with values, feelings, affection and love—it is not merely an abstraction for academic inquiry or government manipulation” (p. 5).

With the recognition that there is no neutral definition of curriculum, I use, for the purpose of this study, a definition adapted from Armstrong (1993), Marsh & Willis (1999), and Wiles & Bondi (1998) and stated in the following box.
This definition implies some important points, such as:

• The goals of the school are the major focus and orientation of the curriculum. The curriculum development, planning, implementation and evaluation within the school should be consistent with the goals. There are various factors that influence the goal formulation such as socio-cultural values and the people involved in the school.

• The emphasis of this definition on the goals may offer a chance for the teachers to “play around” with the planned written experiences so long as it is in line with the goals themselves. Teachers’ creativity is needed accordingly in their interactions with students, and they should not be constrained by the written curriculum.

• The interaction between students and teachers should reflect a student-oriented relationship, and teachers are only students’ guides.

• Evaluation of the curriculum implementation is a necessary part of the curriculum. The implementation should be confirmed as worthwhile if it is in line with the goals.

• The curriculum is much broader than just what is written in documents.

A curriculum is vital as it is the set of guidelines for the school to run its programs in order to reach its goals. Each school has its own curriculum, even though it may be recorded in the simplest form, probably not a formal well-written curriculum. Not all parts of the written curriculum may be enacted in everyday implementation, as unplanned curriculum and/or the hidden curriculum, mostly related to the affective domain of the whole curriculum (Heywood, 1984), may dominate the curriculum implementation process. The case of some pesantrens (see Mastuhu, 1994) investigated indicates that no
single curriculum goal was even written. However, the teachers (ustadz) still have a plan (curriculum) for students to undertake within the schools.

3.2. Values and Social Changes

When planning curriculum, consideration of values is one of the important stages. Kelly (1980) asserted that “to ignore that value element that is essential to it and to attempt to set up value-free schemes for curriculum planning is to miss the central point” (p. 10). Indeed, Pring (1986) also contended that educational activities are tightly related to the values that exist in a society where such education takes place. More elaboration was given by Freire (1974).

Neutral education cannot, in fact, exist. It is fundamental for us to know that, when we work on the content of educational curriculum, when we discuss methods and processes, when we plan, when we draw up educational policies, we are engaged in political acts which imply an ideological choice; whether it is obscure or clear is not important (p. 18).

The problem then, as indicated by Kelly (1980), Oliva (1997), and Le Metais (1999), is that there are inevitably competing values in education. In a society with strong religious values like most Muslim countries, there is a high competition between the existing values and new values that come along with an inevitable stream of globalisation. These new values are identical with Western cultural values that are regarded as secular, and for some Muslims, the West is an historically enemy (Saced, 1999). In addition, the communication and information technology, which is believed by some to be a means to master the globe, is widely dominated by the West. Inevitably, then, there has been a new kind of colonialisation, that is, cultural colonialisation through recent technologies and through values embedded in curriculum orientations.

This problematic situation has inevitably affected education in Muslim countries (Hussain & Ashraf, 1979). The competition of religious versus secular values, which is exemplified by the choices of religious and secular curriculum, has become the major concern of Muslim educationists. The idea to Islamise secular knowledge has been developed by Muslim scholars such as Ismail Raji al-Faruqy (1982) to bring Muslim education back to its path. Another idea is to include Islamic values into secular sciences to make Muslim
students more aware of the Divine dimension in the universe (Al-Attas, 1979; Gauhar, 1979).

In the case of Indonesia, according to Saeed (1999) and Thomas (1991), the school system, which was introduced by the Dutch colonialists, has resulted in an ongoing conflict with the Indonesian Islamic education system (read: pesantren or madrasah). This education and values conflict has continuously existed and expanded to the state level. This can be seen from the 1999 general election and the People’s General Assembly meeting in which there was the emergence of two competing powers, Islamic versus Nationalist Secular powers.

Indeed, Taba (1962) realised that the social changes greatly introduced by the advance of science and technology are not always good for some people. “Each step in human advance seems to introduce new problems and perils along with the benefits” (p. 35). Therefore, school as a social agent that functions as the preserver, transmitter and transformer of the culture (Taba, 1962), should take into consideration the existing values, while at the same time, should also reflect and respond to changes in the society (Oliva, 1997). It is a hard task to do so, indeed, since it has to be determined which one is more important and needed by the society than the others. Careful identification and adaptations in developing curriculum should be made, or otherwise education would turn away from its functions mentioned above.

3.3. School Based Curriculum Development Model

Wiles and Bondi (1998) revealed that the literature on curriculum change suggests various models of curriculum development that are respectively based on a variety of perspectives. Marsh and Willis (1999) grouped these models into two main groups, based on which level the development of the curriculum takes place, models external to the school and models internal to the school. For the purpose of this study, where the pesantren is an independent school, this section only examines the School Based Curriculum Development (SBCD) Model.
Skilbeck (1984) defined the SBCD as “the planning, design, implementation and evaluation of a programme of students’ learnings by the educational institution of which those students are members” (p. 2). According to Marsh (1992), this definition emphasises an established relationship between teacher and students and other key stakeholders of the school characterised by certain values, norms, procedures and roles.

Skilbeck (1984) indicated five interrelated processes in this curriculum development model: situational analysis, definition of objectives, program design, implementation, and assessment and evaluation. Brady (1995) asserted that the situational analysis within this model indicates a more comprehensive approach to curriculum development than the traditional models. This, however, does not mean that SBCD has no deficiencies. One of the deficiencies is the readiness and willingness of teachers to support and participate in this kind of curriculum development (Brady, 1995). More funds could also be required for professional development and relief teacher assistance in order to manage the process.

It can be assumed that all internal models identified in Marsh and Willis (1999) are variations of this model. These models are the Pro-active/Interactive Change Model, the Problem-Solving Model, the Action Research Model, and the Organisational Development Model, that are basically based on problem-solving activities. Basically, the processes in such curriculum development models consist of analysing the goals and needs of the school, identifying some problems, seeking possible solutions, implementing and evaluating the programs. These stages of process may not be sequentially undertaken as in the Tyler’s model, since curriculum development is rarely linear, but more on a dynamic process (Brady & Kennedy, 1999).

### 3.4. Curriculum Development Processes

The literature suggests that there are three major steps in the curriculum development process, which most models share, namely: planning, implementation, and evaluation. The three following sub-sections will discuss these three steps or processes.
3.4.1 Curriculum planning

In this very first common process of curriculum development, essential phases that could be passed through include: situational analysis, objective formulation, content selection and design, implementation plans, and assessment and evaluation plans (Brady, 1995; McGee, 1997; Skilbeck, 1984).

3.4.1.1 Situational analysis

In this stage, curriculum planners view and understand the context in which the school curriculum exists. According to Marsh (1992), situational analysis may refer to the recognition of problems that have been facing the school. Skilbeck (1984) explained further that what he means by the “situation” encompasses not only teachers’, parents’, community’s, and students’ perception of curriculum, but also teachers’ own reflective self-awareness. As quoted in Marsh (1992, p. 80), Skilbeck divided factors constituting the situation into two general groups, external and internal factors.

External:
- Cultural and social changes and expectations, including parental expectations, employer requirements, community assumptions, and values, changing relationships (e.g. between adults and children) and ideology.
- Educational system requirements and challenges (e.g. policy statements, examinations, local authority expectations or demands or pressures, curriculum projects, educational research).
- The changing nature of the subject matter to be taught.
- The potential contribution of teacher support systems (e.g. teacher-training colleges, research institutes).
- Flow of resources into the school.

Internal:
- Pupils: aptitudes, abilities and defined educational needs.
- Teachers: values, attitudes, skills, knowledge, experience, special strengths and weaknesses, roles.
- School ethos and political structure: common assumptions and expectations including traditions, power distribution, authority relationships, method of achieving conformity to norms and dealing with deviance.
- Material resources including plant, equipment and potential for enhancing these.
- Perceived and felt problems and shortcomings in existing curriculum.

A careful note on such given factors will reveal a hard task for the curriculum planners to compromise among the factors that are often in conflict with each other. As noted earlier, the existing values in many developing countries, have clashed with Western cultural
values. As well, there might be different interests of groups of people such as government, the business community, parents and educationists that affect education and the curriculum. Within the school, conflict may arise from factors such as students’ expectations and teachers’ perceptions, skills and experiences, as well as lack of funds. Therefore, careful analysis is necessary in this stage.

McGee (1997) gave useful tips for carrying out the situational analysis by delivering five steps of this analysis process.

- Identification of curriculum issues and needs
- Prioritising issues and needs
- Information collection on each issue
- Analysis of information and recommendation
- Curriculum action (pp. 84-86)

3.4.1.2 Objectives formulation

Another stage is to generate the aims, goals, and objectives of the curriculum. Ornstein and Hunkins (1998) described this stepping process as the philosophy → aims → goals → objectives sequence. In other words, formulating objectives of the curriculum starts from the broader context, which is the context—beliefs and values—where the school exists, to the narrower one, which is the intended learning outcomes. All processes in formulating the curriculum aims, goals, and learning outcomes must be based on the philosophy underpinning the school curriculum.

While Brady (1995) suggested that the term “goal” refers to broader intentions than the term “aim”, Hunkins (1985), Marsh (1992), McGee (1997), Oliva (1997), and Ornstein and Hunkins (1998) asserted that an aim is broader and more general than a goal. They defined an aim as the very broad and long-term intentions of education. Marsh (1992) explained that an aim generally applies to systems rather than to individual schools. However, McGee (1997) stated that it could be used to indicate the intentions of individual schools, too. Meanwhile, “goal” is a term indicating more precise statement of curriculum intent, which has medium to long term ends. Goals of curriculum are derived from the aim statements. The narrower term of the curriculum intention is an objective, which indicates specific statements of students’ learning outcomes in classroom
programs. In other words, aim can be defined as the school curriculum intent, goal as the course or subject intent, and objective as the particular lesson or unit intent.

Although aims are very broad and open statements, they should address several dimensions of schooling, intellectual, social-personal, and productive dimensions (Doll, 1992). In addition to these, Ornstein and Hunkins (1998) suggested other important aspects such as physical, aesthetic, moral, and spiritual dimensions that could also be included. From the general aims, the goals of curriculum are generated. Oliva (1997) pointed out that the typical characteristics of the curriculum goals are in accordance with the aims and philosophy, programmatic, in reference to the achievement of groups of students not individuals, and broad enough to lead to specific objectives. This reveals that goals leave a certain degree of freedom for the curriculum planners or teachers to formulate objectives.

From those goals, specific tactical objectives are generated, with the specificity of objectives increasing once they are advanced from program objectives to unit or lesson objectives (Hunkins, 1985). While learning objectives or outcomes should reflect three major domains of achievement—cognitive, psychomotor, and affective (Kemp, 1977), Wiles and Bondi (1998), and Brady (1995) stated that the objectives should contain the audience (students), behaviour (expected experience that the audience should meet), conditions under which the behaviour is to occur, and degree of achievement. In addition, Marsh (1992) suggested some criteria for effective objectives:

- Comprehensiveness — have to be sufficiently broad to include all learning outcomes.
- Suitability — must be relevant to students at particular grades or class levels.
- Validity — must reflect the reality they purport to reflect.
- Feasibility — should be attainable by students in terms of their levels of competency and availability of resources.
- Specificity — must be phrased clearly and precisely so that they will not be misunderstood by teachers or by students.
- Compatibility — should be consistent with other stated objectives (p. 90).

According to Brady and Kennedy (1999), precision of objectives has advantages and disadvantages. Precision of learning objectives may bring a clearer guidance for teachers and students about what to do and achieve in learning processes, but it seems to ignore the complexity of learning outcomes that cannot be predicted by specific statements (p.
115). In my opinion, to be precise in learning outcomes does not necessarily mean to negate the complexity of the learning outcomes and processes. It is just to ensure that such a complexity will not lead the learning process away from the goals.

Bloom, Krathwhol, and Masia (1956; 1964) developed a well-used taxonomy of objectives in the cognitive and affective domains. Objectives in the cognitive domain should be in these following sequencing levels: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. In the affective domain, the levels are receiving, responding, valuing, organising, and characterising by a value complex. Even though Kemp (1977) recognised that there has been no widely accepted taxonomy in the psychomotor domain, he, quoting Kibler (1970), conveyed scales, that are gross bodily movements, finely coordinated movements, non-verbal communication, and speech behaviour. Integrating all domains in generating learning objectives is underpinned by a belief of interconnectedness and wholeness of life, and of the holistic potential of individuals (Miller, 1987).

3.4.1.3 Content selection

Generally, there are some key issues that should be considered when organising the content of the curriculum, namely: scope, sequence, continuity, articulation, balance, and integration (Armstrong, 1993; Hunkins, 1985). The literature also suggests some criteria in selecting curriculum content—validity, significance, interest, learnability, and consistency with social reality (Brady, 1995; McGee, 1997). All these criteria are highly related to the two previous phases, situational analysis and objective formulation. In other words, the five criteria are taken to assure that the curriculum content selected conforms to, and is consistent with, the particular situation, aims, goals, and objectives of a school.

Content is valid if it is authentic, up-to-date, and consistent with the objectives. It is significant if it is fundamental to a subject to which content belongs, and can be tested by the ideas and facts belonging to the subject. Content should take into consideration the students’ interests. Also, content should be learnable in a sense that the presentation of content should address the students’ ability in understanding the content. Another criterion is that content should be concerned with social reality. This criterion should be
in understanding that not all subjects taught in a school are consistent with the reality of the society. Few of them are even unchanging and static for the purposes of achieving the school’s mission and function. Hunkins (1985) added that content should be feasible in that it can be applied with the resources available, such as time allocated, funds provided, and the given staff.

There are many designs for organising the content of a curriculum and each of them has strengths as well as deficiencies. However, according to Hunkins (1985), they can be generally divided into two sorts of design, subject-centred design and learner-centred design. Subject-centred design is that the content is organised on the basis of disciplines of knowledge. For instance, the school curriculum contains subjects such as biology, mathematics, English and so on.

Learner-centred design is where the content is selected and organised with the major focus on the needs and desires of learners. Armstrong (1993) gave an illustration that, in secondary schools, students are usually given a chance to advise some mini-courses that they want to take. It does not mean, however, that all content of the curriculum is fully based on students’ interests since there is no guarantee that students’ interests will last long. Additionally, Armstrong noted that most teachers are products of academic systems and familiar with subject-centred designs. Therefore, the idea of core curriculum becomes important in this regard. Beside philosophical considerations, this idea is based on the assumption that students have certain common needs that should be addressed in the curriculum (Armstrong, 1993).

At more micro levels, classroom or unit or lesson levels, Kemp (1977) provided some useful questions for teachers to ask when selecting subject content as follows:

- What specifically must be taught or learned in this topic?
- What facts, concepts, and principles relate to this topic?
- What steps are involved in necessary procedures relating to this topic?
- What techniques are required in performing essential skills? (p. 47)

Selecting and organising subject content involves teachers in understanding all the particular situations related to the education programs, and in using their creativity in selecting and determining strategies that will be used in implementing the planned
curriculum. Teachers should understand well the match and link between the content, students’ needs, and the school’s aims. This understanding is reflected in their curriculum deliberation and implementation within the classroom process. Therefore, as Brady (1995) asserted, discussing the content of the curriculum is also to discuss the methods or strategies that will be used in the implementation.

3.4.1.4 Implementation plans

In this stage, another integrated phase to the whole process of curriculum planning is to be discussed, that is the implementation plans, which in Hunkins’ (1985) words, is “experiences selection”. While the content selection focuses on the question of what should be learnt or taught in the classroom, the experience selection focuses on the question of how to learn or teach the selected content, or instructional strategies.

Teachers, as the curriculum planners, must choose the strategies they will employ in their teaching process. Oliva (1997) suggested that a strategy chosen in the classroom process has to be right for

- the learners. It must meet their needs and interests and must be in keeping with their learning styles.
- the teachers. The strategy must work for the individual teacher.
- the subject matter. Artificial respiration, for example, is taught more effectively by demonstration and practice than by lecturing.
- the time available. For example, a scientific experiment requiring an extended period of several days is not possible if sufficient time is not available.
- the resources available. Reference materials must be available if students are required to carry out research projects that necessitate their use.
- the facilities. Dividing a class into small groups for discussion purposes, for example, may be impractical if the room is small, if acoustics are poor, and if the furniture is not movable.
- the objectives. The strategy must be chosen to fulfil the instructional objectives.

(p. 368)

It should be noted that not all strategies and methods of teaching are suitable for all students, all types of content, and able to facilitate to the attainment of particular outcomes. Another note is that instructional methods chosen by teachers should also empower all three potential domains within students—cognitive, affective, and psychomotor. In this regard, Jones & Steinbrink (1988) advised cooperative learning
methods to be used in teaching within the classroom activities for social participation, empathising, and respecting values.

Lastly, it is important to note that part of teaching and learning processes is empowering critical thinking of students. According to Bailin, Case, Coombs, & Daniels (1999), to do so, special planning for teaching critical thinking is required, and they suggested three components that should be involved:

- engaging students in dealing with tasks that call for reasoned judgement or assessment,
- helping them develop intellectual resources for dealing with these tasks, and
- providing an environment in which critical thinking is valued and students are encouraged and supported in their attempts to think critically and engage in critical discussion (pp. 298-299).

3.4.1.5 Assessment and evaluation plans

In this stage, there are generally two inseparable processes of an evaluation plan, an instructional evaluation plan and a curriculum evaluation plan. The former can be called curriculum evaluation within the micro or classroom level. Oliva (1997) made a clear distinction between the two by saying that instructional evaluation is an assessment of pupil’s achievement, the instructor’s performance, and the effectiveness of particular strategies, while curriculum evaluation “goes well beyond the purposes of the instructional evaluation into assessment of the program and related areas” (p. 432). It is important indeed to prepare a plan for both evaluation types in order that the whole curriculum process be managed effectively and efficiently.

There are two interchangeable and synonymous terms often used in educational evaluation: assessment and evaluation. However, according to Marsh and Willis (1999), they are significantly different from each other. Simply speaking, evaluation is a process of weighing and valuing something. In terms of curriculum, it is an attempt to make value judgements of a program designed, developed and implemented, whether it is producing, or can produce, the desired outcomes in students (Hunkins, 1985). On the other hand, assessment means “a much more narrow and technical process of determining how much a student has learned” (Marsh & Willis, 1999, p. 267). Since discussion about plans for a
curriculum evaluation becomes discussion about the curriculum evaluation itself in various levels, I will discuss this in the curriculum evaluation section later in this chapter.

3.4.2 Curriculum implementation

Central to the whole curriculum development process is curriculum implementation because it is “the bridge” facilitating the achievement of the intended aims and outcomes. Simply, this stage is a process of enacting the planned programs. Yet, in reality, this process is the hardest job to do as both expected and unexpected experiences occur. Steven Segal (1998) asserted that there are many things that can happen in the real implementation that are beyond the teachers’ advanced plan. He provided examples such as students’ responses and the behaviour of students during the classroom process that cannot always be predicted beforehand.

To cope with all situations in the classroom process, skilful teachers are necessary. Oliva (1997) asserted that teachers have to be skilled in using various methods in their teaching process. A particular method certainly needs some particular skills that are different from those used in applying another method. However, there are generic skills that can be used by teachers in any field and any level. Oliva provided an example of generic competencies identified by the state of Florida for the Professional Education portion of the Florida Teacher Certification Examination (see Oliva, 1997, pp. 377-378) such as using class time efficiently and communicating effectively using verbal and non-verbal skills.

According to Marsh (1992) and Marsh and Willis (1999), there are basically two extreme views of curriculum implementation. The first one is that teachers have absolute power either to include or exclude a subject(s), topic, method, or specific detail, and so on in the implementation. The other view is that teachers are only to implement curriculum as it is detailed or prescribed by the developers. These two views rarely occur in practice since the classroom process is tightly related to the particular school system and the needs defined. Thus, teachers would not usually have total authority over the curriculum. Another reason is that the reality is much more dynamic than that prescribed in any syllabus, so that it demands teachers’ creativity and flexibility in coping with and adapting to the situation.
The middle way between those two extremes proposed in the literature is what is called *fidelity of use* and *adaptation* or *process orientation* (Marsh, 1992; Marsh & Willis, 1999). The former is a term referring to the idea that some particular core areas are, to some extent, provided for through detailed prescriptions in the syllabus document. Meanwhile, the latter refers to that there are elective components, often within subjects, in which teachers may exercise their total creativity.

It is important to note, however, that successful implementation of a curriculum is influenced by several factors. Fullan (1991) suggested several key factors, as described in Figure 4, famously frequently quoted in the curriculum literature as it is considered as a comprehensive description of the key factors of the change or implementation. Among these factors, the role of principal, teacher, student, and community in curriculum will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Figure 4. Factors Affecting Curriculum Implementation**

*Adapted from Michael G. Fullan (1991)*

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**Characteristics of Change:**
1. Need and relevance of the change
2. Clarity
3. Complexity
4. Quality and practicality of the program

**Characteristics of district school:**
1. History of innovative attempts
2. Adoption process
3. Central administrative support and involvement
4. Staff development
5. Time-line and information system
6. Board and community characteristics

**Characteristics of individual school:**
1. Principal
2. Teachers
3. Students

**Characteristics external to the local system:**
1. Government
2. External funds
In short, there are needs for teachers’ abilities in delivering the content of a curriculum and coping with the tension happening between the planned curriculum and the reality in practice, and to some extent, for teachers’ creativity in the curriculum implementation. Surely, such key factors greatly affecting the curriculum implementation should be taken into account.

3.4.3 Curriculum evaluation

McGee (1997) indicated two essential fields of curriculum evaluation, product evaluation and process evaluation. Product evaluation is concerned with student performance in the classroom, or graduate performance in the school level. This is known currently as assessment. Process evaluation deals with a curriculum in all levels as they are being planned, implemented, and evaluated. This includes aspects such as content, strategies, methods, resources and so on. In other words, the former focuses on the destination of a process, while the latter is on the process of reaching the destination.

There are three widely used types of assessment in the classroom (Kemp, 1977; McGee, 1997). First, diagnostic assessment aims either to place a student in the appropriate level of a program, or to seek information of causes of deficiencies in student learning processes. Second, formative assessment is to collect information regularly on student learning during the program in order to provide feedback to the students and to aspects of the program if appropriate. Third, summative assessment is to make judgements on student learning at a particular end-point of the program. From this, reporting of achievement can be made.

There are two important aspects in the curriculum assessment and evaluation, namely: what is evaluated and how it is evaluated. To help curriculum evaluators in dealing with what is evaluated, curriculum objectives can be treated as a starting point as they state clearly what ought to be evaluated (Popham, 1999). The literature suggests that assessment and evaluation should also encompass three domains—cognitive, affective, and psychomotor.
In regards to how student achievement is assessed, or evaluated, Brady and Kennedy (2001, p. 28) listed some strategies as in Table 1.

**Table 1. A Classification of Assessment Strategies**

*Adapted from Brady & Kennedy (2001)*

| A. Test                      | Teacher-devised Standardised | 1. Multiple Choice      
|                             |                             | 2. True-false           
|                             |                             | 3. Short answer          
|                             |                             | 4. Matching             
|                             |                             | 5. Cloze                
|                             |                             | 6. Interpretive          
|                             |                             | 7. Concept maps           
|                             |                             | 8. Essays/extended writing 
|                             |                             | 9. Interviews/conferences |
| B. Performance Assessment   | Systematic observation      | 1. Anecdotal records    
|                             | Focused Observation         | 2. Checklist            
|                             | Non-specific observation    | 3. Rating scales         
| C. Product Assessment       |                             | 1. Portfolios            
|                             |                             | 2. Exhibitions           
|                             |                             | 3. Projects              
| D. Self-Assessment          |                             | Journals                

Information about student achievement and development gathered through such strategies is then analysed and interpreted against different standards or referenced in various ways. In this section, only three ways are conveyed as they are currently used in the field (McGee, 1997). First, teachers can compare their student performance to that the previous students who took the same assessment. This previous group is referred to as the norm group (Popham, 1999), and therefore this method is called norm-referenced interpretation of assessment. Second, teachers set up criteria and compare their student performance to the criteria. This is called criterion-referenced assessment. Third, both teacher and students collaboratively set up goals or outcomes that must be achieved in a unit of course. The negotiated outcomes become the reference points for teachers to interpret their student achievement. This is called goal-based assessment.
Interpretation of student achievement also leads directly to judgements about curriculum effectiveness. This means the curriculum is being evaluated at the same time. Besides, curriculum evaluation can be a separate activity from student assessment. This activity includes goals or objectives evaluation, instruction evaluation, specific segment evaluation, criteria evaluation, total program evaluation, and evaluation program evaluation (Saylor, Alexander, & Lewis, 1981).

To conclude, it is important to note what Brady (1995) gave as generic useful hints in stepping through a curriculum evaluation.

**Focusing:**
- Identify the audience
- Clarify the objectives of evaluation
- Describe the information needed
- Locate the information already available
- Define the principles within which the evaluator must operate

**Preparing:**
- Determine when and from whom the information is needed
- Determine the techniques and instruments needed to collect the information
- Determine the sample to be used for the evaluation
- Select or develop the instruments needed to gather information

**Implementing:**
- Collect all the relevant information

**Analysing:**
- Analyse the collected information

**Reporting:**
- Interpret the information analysed
- State a conclusion or recommendation about the quality and relevance of the curriculum
- Record staff and resource requirements for meeting the recommendations
- Disseminate information to the audience (pp. 250-251).

### 3.5. The Roles of Key Stakeholders in the Curriculum

The above discussion about curriculum and its development leaves a question of who is involved in playing particular roles in that process. I have previously come up explicitly and implicitly with the role of teachers in developing curriculum. This section, with the recognition of the importance of other groups of people who participate in curriculum decision-making such as governments, boards of school, and curriculum specialists, will specifically convey the roles of stakeholders—teachers, principals, students, and parents and community—in the whole curriculum development process.
3.5.1 Teachers

Teachers, in reality, unquestionably play an important role in developing curriculum because they work and plan with pupils, engage in individual study, and share experiences about curriculum with other teachers (Doll, 1992). They also discuss and exchange their teaching experiences with their counterparts that will result in, according to Doll, raising morals, maintaining interests, and creating willingness to change.

In the School-Based Curriculum Development (SBCD) Model, the role of teachers becomes larger as they are involved in all stages of the process—from situational analysis to curriculum evaluation (Brady, 1995; Marsh, 1992; Skilbeck, 1984). Teachers are, therefore, the initiators of the curriculum change and improvement, planners, implementers, and evaluators. Connelly and Clandinin (1993) comprehensively described the experiences of teachers revealing the importance of their role in influencing student learning outcomes through the lived curriculum.

Doll (1992), however, stated that the role of teachers in the curriculum is constrained by factors such as their philosophical belief and their own interpretations of their role. He gave an interesting illustration that what teachers believe is influencing the way they are involved in the curriculum process, as one teacher said:

> When something new comes along, I usually try it. One thing bothers me, though. It doesn’t seem right to meet new requirements and, at the same time, discard the good in traditional ones (Doll, 1992, p. 394).

Such a quote also implies that teachers tend to teach in the way their teachers taught during their personal and educational schooling period in the past, retaining traditions. It can be concluded then that their experiences and beliefs are also contributing to the role they play in curriculum development.

Teachers, as McGee (1997) believed, are the key curriculum decision-makers who need to be extended professionals. This means that teachers are not only skilled in dealing with the classroom situations, but with issues wider than that. In an ideal sense, teachers must know well their school context, broad educational and social issues, and get involved in
academic activities such as research. They also have to develop themselves through professional development programs, such as through pre-service and in-service training.

### 3.5.2 Principals

Hunkins (1985) pointed to the principals of schools as the nexus of the curriculum activity. The principals, both by tradition and law, are burdened with responsibility for conducting the school affairs and overall decision-making. Therefore, besides being the curriculum program leaders, they also serve as the administrators and managers of the school (Oliva, 1997). These three major roles reveal their major functions in order to establish the organisational conditions such as the development of shared goals, collaborative work structures and climates, and procedures for monitoring results (Fullan, 1991).

In relation to these functions, Hall and Rutherford (1983) cited in Marsh and Willis (1999), reported three different styles of principal leadership: responders, managers, and initiators. These three styles of curriculum leadership were reported to be successful in initiating a new program. However, they are different in the sense that:

- Managers and initiators intervened far more often than responders in getting staff involved in curriculum projects.
- Initiators intervened directly in classrooms by far the most often.
- Initiators achieved the highest levels of implementation.
- Managers created a more positive psychological climate in schools than initiators did (adapted from Marsh & Willis, 1999, p. 200).

These findings suggest no single style can be considered the best since each of them has strengths and deficiencies. Principals should, therefore, consider mixing the three styles to shape better conditions for their educational institutions. In so doing, the following actions should be undertaken by any principal, along with other curriculum workers:

- Developing an operating theory
- Developing an organisation and a work environment
- Setting standards
- Using authority to establish an organisational climate
- Establishing effective interpersonal relations
- Planning and initiating action
- Keeping communication channels open and functioning
In short, it is obvious that principals play an important role in curriculum decision-making as their existence is being felt by all groups involved in the curriculum process (Oliva, 1997).

3.5.3 Students

Students are the primary participants in education. It is they who experience the education activities and acquire the results. It is unquestionable that, to some extent, they should be involved in, or participate in, the curriculum decision-making process in several ways.

According to Doll (1992), research findings on this matter suggest that students believe they are capable in helping with curriculum development. However, in reality, as Doll suspected, this capability of students has been frequently ignored by curriculum workers. This is because the traditional belief of the teachers’ authority, a teacher-centred education, has given less opportunity for students to be involved in decisions (Marsh and Willis, 1999). In fact, students are living creatures that have needs, interests, and potential abilities, which are different in one student from another because of their different backgrounds. Hence, special attention to these differences must be given by involving students in the curriculum process.

Ornstein and Hunkins (1998) suggested students’ participation with teachers and the curriculum committee in various curriculum components. Their participation may be realised in both formal and informal consultation between teachers and students through several ways such as interview, questionnaire, group discussion, survey and other possible and applicable methods to collect their expressions and aspirations towards the curriculum being developed and implemented.

However, some difficulties arising in recruiting students to participate in the curriculum decision-making should be also noted (Armstrong, 1993). It is difficult to determine times for learners to attend curriculum committee meetings as the meetings are usually held during, or immediately after, the school day. Another is dealing with the age and maturity levels of students. Besides, it is hard to precisely select students representing all students.
in the school. Also, there is no initial expertise of students in curriculum-building, so that this requires other curriculum participants or specialists to provide them with this kind of information and experience.

These difficulties should not be a justification for ignoring students’ participation in the curriculum process. The difficulties can be challenges for the curriculum workers to cope with in order to develop a better comprehensive curriculum design.

### 3.5.4 Parents and community

Noted previously, parents and other community members may have different views of curriculum from other groups of people. Their views may lead them to play significant roles that should be taken into consideration in the curriculum development process. Fortunately, involvement of parents and the community in curriculum decision-making nowadays has been more intense than a few years ago (McGee, 1997).

Through the parents and community boards where they exist, that seem now to be embedded to each school, parents can participate in the school or curriculum process in various ways. Carl Marburger (1990) cited in Doll (1992) summarised some ways through which parents can participate in the school program of their children, such as forming partnerships for the educational development program, collaboration on their children’s progress in learning, and the school’s events. Research findings (Boyer, 1995; Hill & Crevola, 1999) suggest a significant correlation between the involvement and support of parents and the community in the school activities and students’ progress. Necessary attention and the help of parents for their own children can drive the children’s motivation, and in turn their progress. In this case, Ornstein and Hunkins (1998) hoped that parents should not just be readers or receivers of evaluation reports. They should also be contributors to curriculum teams in order to provide for higher achievement of their children.

### 3.6. Summary

Curriculum, which is central to the work of any school, is a set of experiences that students undertake in order to achieve the goals of their education. The goals of
curriculum or the form of the curriculum itself is greatly influenced by the key stakeholders, people who have interests in the curriculum such as government, communities, principal, teachers, and students. Frequently, each group of stakeholders has their own respective interests that are different from each other. Thus, in developing the curriculum, these people could be involved in the process, in spite of considering other factors either external or internal to the school, so that transformative curriculum could be built that meets the needs of all stakeholders.

In the overall picture of curriculum development, there is a common process that could be stepped through in each case. This process encompasses cyclical or sequenced phases: planning—comprising situational analysis, goals, aims, and objectives statements, content and experiences selection, implementation and evaluation plans; implementation; and evaluation. This process could be applied to any educational institution including pesantrens.

Pesantrens have total freedom from any outside authority in determining the curriculum whether it is to adopt, adapt or to reject any curriculum. This results in differences among the pesantrens in their curriculum and development, and creates generally two types of pesantrens: traditional and modern (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Sebagai Pola Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar, 2000). The following chapter conveys the expectation of the curriculum development model and process in both types of pesantrens. This expectation constitutes my conceptual framework for this study.
CHAPTER FOUR: FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This chapter develops the conceptual framework of this study. Basically, this framework applies some curriculum theories described in the previous chapter to the context of pesantren education detailed in Chapter Two.

Pesantrens that have total freedom in determining the curriculum are generally divided into two types: salafi (traditional) and khalaﬁ (modern). Both types of pesantrens share some basic elements such as the kyai, santris, kitab kuning, mosque, and dormitory. Both also base their education on the Islamic tradition and values perceived and interpreted by the founders of the pesantrens.

One of the common features in both types of pesantrens is that the kyai plays a very important role. Generally, he possesses total control over the pesantren in each decision-making process, especially at the macro level. In some cases, indeed, the kyai is assisted by staff in determining the program policies, but still the final decision is in the hands of the kyai. It is expected that this authority held by the kyai results in less-involvement of other key stakeholders, such as ustadzs, santris, parents or the community in the curriculum process.

To some extent, that above situation is in accordance with what the curriculum literature suggests about the importance of the school principal’s role in curriculum decision-making. Besides being the leader of the school and its curriculum, the principal is also the administrator and manager who establishes the organisational conditions such as the development of shared goals, collaborative work structures and climate, and procedures for monitoring results. The literature also contends, however, that the principal does not work alone by him/herself. It is important that all people such as teachers, students, parents, and even other members of the community are involved in curriculum decision-making. This may not be the case in pesantrens, especially the traditional type.

Another feature in both types of pesantren is that kitab kuning (classical Islamic texts written in Arabic) is chosen as the common content of the curriculum. However, the degree of adopting kitab kuning as their curriculum may differ in traditional from modern
Based on the literature, I expect, as in Figure 5, that in traditional pesantrens, *kitab kuning* is the only, or at least the main, curriculum (see Box 1). Meanwhile, in modern pesantrens, alongside with *kitab kuning* (see Box 2), part of the curriculum is usually adapted from the recommended curriculum from other educational agents such as the MORA (see Box 3). This adopted curriculum is intended to accommodate *santris’* expectation of continuing their study to tertiary education. Therefore, such an adopted curriculum contains subjects common for national examination such as Pancasila (the Five Principles of Indonesia Ideology), Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian Language), and History of Indonesia. Modern pesantrens also offer vocational programs such as those that develop skills in entrepreneurship, economic cooperation, agriculture, mechanics, electrical trades, and the like (see Box 4). Figure 5 also depicts my expectation that the larger overall size and the boxes in the modern pesantren reflect that the content covered will be greater in size, and consume more time than in the traditional pesantren.

**Figure 5. Curriculum Content in Traditional and Modern Pesantrens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Pesantrens</th>
<th>Modern Pesantrens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitab Kuning Curriculum</td>
<td>Kitab Kuning Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel content in both pesantrens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Common curriculum for national examination, drawn from MORA.</td>
<td>4 Vocational Programs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such a difference in the curriculum content or choice in both pesantrens is led by both external and internal factors influencing the *kyai’s* and/or *ustadz’s* perception and
interpretation of what and how the curriculum should be developed, implemented, and evaluated. In Figures 6 and 7, I expect these ‘what’ and ‘how’ factors to influence the kyai’s and/or ustadz’s perception and interpretation, and then this leads to the differences in the whole process of curriculum development, implementation and evaluation.

**Figure 6. Traditional Pesantren Curriculum Development Process**
The kyais and/or ustadzs in both types of pesantren in the situational analysis, as in Figures 6 and 7, are influenced greatly by the Islamic values and traditions that reveal what each Muslim must learn. However, their interpretation towards what each Muslim must learn is different from each other, which results in the curriculum choices as mentioned above and described in Figure 5. The traditional pesantren’s kyai might view that the most important course that each Muslim must learn is Islamic subjects, while the modern kyai might view the possibility and importance for each Muslim to possess knowledge of many other subjects besides religious ones. The other factors that together contribute to the kyai’s perception of the curriculum include: his perception of the pesantren’s function; social needs and demands; santri's
expectations and educational background; his beliefs and experiences; as well as the resources available to the particular pesantren.

In terms of the curriculum development process, both types of pesantren would be expected to begin the process with a situational analysis and move on to other processes. This very first stage is in line with what the curriculum literature suggested, that is, to assess the context in which a particular school exists in order to determine the next stage. While in the traditional pesantrens, the process continues with content selection, as in Figure 6, and goes on to experiences selection, in the modern pesantrens, as in Figure 7, the process would go on from a situational analysis to content selection resulting in adoption, adaptation or rejection of some external curriculum, and also to stating intentions: aims, goals and objectives of the curriculum.

In the next processes, the differences between the two should become more obvious. The dotted lines in Figure 6 indicate my uncertainty of whether elements such as aims and assessment, and the systematic processes indicated by the grey boxes and dotted arrows exist or not in the traditional pesantrens. I speculate that there are goals preoccupying the kyai and ustaz in the curriculum process, and assessment and evaluation as well. However, these may not be explicitly articulated in a formal and systematic way. Thus, the clearly seen processes are only up to the curriculum implementation. Meanwhile, Figure 7 indicates the continuity of the curriculum development process in a cyclical and dynamic way in modern pesantrens. The process begins and ends, and begins again with the situational analysis in which the explicitly written intentions are central to the whole process. However, changes of the intentions are possible as the double-edged arrows indicate. Therefore, I expect that changes and improvement in curriculum are more possible to take place in modern pesantrens than in traditional ones as the dynamic process gives curriculum workers wider chances to empower their existing potential for change and innovation within the curriculum.
In conclusion, both types of pesantrens are expected to follow a school-based curriculum development model, as they both are free to determine their curriculum. It is the will of the kyai and ustadzs to initiate and implement changes, to adopt, adapt and/or reject some external curriculum. In this case, therefore, their perceptions and interpretations of both external and internal factors during the situational analysis process are very important starting points for the whole curriculum development process. My conceptual framework indicates, however, that there is a distinct difference between the two types of pesantrens that modern pesantrens will have more explicit curriculum elements and processes. Procedures of curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation in modern pesantrens would be expected to be clearly managed in a more systematic way, and decision-making is more likely to involve more stakeholders, than the traditional pesantren. This will lead more directly to curriculum change and improvement in the modern pesantren.
CHAPTER FIVE: METHODS OF THE STUDY

This chapter outlines the methodology used in the study. It covers the rationale for choosing case study as the methodology, the settings, and the research questions of this study. This chapter also discusses the procedures used in conducting this study including sampling, the processes of collecting and analysing the data.

5.1. Case Study of Pesantrens

This study interpreted the phenomenon of the nature of curriculum development in two contrasting styles of pesantrens in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. Discussed earlier, studying pesantrens, according to Wahid (1999), is to accept the impossibility of generalisation of the results, because of the independence of each pesantren from any other authorities. Also, such a phenomenon, which is believed to be distinct from any common educational institutions, cannot be fully understood in separation from its context: that is Indonesian Islamic educational traditions. Therefore, as strongly recommended such as in Lincoln and Guba (1985), Glesne and Peshkin (1992), Patton (1990), Merriem (1988), and Maxwell (1996) in dealing with this kind of phenomena, this study employed a case study approach.

5.2. Research Site

This study was conducted in two selected pesantrens. First, Pesantren A is situated in a municipality close to the capital city of South Kalimantan. Second, Pesantren B is situated in a rural area far from the capital. This selection was based on preliminary information that one of the pesantrens was a khalafi (modern) pesantren (A) and the other was a salafi (traditional) pesantren (B). These two pesantrens, among 133 pesantrens found in South Kalimantan (Djarman, 2001), are regarded as playing an important role in producing ulama who teach the religion to the society in Kalimantan, in general.

I first collected the data from Pesantren A for the period of one month, and since it was near the city where I live, I stayed in the pesantren for only one week. It was a sufficient time to look closely at the pesantren’s daily life. Then, I went to the other pesantren to gather
the data and stayed there for one month. The reason for staying longer in the second pesantren was only a matter of distance as the trip took between four and five hours.

5.3. Research Questions

This study focused on a primary research question of the curriculum development process in a comparative approach in the two pesantrens. This question was detailed as follows:

1. Who determines the curriculum in both pesantrens?

2. How is the curriculum in both pesantrens developed? This question includes:
   a) How is the curriculum planned?
   b) How are the goals of the curriculum set?
   c) What is the content?
   d) How is the curriculum implemented?
   e) How is the curriculum assessed and evaluated?
   f) What changes are found in the curriculum?
   g) How is the communication established in both pesantrens?
   h) What are the factors influencing the curriculum?

3. What is the whole curriculum in both pesantrens?

5.4. Sampling

Sampling process in a qualitative study depends on the purpose of the data collection (Johnson & Christensen, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This means that all samples selected are regarded as having potential to contribute to attaining the answers of the research questions, purposive sampling (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Johnson & Christensen, 2000). This technique was used in this study in that it looked at events, people, and documents as sources of evidence (Marshall & Rossman, 1995) within the two particular types of pesantrens: salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern).
5.4.1 Events

For the purpose of exploring curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation, some events were observed which included classroom activities and the general pesantren’s environment. In Pesantren A, I only observed the classroom activities of three ustadzs in the male division. I was not permitted to conduct direct observation on the female division because of their belief in the Islamic tradition about the male and female relationship.

One of the three observed classrooms was of the pondok curriculum, and the other two were of the government curriculum and hence a reasonable sampling occurred. From five ustadzs I interviewed in Pesantren A, only three of them gave their consent for classroom observation. These three classrooms appeared to adequately picture the classroom implementation.

In Pesantren B, I conducted four classroom observations with four ustadzs. While teaching processes in Pesantren A took place in classrooms, in Pesantren B, teaching might take place in classrooms, the musholla, or in ustadzs’ houses. The four classroom observations represented the classroom implementation in this pesantren, since the classroom processes were relatively homogeneous. This homogeneity was possibly due to the homogeneity of the ustadzs’ own educational backgrounds.

Since the curriculum is broader than just the classroom, I also observed events that had been happening in the two pesantrens, which included interactions among the pesantrens’ community and santris’ outside classroom activities such as extra-curricular sessions.

5.4.2 People

5.4.2.1 The kyais

There was one kyai in Pesantren B and two in the other pesantren, one each for the male and female divisions respectively. Since both male and female divisions in Pesantren A were generally the same, when I discussed Pesantren A, I mean both, unless I indicate the division explicitly. Each kyai, with his permission, was interviewed to explore curriculum
development: planning, implementation, evaluation, factors affecting the curriculum, and santri’s expectation. The kyais were selected for interview because, as leaders of the pesantrens, they influenced the curriculum. As the kyai in Pesantren B was very busy and it was very difficult for me to interview him for longer than an hour, I also collected information from his deputy, Abbas\(^{11}\), to complement the information that I received from the kyai.

5.4.2.2 Ustadzs

To investigate data of curriculum development: planning, implementation, evaluation, factors affecting the curriculum, and santri’s expectation, five ustadzs from Pesantren A and four from Pesantren B were voluntarily sampled. After identifying the total list of ustadzs in Pesantren A, I asked some ustadzs from both pondok and government curriculum to voluntarily participate in this study. Five ustadzs signed their approval for participation, three of them were from the pondok curriculum including a female ustadzah from the female division, and two were from the government curriculum from the male division. Two of the five ustadzs were respectively the headmasters of the government curricula, Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) or Junior Islamic Secondary School and Madrasah Aliyah (MA) or Senior Islamic Secondary School programs. These two ustadzs also taught some subjects in the pesantren. Having the two headmasters among the five ustadzs was a strength of this study since they both contributed rich and important information, which could not be collected from others. Not all ustadzs teaching in the female division are female, and as informed to me, no single young male ustadz teaches in the female division because of the tradition.

In Pesantren B, after gaining permission from the kyai to conduct the research in his pesantren, I identified some ustadzs. Since the population of the ustadzs was relatively homogeneous in terms of their educational background which influences greatly the curriculum processes, any ustadz selected did not really make a difference to the data. After approaching some ustadzs, four of them voluntarily agreed to do so, and, unlike those in Pesantren A, all of the four also agreed that I could observe their teaching

\(^{11}\) All the names I refer to in this thesis are pseudonyms.
processes in the classrooms. The number of all ustads and their educational background can be seen in Appendix 1.

5.4.2.3 Santris

From 2779 santris in Pesantren A (see Appendix 2 for the number of santris in Pesantren A), using a maximum variation sampling (Johnson & Christensen, 2000), I gave a hundred (quite a wide range of) santris, 50 male and 50 female santris from different grades a brief questionnaire to complete. The grades were from Grade 3 of the junior level and Grades 1, 2, to 3 of the senior level. This selection was based on the assumption that these santris, aged between 15-22 years old, were mature enough to give informed opinions about the curriculum development processes and their expectations of the curriculum.

From those 100 male and female santris, only 59 of them, 30 male and 29 female santris, signed the consent form and returned the completed questionnaire. From these 59, eight santris, representing the patterns of their expectations of the curriculum, were then selected for interview. Even though santris’ expectations of the curriculum were not specifically questioned in this study, selecting santris based on this variable was the starting point to explore particularly their involvement in the curriculum development.

In Pesantren B, from 1157 santris (see Appendix 3), 50 santris were given the same questionnaire as that in Pesantren A. Since there was no grade system in this pesantren, I selected santris aged between 16 and 29 years old. From these 50, 48 santris—some of whom also undertook the optional English and Arabic programs—signed the consent form and returned the completed questionnaire. After identifying the patterns of their answers, I selected four santris representing each found pattern for interview. Table 2 informs the santris sampling in both pesantrens.
### Table 2. Santris Sampling in Both Pesantrens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pesantren A</th>
<th>Pesantren B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.4.3 Documents

Curriculum documents were analysed for the structure and nature of curriculum in the two pesantrens. The documents I needed from the pesantren were not completely provided. In particular in Pesantren B, only a few documents could be collected since this traditional pesantren was not used to documenting data. To overcome this problem, I was forced to rely on some extended interviews with some ustads and produced some documentation from these discussions.

Some documents were also collected from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Province of South Kalimantan concerning some policies related to the pesantren, such as the guidebook of the Junior Islamic High School Open Program (JIHSOP).

#### 5.5. Data Collection Methods

To reduce bias or limitations of a specific method, this study used a variety of methods (triangulation) to gather data from different sources (Maxwell, 1996). Observations, kyai, ustads and santris interviews, and documents were the methods employed in this study. Fieldnotes and audiotaping were also used during data collection.

#### 5.5.1 Classroom observation

To learn firsthand (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Best and Kahn, 1993) how the curriculum was implemented by ustads in the two pesantrens, classroom observation was employed in this study. This observation enabled me to explore what was discussed during the interviews with some ustads. As participant observation has its continuum from complete
observation to complete participant (Best & Kahn, 1993; Johnson & Christensen, 2000), I chose to be a participant observer (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). I interacted minimally with ustadzs and santris in the classrooms, without being involved in teaching, assisting ustadzs and santris or any other works.

I undertook the classroom observation twice for each ustadz. The first was just to make the santris familiar with my presence in their classroom. During this first observation, I was sitting in the corner and pretending to not notice what was happening in the classroom. In the real one, I was taking notes and collecting some information about how the classroom process was taking place. In the case of teaching that took place in the musolla or ustadzs’ houses like in Pesantren B, I sat among the santris half surrounding the ustadz. The typical configuration of the classrooms, either the classroom setting or the musolla or the ustadzas house is in Appendix 4.

Regardless of the subjects taught, each classroom observation occurred in one session (about 100 minutes). I came to the classrooms prior to the presence of the respective ustadz and left after the ustadz, so that I was able to observe the full activities during the session. Since this study dealt with the curriculum development in a whole sense, not curriculum implementation specifically, I only observed general phenomena occurring during the teaching without using any means to record the events except a pen and notebook. This technique gave me a general picture of how a particular ustadz implemented the curriculum at the classroom level. The classroom observation guide that I used is in Appendix 5.

5.5.2 General pesantren observation

Observation was also used to collect data of the pesantren environment, including the daily events occurring in the pesantrens and the extra curricular activities. Recording the pesantrens’ environment was very important since the pesantren was a type of boarding school where all the activities undertaken by santris were regarded as contributing to the learning processes (Chirzin, 1995; Karcher, 1988), and hence the curriculum in a broader sense.
From this observation, several values perceived and interpreted in practice in the daily lives were identified. By staying for periods of time in both pesantrens, some problems were also investigated. The observation guide of the general environment of the pesantren is in Appendix 6.

5.5.3 The kyai interviews

Semi-structured interview (Merriem, 1988) or the interview guide approach (Patton, 1990; Johnson and Christensen 2000) was used to interview the kyai of each pesantren. The interview focused on questions about curriculum development in the two pesantrens, covering planning, the goals, content and structure, implementation, assessment and evaluation, santris’ expectations, and factors affecting the curriculum. All the interviews were mainly in the local language to suit the participants and tape-recorded with their permission.

The interviews of the kyai were different from one to another in terms of the length of time consumed. This difference depended on the respective kyai in providing time for the interview. For example, the kyai in Pesantren B because of his activities could only provide about an hour for me to interview, and to get this time was very difficult. I actually realised this difficulty at the beginning of my time in this pesantren when I saw how busy he was and how the pesantren’s cultural barrier hindered communication with him. I then anticipated this by interviewing his deputy who, according to some ustadzs, knew much about the pesantren’s affairs.

The difference was also because mostly the kyais did not give short answers for each item of the interview as the nature of the interview guide approach is fairly conversational and situational (Patton, 1990). They sometimes told extended stories about the pesantren, and due to the cultural constraints, I could not cut short their conversations and move to the next question. If so, I might have been culturally regarded as being impolite to them. I had to keep a good relationship with them in order to gain as much information as possible. The Pesantren B’s kyai interview took about an hour in his house. Interviewing the Pesantren A’s kyais took about two hours each, taking place in the office for the kyai
of the female division, and both in the office and house for the kyai of the male division. The interview guide that I used for kyais is in Appendix 7.

5.5.4 *Ustadzs* interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted to gather data from the *ustadzs* on the curriculum development. The interview varied from one *ustadz* to another in terms of time. However, each took about 45 minutes, using the local language and audiotaped with the permission of the interviewees. All the *ustadzs* interviews in Pesantren A took place in a special room provided by the pesantren, whereas those in Pesantren B took place in the *ustadzs’* houses. The *ustadz* interview guide is in Appendix 8.

Since the *ustadzs* interviews occurred after the classroom observations were finished, the interviews gave complementary information in a sense that information gathered by observations could be confirmed during the interviews. For instance, in his classroom teaching, *Ustadz* Somad in Pesantren A put emphasis on the importance of understanding the ‘illat (the effective cause) of each law being produced. Such a phenomenon was recorded during the classroom observation. In the interview, he explained that it was intended to give an understanding to his santris about the importance of the context of the law. Maxwell (1996) asserted that an interview is useful in gaining a description of what was observed.

5.5.5 *Santris* questionnaire and interviews

To gain general patterns of the santris’ expectations of the curriculum, a questionnaire was given to a sample of them. It was found that in Pesantren A the patterns of the santris’ expectations were more varied than those in the other pesantren, ranging from comprehending the religious knowledge, comprehending both religious and non-religious knowledge, being skilled in Arabic and English, being an independent person, to possessing good morality. Meanwhile, the expectations of the Pesantren B’s santris ranged from comprehending the religious knowledge, having good morality, to learning the English language.

Representing such patterns, some santris (see the sampling section) were selected for interview. Selecting santris based on their expectations constituted a very important aspect
of this study as the santris revealed the data about their involvement in the curriculum processes which also meant the communication patterns in both pesantrens and the accommodation by the curriculum of their expectations. Hence, the questions in the interview were deeper than those in the questionnaire. I also asked the santris about the curriculum implementation and evaluation, and curriculum leadership. Each interview, taking about 30 minutes, was audiotaped with the santris’ consent and conducted in a quiet room provided by each pesantren. The santris questionnaire and interview guide can be seen in Appendix 9.

5.5.6 Document collection

The documents collected were very incomplete. From Pesantren A, the documents only contained data of the curriculum of the MORA, the learning timetables for pondok and government curricula, and the number of ustadzs and santris. The document of the MORA curriculum also included the lesson planning. From Pesantren B, the documents that were collected were few including only the book of the pesantren history and the data on the number of santris. Besides maybe the traditional administration run by the two pesantrens, this is also because the nature of the source documents is not for research purposes (Merriem, 1988). To cope with this problem, other data collecting techniques, explained previously, were used. The documentation guide can be seen in Appendix 10.

5.6. Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred during the course of gathering further data. This was, besides saving time, to avoid the accumulation of raw data collected (Bogdan and Biklen 1992), and to promote the emergence of substantive theory grounded in empirical data (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

5.6.1 Fieldnotes

The first step in analysing data in this study was recording all the facts observed in the fieldnotes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). I wrote the fieldnotes in forms that I had prepared beforehand and these recorded when and what was observed. This activity as suggested
by Hook (1981) was conducted once I finished each observation. To make it easier for me, the fieldnotes were written in Bahasa Indonesia.

5.6.2 Transcribing

In this process, I transcribed the data that I collected from both fieldnotes and interviews. I intended to complete each transcription before the next interview was conducted (Poland, 1999). However, since there were some technical difficulties, such as unavailability of computers, I could not do so. Instead, the transcription process started after all data collection processes had been completed.

In the case of the interviews, during the transcription process, the conversations recorded in the tapes, which were in the local Banjarese language, were translated into Bahasa Indonesia. This was intended that in the next processes the transcribed data would be easily translated into English. Since I am a native Banjarese and my national language is Bahasa Indonesia, I had not found any difficulty in doing this. Excerpts of the transcribed data can be seen in Appendices 11 and 12.

5.6.3 Generating categories through coding

After reading and re-reading, or segmenting as Johnson & Christensen (2000) named it, data recorded in the fieldnotes, transcription, and documents were coded into some categories. Coding in qualitative data aims to break the data into categories that facilitate the comparison between the categories and the development of theoretical concepts (Strauss, 1987). Following this, I generated the categories based on themes emerging during the coding process, inductive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, as a general guide for coding, the main categories were pre-generated in reference to the research questions, a priori codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These main categories included Curriculum Leadership, Curriculum Planning, Curriculum Goals, Curriculum Content, Curriculum Implementation, Curriculum Assessment and Evaluation, Curriculum Improvement, Santris’ Expectations, and Communication.

Since this study focuses on the processes of curriculum development in both pesantrens, the interviews gave a more dominant contribution to the data collected than any other
techniques. Therefore, each *ustadz*'s interview transcript was first coded into the above categories. During the coding process, each main category has sub-categories, and under the sub-categories, there were sub-sub-categories, which in turn have made significant comparison of the curriculum development in both *pesantrens*. After completing coding all the interview transcripts, the coded transcripts were collapsed in one file of categories, so that the curriculum development of each *pesantren* could be interpreted. As an example, Table 3 suggests the category of *Curriculum Content*, sub-categories, and sub-sub-categories from all of the *ustadz*’ interview transcripts of both *pesantrens*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Sub-Categories</th>
<th>Sub-Categories</th>
<th>Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pesantren A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pesantren B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male <em>santri</em>’s curriculum is more on the Islamic Jurisprudence</td>
<td>Content Orientation</td>
<td><em>Islamic Jurisprudence</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female’s curriculum is more on morals (<em>akhlak</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kitab Kuning</em> comprises Islamic knowledge</td>
<td><em>Compulsory content</em></td>
<td><em>Primary content</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Curricular</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Additional content</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTs (Junior Islamic Secondary) Curriculum</td>
<td><em>Optional Content</em></td>
<td>*Other <em>kitab kunings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA (Senior Islamic Secondary) Curriculum</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>English and Arabic programs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Junior Islamic High School Open Program from MORA</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership skills</td>
<td><em>Skills/Vocational programs</em></td>
<td><em>Leadership skills</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech skills</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Speech skills</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade skills</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Agricultural skills</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral values</td>
<td><em>Values</em></td>
<td><em>Moral values</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufistic values</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sufistic values</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the next process, I inserted all evidence of quotes from three different methods of data collection—interview, observation, and document—into each category. At the end of each quote was put a citation of the source and method used. This was in order to make it easier for me to look at, write up, and interpret the whole picture of the data of each
pesantren at a glance. Information collected from one method could be easily confirmed with that from another method during the process of writing and interpretation. An example of the collapsed categories along with the quotes can be seen in Appendix 13.

5.6.4 Interpreting data

The coded data were entered into matrices to help in viewing and interpreting them (Miles & Huberman, 1994). All matrices were titled in accordance with the main categories such as in Table 2. As stated previously, during the processes of writing and interpretation, information collected by one particular source and method was confirmed by another source and method to enhance trustworthy interpretation, triangulation (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Detail of the triangulation technique will be explained later in this chapter.

5.7. Ethical Issues

Before the data collection processes began, I had received approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee at The University of Melbourne with the registration number 000230 the year 2000. I undertook the study using such ethical processes as gaining formal consent from both the MORA and participants and using pseudonyms to protect confidentiality.

5.7.1 Moral issues and solutions

During the course of the data collection, some ethical problems arose, which were mainly about moral and cultural values perceived by some participants. Some santris, for example, initially did not freely speak about their kyai or ustadzs regarding the curriculum implementation or the like. The value of respect, as later discussed in the following chapter, might be one of the reasons for them not speaking up. Another reason might be the feeling of fear of i’tiradhb (being disobedient to the kyai and ustadzs) which, according to the pesantrens’ belief and tradition, might result in unblessed knowledge.

This situation did not only happen to santris, but also to some ustadzs. One ustadz in Pesantren B, for instance, when I was asking him of how the pesantren’s curriculum might
be improved, paused for quite a few minutes with his eyes closed. I suspected that this was not because of any difficulty in answering the question, but because of his fear of revealing bad things about other *ustadz*. This was then evident by his statement that the problem in improving the curriculum has been a lack of cooperation amongst *ustadz*.

Realising this difficulty, I approached them using their understanding about the principle of Islamic jurisprudence, that revealing something bad is permitted for the purpose of enhancing more universal advantages. Moreover, the interviews were confidential which nobody would know who was saying what. I also reminded them that their *kyai* had already approved this research, and they were supposed to contribute to it by answering the questions freely and openly.

5.7.2 Confidentiality

Informed consent had been obtained prior to the data collection processes. All participants were free to not participate in this research and they also had the right to withdraw from the research project, and to withdraw any unprocessed data that they had given. All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms. All information remains confidential, and the subjects are anonymous. All data is now stored at a secure place, and will not be destroyed afterwards. This will enable future researchers to have access to it. The participants have access to the results of this project, and the thesis itself will be on public record at the university. The plain language statement and informed consent forms required by The University of Melbourne are attached in Appendix 14.

5.8. Rigour/Trustworthiness

5.8.1 Generalisability

The nature of a naturalistic inquiry is that it is almost impossible to generalise the results, since it is bounded within the particular context in which the study is conducted (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Moreover, in the case of this study, the population was rather small, and the sampling techniques used were purposeful rather than random. However, some generalisations may still be applied to contexts similar to this study context. Instead of
making the generalisation, this study understood and interpreted the phenomenon of the curriculum of the two pesantrens more deeply.

5.8.2 Minimising bias

5.8.2.1 Triangulation

Most of the data in this study was collected through different methods and from various sources to build trustworthy interpretation (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The table below indicates the triangulation technique used in this study.

**Table 4. Data, Collection Techniques, and Sources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems of Research</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Data Collecting Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Planning</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Document</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Goals</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Document</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Content</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Document</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Implementation</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, Santris, &amp; Document</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Factors</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment and Evaluation</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Santris</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Changes</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Santris</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santris’ expectations</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Santris</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Patterns</td>
<td>Kyai, Ustadzs, &amp; Santris</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q= Questionnaire, I= Interview, O= Observation, and D= Document

For triangulation, a tool drawn from mathematics, two sources of evidence are considered sufficient to provide reliable information. As can be seen from Table 4, each area had at least two sources or techniques of data collection to provide information.

5.8.2.2 Researcher as participant

I, as a researcher who is sufficiently familiar to the context of this study, recognise that I might be subjective in my analysis and interpretations towards the phenomena. I also might not notice some aspects within the phenomena that would appear strange or unique to people outside the culture. However, I tried to minimise this bias by being as objective as possible. I could possibly do that since I had no dependent relationship at all with any of the participant sources. My background, which is from an Islamic educational
institution in Indonesia and from the same regional culture, is also a capital for me to holistically understand the phenomena within the two pesantrens.

5.9. Summary

To summarise, this study is a qualitative case study that looked at and understood the phenomena in the two selected pesantrens closely and deeply. In doing so, the main research question of this study focuses on the curriculum development process of such Islamic educational institutions. To achieve rigorous and trustworthy answers to my research questions, this study used four different techniques: interview, observation, document, and questionnaire. The data was gathered from four different sources: kyais, ustadzs, santris, and some documents.

After the data was fully collected, it was analysed and interpreted through subsequent procedures: transcribing, coding, displaying on matrices or tables, and interpreting. The relevant findings are reported and discussed in the two following chapters.
CHAPTER SIX: CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN THE PESANTRENS
(PART 1)

Chapters 6 and 7 present the data of the curriculum development in both pesantrens with the analysis and discussion throughout the presentation. The research questions that are answered through this chapter are:

1. Who determines the curriculum in both of the pesantrens?
2. How is the curriculum in both of the pesantrens developed?
3. What is the curriculum in both of the pesantrens?

This chapter, the first of the two chapters, is divided into five sections: determining the curriculum; curriculum planning; curriculum goals; curriculum content; and curriculum implementation.

6.1. Determining the Curriculum

From the data, the initial curriculum in both pesantrens was developed by the founders. In later development, however, there have been changes in terms of people involvement in the curriculum decision-making.

In Pesantren A, the curriculum was developed further through coordination among the foundation\(^{12}\), the kyai, and all ustads in regular curriculum meetings. One ustad said:

> There are actually meetings among the foundation, pesantren leader, and ustads in each level, Aliyah (high level), Tsanawiyah (secondary level), and Tajizy (preparation level). For the government curriculum, it is coordinated among the head master, deputies, and teachers, as well as librarian (Masri, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

In some cases, however, the meetings were restricted to the education section\(^{13}\) staff who were appointed to assist the kyai. In the government curriculum, there was a monthly meeting among the kyai, ustads, and santris regarding a wide range of curriculum issues.

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\(^{12}\) Foundation here means a board that takes general decisions concerning the pesantren’s affairs. For instance, this board has an authority to appoint a kyai to lead the pesantren.

\(^{13}\) Education section is an organisation under the kyai’s authority, which involves some ustads, appointed to manage the learning-teaching affairs. In some ways, this organisation maybe the same as a curriculum team (see the Organisational Structure of Pesantren A in Appendix 15)
which is called an ‘interactive dialogue’. Thus, in Pesantren A, decisions about the curriculum were made after extensive consultation with the members of the pesantren.

In contrast, in Pesantren B, although the kyai believed that he tried to involve all their staff in the curriculum decision-making, his attempts seemed not to change significantly the way he made curriculum decisions. The meetings were restricted only to the education section staff\(^{14}\). The results of the meetings were brought to the larger forum attended by all ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\). However, the decision still depended on the kyai. For example, prior to the introduction of the English program, as Abbas (the deputy) (Pesantren B, October, 2000) said, the kyai only talked with him and decided to commence the program. He then called a meeting with all ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\), and informed the meeting of the decision. The kyai asserted:

\[\text{[The meeting in which the decision was taken] was not in the forum, which all ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\) attended, because I did not want the formality. However, all ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\) were informed about this new program (Kyai B, October, 2000).}\]

This quote confirms that the decisions about curriculum were taken by the kyai and his deputy only.

The situation described in each pesantren implies the differences in the roles of each kyai in curriculum development. Suggested in the literature (Lee & Dimmock, 1999), as a curriculum leader, besides a responder, manager, and initiator (Marsh & Willis, 1999), a principal (the kyai in the case of the pesantren) should be an effective communicator. S/he should be able to facilitate and accommodate many different ideas from the staff, and in communicating his/her own ideas to them. Unlike in Pesantren A, where the kyai actively facilitates ideas of his ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\) and staff in meetings, the kyai in the other pesantren was very strong in a sense that most ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\) would not speak up in meetings because of his presence. The kyai described the current situation:

\[\text{Lately, I want the leadership to be regenerated. So, I gave him (his deputy) a chance to chair the floor.}\]
\[\text{This is also intended that ustadz\(\bar{\text{s}}\) can freely express their ideas, because they are not brave to speak in my presence (Kyai B, 22 October, 2000).}\]

\(^{14}\) This is the same organisation as in Pesantren A (see Appendix 16 for the Organisational Structure of Pesantren B).
The above depiction of how the curriculum was determined suggests that both pesantrens could be categorised as Site-Based Managed Schools (SBMS). One of the characteristics in the SBM schools is that there should be a collaborative teamwork among the constituencies in the curriculum decision-making processes (Henkin, Cistone, & Dee, 2000). Each member of the team should see another member as a partner not as a client (Malen, Ogawa, & Kranz, 1990 cited in Johnson & Scollay, 2001). The kyais, therefore, should play an important role in creating a conducive environment for ustads and staff in expressing and developing their ideas in order to improve the curriculum, facilitative leadership (Conley & Goldman, 1994). Also, the kyais as principals who function as responders, managers, and administrators (Oliva, 1997), with their staff should undertake some actions:

- Developing an operating theory
- Developing an organisation and a work environment
- Setting standards
- Using authority to establish an organisational climate
- Establishing effective interpersonal relations
- Planning and initiating action
- Keeping communication channels open and functioning

Such an idea of a facilitative leader is vital as the nature of an SBM school might create conflicts because of the diversity of ideas developing within it. In Pesantren B, a conflict arose because of the introduction of the English program. During my time there I felt this horizontal conflict between ustads and between santris. From informal conversation (untaped), an ustaz explains that those who disagree with English argue that it is a language of kuffar (non-Muslims), and hence, it is not recommended to learn. However, the kyai suspected that the disagreement seemed not to be a matter of English as a foreign language, but more on the leadership dissatisfaction. There were still ustads and the family of the late founder who disagree with the current kyai’s leadership since he is not the heir of the late founder. The kyai said:

So far I know, the family of the late founder disagreed with my leadership, whereas I myself could not avoid this duty because this is the testament of the late founder. I believe this is a religious struggle. The late founder ever said: “if you did not accept this leadership, this pesantren would be ruined”. “If somebody disturbed you, and you could not stand with any longer, leave this pesantren. But you must go with all your staff” (Kyai B, 22 October, 2000).
In Pesantren A, however, the diversity of ideas among ustadz seemed to be manageable with the facilitative leadership of the kyais. Therefore, this diversity did not create any horizontal conflict among the ustadz as well as santris.

In short, the Pesantren A’s kyai tended to be a facilitative and collaborative leader, while the other pesantren’s kyai tended to be a single-handed informative leader. Despite this difference, there was a common feature in both pesantrens that there was no permanent involvement of parents in the curriculum decision-making processes. A patron-client relationship, in which parents were still viewed as clients to the pesantrens, not as partners, was indeed a common characteristic in the pesantrens (Rahardjo, 1995).

6.2. Curriculum Planning

From the data, there were two levels of curriculum planning in each pesantren, namely: macro-curriculum planning and micro-curriculum planning. Macro-curriculum planning means planning the curriculum at the pesantren level done by those people involved in the development, whereas micro-curriculum level means planning the curriculum at the subject level or narrower, done by the respective ustadz. In addition, there was some administrative planning in order to implement the curriculum.

6.2.1 Macro-curriculum planning

Both pesantrens conducted a version of a situational analysis as part of their curriculum planning as suggested by McGee (1997), Marsh (1992), and Skilbeck (1984). In this analysis, there were both external and internal factors that influenced the pesantrens. External factors encompassed the external authority (MORA), and socio-cultural changes, and internal ones such as the philosophical basis, goals, and madzhab (school of thought) of the pesantrens, as well as the santris’ needs and the pesantrens’ resources.

To the external situations, the curriculum decisions-makers in both pesantrens viewed the outside authority: the MORA; the development of the society; and their expectations of the pesantren graduates; as important factors to consider in the development of the curriculum. Reflecting such factors, the kyai in Pesantren B said:
Now, that the government has introduced the 9-year compulsory education for children. The society would have a secondary school education level at minimum. So, our religious generation must be the same. Right now, our santris, the majority of them, only hold the elementary school certificate. Therefore, we have to supply them with other knowledge up to the high school level. Besides Arabic and so on, they would study Math, natural sciences, and the like (Kyai B, October, 2000).

Such a quote implies how the kyai considered societal and national development and the santris’ needs for basic religious disciplines in planning to adopt the Junior Islamic High School Open Program (JIHSOP)\(^{15}\) curriculum in the near future. This program contains only basic knowledge of three subjects: Bahasa Indonesia, Math, and Sciences. However, because of the testament of the pesantren’s founder, the adoption of the external curriculum would cease at that stage. The kyai said:

\[More than that is almost impossible. This is because the founder declared already that this pesantren is not school (common school). If you wanted to study general knowledge, you could go to a common school (Kyai B, October, 2000).\]

The adoption and adaptation of the MORA\(^{16}\) curriculum in Pesantren A began in the 1980s. The consideration initially was based on some santris’ needs, as spoken by their parents, for continuing to formal higher levels of education. One ustaz explained:

\[This was] because some parents questioned: “to where will our children continue their study after they have graduated from this pesantren?” So, besides they comprehend the religious knowledge through the pondok program, they are provided with the government curriculum (Masri, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

In later development, the curriculum decision-makers in Pesantren A realised that the society expected that this pesantren’s graduates could play their roles in answering religious problems arising through the changing times. Therefore, another ustaz (Somad, September, 2000) said that besides adapting the MORA curriculum, the content of the pondok curriculum (kitab kuning) should also be understood in a different approach from what it used to be. Some content of the kitab kuning written centuries ago, as he said, might no longer be relevant to the current situation. Better understanding of the texts and

\(^{15}\) The JIHSOP program is intended to improve the participation of the pesantrens in implementing the 9 Year Compulsory Basic Education for santris, so that santris have the equal ability and chance to continue to the higher education level (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Sebagai Pola Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar, 2000).

\(^{16}\) The MORA curriculum adapted in Pesantren A was different from the one that would be adapted in Pesantren B. In Pesantren A, the curriculum adapted was the curriculum that is implemented in the MORA schools (madaris), that is, MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiyah) and MA (Madrasah Aliyah). See Appendix 17 about the administration of these two school types nationally.
their contexts, or in other words, *contextualising* the texts, was necessary to address the current problems that need religious opinions.

To the internal factors, for instance, the curriculum decision-makers in both *pesantrens* considered one basic guideline that whatever subjects/ *kitabs* are taught, they may not be outside parameters of the Sunni *madzhab*\(^\text{17}\). The Pesantren B’s *kyai* said: “I watch closely that our *ustadzs* do not teach ideas outside the Sunni traditions. This is because, in our belief, the Eden dwellers are only the Sunni followers” (*Kyai* B, October, 2000). And the other *pesantren’s* *kyai* said: “so our basic guideline is oriented to the Sunni *madzhab*” (*Kyai* A, September, 2000).

Specifically in the Pesantren A’s curriculum planning was the *government* curriculum’s *ustadzs’* understanding of changing paradigms in the curriculum. Along with the main streams of the reform era occurring lately in Indonesia, the sphere of education has also been reformed, that is, the advocacy of education autonomisation. The headmaster of the MA government program explicated:

> Recently, the government offered a new curriculum under the basis of school-based management. It is recommended that the madaris (pl. of madrasa) or schools’ managers should switch from the old paradigm to the new paradigm. The old one was centralistic. In the case of teaching, teachers must use the methods recommended in the curriculum, but now with this new paradigm, it is up to the teachers as long as they work in accordance with the pesantren’s vision and goals. Teachers are now no longer instructors, but facilitators (Masri, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Such an understanding of the changing paradigm, in my opinion, was very progressive and would also influence the *pondok* curriculum development, as some of the *pondok* *ustadzs* also teach in the government program and there was a regular discussion of curriculum issues across the *pesantren*.

Overall, there was a big difference between the two *pesantrens* in interpreting the traditions including the goals of the *pesantren* education, and, this resulted in a difference in responding to the changes. In Pesantren B, an expectation by the *kyai*, that his *pesantren* graduates would be able to ‘survive’ in the streams of globalisation, was ‘obscured’ with the traditions and testament of the late founder and an overwhelming opinion in the

\(^{17}\) The Sunni *madzhab*, founded by al-Asy’ari and al-Maturidi, is adhered to by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. Pesantrens A & B also adhere to this *madzhab*.
that Islamic knowledge and disciplines are the most important ones to learn. Such a negative opinion put at peril other non-religious disciplines. Differently, in Pesantren A, there was a more welcoming attitude to modern knowledge. This is not to negate the fact that there were still ustads within this pesantren who might not fully accept the adoption of other curriculum.

From such findings, a general theme was drawn that both pesantrens struggled with the extent to which the curriculum should meet the changes in the society. As suggested by Dhofier (1985), in the pesantren there has always been a dynamic response to the changes while still holding to the traditions. A principle usually referred to by the pesantren community is ‘al-muhafazhtu ‘ala al-qadim al-shalih, wa al-akbdz bi al-jadid al-ashlah’ meaning ‘retaining the old good traditions and taking the new better ones’. Differences found in each pesantren’s development might be because of different interpretations and articulations of this principle.

6.2.2 Micro (subject) curriculum planning

The other level of the curriculum planning found in both pesantrens is the micro-curriculum planning. Each ustadz in each pesantren planned his/her own subject curriculum before and/or during their teaching.

Ustads in both pesantrens shared some basic guidelines in planning their curriculum. First, all kitabs they teach must be within the framework of the Sunni madzhab. Second, ustads in each pesantren considered the pesantren’s goals in order to plan their own curriculum. Third, both pesantrens’ ustads analysed their santris’ ability in order to match the materials with it. However, in Pesantren A, they had more choices to consider since their variations in developing the curriculum were broader. An ustadzah who taught Arabic grammar said: “I make [the structure of my lesson] as in the book al-‘Arabiyyah li al-Nasy’in. This book helps me very much” (Hanna, Pesantren A, September, 2000). The structure of this book, to my knowledge, is very different from the kitab the Ustadzah taught. This modern kitab was an integrated system of several aspects of reading and writing, completed with some grammar and exercises. Another consideration was the changing paradigm suggested in
the MORA curriculum as discussed earlier. Also, some ustadsz in planning their curriculum attempted to contextualise the traditional texts they taught.

Although ustadsz in both pesantrens had plans for their teaching, the plans were not in written form, except those in the MORA curriculum in which the plans were well written (see Appendix 18). What they planned for teaching will be conveyed in the curriculum implementation section.

6.2.3 Administrative planning

Part of the planning processes in both pesantrens was the administrative decisions and actions that lead to the systematic implementation. This section analyses those steps taken in both pesantrens. The first step was ustadsz recruitment, and the second was regarding the issues of santris admission requirements.

The kyais in both pesantrens considered the educational background of ustadsz as an important criterion in the recruitment process. Despite that the majority of the ustadsz had graduated from the same pesantren, the kyai in Pesantren A were open to select some ustadsz regardless of which pesantren they graduated from. In contrast, the kyai in Pesantren B only selected those who graduated from his pesantren to be ustadsz. Recruiting some pesantrens' graduates to be ustadsz, according to the kyais and ustadsz in both pesantrens, was important because they know the candidates’ qualification.

In Pesantren B, a particular specialisation of ustadsz was not specifically required because each ustadsz in the primary curriculum must teach different subjects to the same groups of santris. Therefore, they must master all knowledge they taught. On the contrary, ustadsz's specialisation in Pesantren A was highly considered. Furthermore, in the government curriculum, each ustadsz was supposed to master his/her own discipline. The Pesantren A's kyai said:

_in the interview, I usually ask them [the future ustadsz] about their educational background. If he graduated from Pesantren “X” [he refers to Pesantren B], I think that he should be skilful in fiqh. Therefore, I give him the fiqh subject to teach (Kyai A, September, 2000)._*

The selection criteria for ustadsz recruitment brought about a different implication for changes. The openness of the Pesantren A's kyai to accept ustadsz from other Islamic
education institutions created a possibility of improvement. This is because a teacher has significant influences on curriculum and its development process (Brady, 1995; Connelly & Clandinin, 1993; Doll, 1992; Marsh, 1992; Skilbeck, 1984). Teachers tend to follow their previous educational system and teachers. When a teacher comes from an educational system in his/her pre-service education, s/he tries to implement such a system in his/her new work place.

However, the variety of teachers might result in conflicts, conflicts of ideas, interests, and power. This is a common phenomenon in SBM schools (Johnson & Scollay, 2001). A facilitative and collaborative leadership, therefore, is necessary to empower such conflicts to have the potential for learning and improvement.

Conversely, the closeness of the Pesantren B’s kyai in selecting ustadeq to teach his pesantren, because of the reasons above, imply little possibility of change and improvement. This pesantren community has become familiar with a oneness of ideas, opinions, and the like sourcing from one person, the kyai. When there was an effort of improvement, which superficially seemed to be against the established status, it might raise a destructive conflict. Fullan (1999) calls this ‘group think’ where a lack of diversity of ideas prevents innovation occurring.

In terms of santris admission requirements, in Pesantren A, they must be elementary education graduates. This means that they already possess basic literacy and numeracy. In Pesantren B, however, there was no educational background required. As a result, santris in Pesantren B were varied in terms of ages and minimum educational backgrounds. There was no document providing the information of the ranges of santris' ages. However, based on interviews and observation, the santris’ ages in Pesantren A ranged from 13 to 20 years, and in Pesantren B they ranged from 9 to 50 years.

Related to santris' age differences was santris' distribution or grouping. In Pesantren B, the santris were grouped based on the santris' mastery of the lessons not on their ages. Thus, in one class, it might be found that there was a mix of younger and older santris, and between formally uneducated and educated santris (e.g. non-formally schooled santris and university graduates). Brady (1995) called this an heterogeneous form. The diversity of the
santris’ ages in Pesantren B led to some problems in teaching. In Pesantren A, on the contrary, although santris were not grouped based on their ages, the range of their ages in one class was relatively homogeneous or narrow (Brady, 1995). This is because the intake requirement was certainly defined as discussed previously.

To sum up, the ustazs recruitment process in Pesantren A implies a variety of ideas coming to the curriculum planning, and hence, there was a bigger possibility of changes and improvements of the curriculum in this pesantren than in the other pesantren. The lack of santris admission requirement in Pesantren B brought about some problems in teaching, while the fixed santris requirement in Pesantren A made it easier in organising the santris.

6.3. Curriculum Goals

As a result of the situational analysis conducted, there were two levels of goals for each pesantren to achieve, namely: institutional (pesantren) or whole curriculum level, and subject/classroom level. In interviews, the kyais and ustazs in both pesantrens did not distinguish between goals at the institutional and whole curriculum levels, while there was no adequate evidence from the documents in regard to the particular subject or classroom objectives. However, in the case of the government curriculum in Pesantren A, the goals at each level were clearly stated in the documents.

6.3.1 Pesantren and curriculum goals

Both pesantren, institutionally, shared the same goals, namely: to uphold the religion of Islam; and to create Muslim leaders who understand Islam; and to develop Muslim leaders who will teach Islam to the people. One ustaz in Pesantren B said: “the goal is to uphold the religion of God. It means people who are studying here are to understand the religion well” (Usamah, Pesantren B, October, 2000). Similarly, an ustaz in Pesantren A said: “The goal is to uphold the words of God, that is Islam” (Kyai A, September, 2000).

On several occasions, the founder of Pesantren B, as documented in his biography, interpreted such goals into a more practical goal, that is to revive [teach] the Islamic religion knowledge through teaching Arabic grammar and morphology (Dahlan, 1997).
This goal implies the importance of the Arabic language skills to understand Islamic knowledge written in Arabic.

In Pesantren A, the goals were detailed as follow:

1. To educate santris to be pious Muslims having good morals.
2. To educate santris to be intelligent with appropriate skills, to be healthy physically and spiritually.
3. To create cadres of 'ulama and da'i who have sincerity, patience, and strength in applying Islamic teachings.
4. To educate santris to be skilled so that they will lighten the burden of the society, and be the 'light' in their community.
5. To teach santris to read kitab kunings (Al-Falah, 2000).

In the government curriculum of Pesantren A, the curriculum goals were prescribed by the MORA, available for each level: MTs and MA. As an example, the following goals were taken from the MORA curriculum for MA:

1. To prepare santris to continue to the higher level of education.
2. To prepare santris to be able to develop themselves with the development of science, technology, and arts inspired by the teaching of Islam.
3. To prepare santris to be able to be members of the society, and will interact with their society, the culture, and environment inspired by the religious nuance (Depag, 1993).

While there were no variations in interpreting the goals by ustadzs in Pesantren B, the Pesantren A’s ustadzs had their own interpretations of the goals. An ustadz (Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000) asserted that the goal is to apply what santris received in the pesantren to the society. His interpretation matched his analysis of the texts that had to be contextualised accordingly as mentioned earlier. Thus, these differences in interpreting the goals might lead to the differences in the next stages of the curriculum development, especially the curriculum implementation.

Overall, both pesantrens shared the broad goals for the graduates to be upholders of Islam. This goal is in accordance with what stated in al-Qur’an that the lives of a Muslim must be intended to be a servant\(^\text{18}\) and vicegerent\(^\text{19}\) of God. These intentions have two dimensions of relationship, namely: vertical relationship with God, and horizontal

\(^{18}\) Al-Qur’an 51:56, ‘And I (Allah) created not the jinns and humans except they should worship me (alone)’ (Khan & Al-Hilali, 1995, p. 744).

\(^{19}\) Al-Qur’an 2:30, ‘And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels, “Verily, I am going to place a vicegerent on earth”. They said, “Will you place therein and shed blood, while we glorify you with praises and thanks and sanctify You”. He (Allah) said: “I know that which you do not know” (Khan & Al-Hilali, 1995, p. 39).
relationship with other creatures. These dimensions imply a great importance of spiritualism and materialism, which are the most important human faculties within him/herself. These two dimensions of relationship must be well established and rightly balanced in order to have peace and harmony on earth.

6.3.2 Subject or classroom objectives

Ustadzs in Pesantren B and the pondok curriculum of Pesantren A did not set specific objectives for santris to achieve, but they were just to make their santris understand the lessons. This objective, like other lesson plans, was not written in any document, only in the ustads' heads. One ustaz said: “I just come to the class. I only want my santris to understand what I am explaining” (Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000). An ustaz of the pondok curriculum in Pesantren A also gave a similar response: “the objective is just to make them understand, not to read a large amount of materials” (Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

In the government curriculum in Pesantren A, however, each ustaz was supposed to make a written plan for his/her teaching activities. This plan was called as ‘satuan pelajaran’ (satpel) or the lesson unit plan (see Appendix 18). In this plan, the respective ustaz set the objectives of the lesson. What was covered in this plan will be described in the curriculum implementation section.

In short, the clarity of classroom objectives in both pesantrens, except for the MORA curriculum in Pesantren A, was unspecified. To make santris understand each lesson was a very general objective, and this did not facilitate the santris assessment process, which is one of the purposes of having clear learning objectives (Brady & Kennedy, 1999; McGee, 1997). In the kitab kuning curriculum, which the content was already selected, the lesson objectives should be clearly stated based on the priority of the content, which one is more

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20 Al-Qur’an 3:112, “Indignity is put over them wherever they may be, except when the relationship with Allah and relationship with humans (are established); they have drawn on themselves the Wrath of Allah, and destruction is put over them. This is because they disbelieved of in the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allah and killed the prophets without right. This is because they disobeyed (Allah) and used to transgress beyond bounds (in Allah’s disobedience. Crimes and sins)” (Khan & Al-Hilali, 1995, p. 121).
important facilitating the curriculum goals achievement. Besides, the objectives should address all aspects of the santris' domains, cognitive, affective, and psychomotor (Bloom, 1956; Kemp, 1977). It is also important to note Marsh (1992)'s criteria of effective objectives: comprehensiveness, suitability, validity, feasibility, specificity, and compatibility.

6.4. Curriculum Content

Based on the situational analysis conducted in each pesantren, and in order to achieve the goals of the curriculum, the content was selected. Part of the curriculum content in both pesantrens was explicitly written, but another part was only in implicit form in a sense that this content can only be seen in the daily curriculum implementation. Considering these two types of curriculum content in both pesantrens, this section conveys the written content or content structure, then values, and skills in the curriculum either overtly or covertly.

6.4.1 Content structure and coverage

Both pesantrens had generally two main curricula: compulsory and optional. However, the content organisation and structure were different from each other. Figure 8 outlines these differences.

The figure indicates that Pesantren A had a more structured content than Pesantren B. The sequential levels that santris would step through in Pesantren A were clearly defined with a fixed duration for each level. In each level of the compulsory curriculum, some subjects containing some kitab kunings should be finished in the given time. The levels, from Preparation to High Levels, indicated the degree of difficulty of the kitabs in each level. In the optional (government) curriculum, which a santri may undertake or not, the content was enacted with some changes, for example in allocating time. This kind of structure enabled the santris to know precisely their next year's program and the duration of their whole study.

In Pesantren B, on the other hand, the structure was based on the importance of kitabs for santris to master. The content was structured as primary and additional curriculum
based on the decision of which one is more important than others. The additional content should be undertaken during studying the primary *kitabs*, which both were finished in 6 years at minimum. In terms of the optional curriculum, besides the new English and Arabic\textsuperscript{21} programs, *santris* might or might not study *kitabs* other than determined in the compulsory curriculum. This optional study might be undertaken during their time in the compulsory curriculum and be continuing afterwards for an unlimited time. In addition, it is planned that there would be the JIHSOP curriculum in the near future.

**Figure 8. Curriculum Content of Pesantrens A & B**

*Adapted from interviews and documents*

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\textsuperscript{21} This Arabic program was different from Arabic in the compulsory curriculum. This new program emphasised more conversation and writing skills, while Arabic in the compulsory curriculum was more on grammar with the intention that *santris* would be able to read and understand the Arabic texts or *kitabs*. 
While the standardised duration in finishing the study in Pesantren A was clearly defined, in Pesantren B, it was a bit uncertain depending on the ‘rhythm’ that the santris learn and understand a kitab. Therefore, the pesantren only determined the minimum time for a kitab to finish in the compulsory curriculum, whereas kitabs in the optional curriculum might be finished in various times depending much on the negotiation between ustadz and santris.

Thus, it is understandable if Pesantren A had more subjects or kitabs for santris to finish in the given target than the other pesantren as highlighted in Tables 5 and 6.

From Table 5, the Pesantren A’s santris had to learn many more kitabs than the Pesantren B’s santris in a similar duration. Table 6 indicates the difference in the content coverage of the compulsory curriculum in both pesantrens. Subjects taught in Pesantren A were more varied than those in the other pesantren. However, ustadz in Pesantren B might also teach the Pesantren A’s subjects in the optional curriculum as Table 6 only indicates the compulsory curriculum. Yet, I suspect these will not be as many as in Pesantren A. The content coverage in the table was explained by the respective kyai of both pesantrens.

**Table 5. Number of Kitab Kunings in the Compulsory Curriculum in Both Pesantrens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pesantren A</th>
<th>Pesantren B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Secondary Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 kitabs in 7 years fixed</td>
<td>29 kitabs in 6 years at minimum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kyai in Pesantren B said:

*We have talked about fiqh, tasbih, and tashawwuf as fardhu 'ain. Beside that, there are fardhu kifayah knowledge. We provide this knowledge as we want to produce Islamic leaders or figures, so that their knowledge about fiqh will be deeper. For example, they are taught about qawa'id al-fiqhiya. Religious problems have been arising continuously nowadays. These new problems are not found in the fiqh kitabs, since these problems never happened (at the time the kitabs were being written). Thus, santris should read Qawa'id al-Fiqh in order to solve the new coming problems. Also, we give them Ushul al-Fiqh so that they know the way to draw up the laws from the Quran and the Hadits… etc (Kyai B, October, 2000).*
The *kyai* in Pesantren A said: “The first thing to teach to *santris*, besides *fiqh*, *tauhid*, and *tashawwuf*, is *nahwu* and *sharf*. After they understand these subjects, they will easily study other subjects” (Kyai A, September, 2000).

### Table 6

**Number of Subjects in the Compulsory Curriculum in Both Pesantrens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Only in Pesantren A</th>
<th>Shared Subjects</th>
<th>Only in Pesantren B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Arabic</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Akhlak/Tashawwuf</em> (Morals/Sufism)</td>
<td>1. <em>Kitab al-Mi’raj</em> (the Book of Story of the Prophet’s ascent to Heaven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>English</strong></td>
<td>2. <em>Fiqh</em> (Islamic Jurisprudence)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>Khath</strong> (handwriting)</td>
<td>3. <em>Tauhid</em> (Islamic Theology)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <strong>Muthala’ab</strong> (Reading)</td>
<td>4. al-<strong>Qur’an</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <strong>Imla</strong> (Dictation)</td>
<td>8. <em>Hadits</em> (The Prophet’s Traditions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. <em>Fiqh Muqarin</em> (Comparative Islamic jurisprudence)</td>
<td>12. <em>Tarikh</em> (Islamic History)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. <em>Fara’idh</em> (Knowledge of Shares of Inheritance)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14. <em>‘Arudh</em> (Prosody)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. <em>Manthiq</em> (Logic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. <em>Qawa'id al-Fiqh</em> (Rules of Islamic Jurisprudence)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One important aspect of the content coverage differences in both pesantrens was the comparative *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) subject (*Fiqh Muqarin*) in the Pesantren A’s curriculum. I think this inclusion of the subject was based on the consideration that the Pesantren A’s surrounding community was varied in terms of the _madzahib_ (schools of thought) they adhere to. Therefore, it is important for the pesantren to provide the *santris* with sufficient knowledge about such diversity. The Pesantren A’s *kyai* said:
Fiqh Muqarin is given to the ‘Aliyah (High Level) Grade 3 santris. This is because they will return to
the society. They have to know fiqh in the perspectives of the four madzhab (Kyai A, September, 2000).

In the right column of Table 6, a kitab was read in Pesantren B only. This kitab, ‘Dardir’, is about the story of the Prophet’s ascent to Heaven (mi’raj). The Banjarese community, particularly in rural areas, to my knowledge, highly appreciated this kitab, and read it in the Mi’raj celebration. Most santris in Pesantren B came from, and would be expected to return to, this kind of community. Probably based on this consideration, the pesantren included this kitab as one of the compulsory subjects. In Pesantren A, this kitab was probably taught in an informal way, not included in the formal curriculum. According to an ustadz, it was common in the pesantren tradition that a santri comes to an ustadz to study a kitab not taught formally in the curriculum (Ali, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Analysing the content structure and coverage of the curriculum in both pesantrens, it can be assumed that they followed al-Ghazali’s classification of knowledge, namely: fardhu ‘ain and fardhu kifayah. Al-Ghazali (Fazul-Ul-Karim, n.d) defined fardhu ‘ain as including only three Islamic subjects: fiqh, tauhid, and tashawwuf. Other than the three subjects are fardhu kifayah. This classification seemed to be too simplistic since today an individual does not only need the three disciplines. More than that, a Muslim now needs to possess some basic common knowledge such as Sciences in order to construct a better Muslim community.

In short, the content structure in both pesantrens was similar to each other in that both had compulsory and optional curricula. A very significant difference between the two types of content was the coverage and variations as a result of a dynamic consultation among the pesantrens community, existing traditions, and socio-cultural changes. Pesantren A had more variations in its curriculum than the other pesantren.

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22 Daud (1997) described that the Mi’raj celebration in the Banjarese tradition is held once a year, that is during a month called rajab (the seventh month of the Islamic calendar). According to his findings, Kitab Dardir is read in each rural area in the South Kalimantan in this special occasion. The celebration usually takes place in Mosques and mushollas.

23 Further elaboration of this classification can be seen in Chapter Two.
6.4.2 Values in the curriculum

Apart from the content structure in both pesantrens, a very important aspect of the curriculum was values. Kelly (1980), Lewy (1977), and Pring (1986) asserted that values are an essential element in the curriculum. Two kinds of values were found in the explicit curriculum of the two pesantrens, moral values and sufiastic values. These values were written and taught in the curriculum in a special subject called akhlak and tashawwuf. In the implemented curriculum, all ustads I interviewed said that they always included these values even though they did not overtly teach them. One ustaz in Pesantren B said:

*When I teach, I always put morals (akhlak) on the top priority. The main goal is akhlak. Bit by bit I include the values of morals to my santris during my teaching (Usamah, Pesantren B, October, 2000).*

Similarly, an ustazah in the other pesantren said:

*I think morals or akhlak are important. I sometimes include the values of akhlak when I am teaching. For example, when a santri does not respect me, I say to her that respecting ustaz and not being arrogant are important (Hanna, Pesantren A, September, 2000).*

What I mean by morals in this thesis is the beliefs and principles of people about right or wrong that can be seen from their deeds and actions. In pesantrens, these beliefs and principles were taught in a subject called akhlak (morals). The sufiastic values are the inner characteristics of the people, a matter of heart. These values might become motivation for people to do or to avoid something such as ikhlas (sincerity). How these two kinds of values prevailed in the pesantren community will be discussed in the curriculum implementation section since these values were mainly found from the day-to-day implementation within the pesantren community.

6.4.3 Skills in the curriculum

Another important aspect of the curriculum content in each pesantren was the skills that santris were expected to acquire and/or possess. Some common skills were found in both pesantren's curriculum, particularly in the extra curricular programs. One of them is the

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24 Sufistic is derived from an Arabic word *tashawwuf*. *Tashawwuf* is Islamic mysticism and it is simply a teaching about inner characteristics that each Muslim has to have.

25 Extra curricular to the pesantren community is the program held with the intention of expanding santri's knowledge and skills. This extra curricular in both pesantren was held outside the regular teaching-learning time. Some of the extra curricular programs are compulsory for each santri to undertake.
speech skill exercise or *muhadharah* (speech) held once a week. This compulsory extra-curricular program was intentionally for enabling each *santris* to deliver speeches in front of people as part of their duties in spreading the teaching of Islam.

Another important skill was leading communal prayers\(^\text{26}\). It is important for *santris* to get used to doing it because this would be the real and obvious task when they return to their society\(^\text{27}\). In my observation, in Pesantren A, *santris* were given the chance to organise the communal prayers. The *imam* (leader) of the prayers was chosen from the ‘Aliyah (High Level) Grade 3 *santris* by turns. In Pesantren B, however, a *santhri* could not be the *imam* of the prayers, because it was probably a convention that some *ustadz*, by turns, were the *imam* of the prayers. Therefore, Pesantren A specifically developed the skill of an *imam* in the *santris*, while in Pesantren B, this skill was assumed to be possible to develop once the *santris* had rejoined their community.

Also, both *pesantrens* had a program that seemed to be oriented to the *santris’* needs once they return to the society, that is the skill in reciting *maulid*\(^\text{28}\) (some poems consisting praises to the Prophet). *Santris*, in my observation, gathered in the *pesantrens’* *musholla* (prayer room) and recited the *maulid* every week. This is also compulsory for *santris* to participate.

In addition, both *pesantrens* respectively had vocational programs to provide *santris* with skills that could be used for their living after they graduated from the *pesantrens* (*Kyai* A, September, and *Kyai* B, October, 2000). In Pesantren A, the program included workshops for automotive repairs for male *santris* and tailoring, cooking, and bridal-make up for the females. In Pesantren B, such a vocational program was mainly concerned with

\(^{26}\) Performing prayers five times a day is an obligation on a Muslim. It is strongly recommended for Muslims to perform them communally in which they choose one of them to become the *imam* (leader) of the prayer.

\(^{27}\) It is worth explaining that each village in South Kalimantan, in particular, has numbers of *musholla* (special place for prayers and other religious gatherings). *Santris* who returned to their society were supposed to give teaching and lead the communal prayers in this place. *Musholla* in this case is not a mosque since it is not used for the Friday prayer.

\(^{28}\) It is a Banjarese tradition that Muslims celebrate the Prophet’s birthday (*maulid*) in which poems (in Arabic) and speeches about the history of the Prophet’s birthday are shared. This celebration is held during the month of Rabi’ al-Awwal (the third month of the Islamic calendar) (Daud, 1997). This celebration is also nationally held in Indonesia.
agricultural skills. Every day, about 50 santris after class hours, by turns, worked in the pesantren’s farmland. Products cultivated in the farmland ranged from fruits such as rambutan; mango; crops such as rice, and also a fishery.

Although there were similarities in terms of the spirit of the extra-curricular programs such as gotong royong (cooperative work), there was also a big difference between the two pesantrens. As a result of the influence of the adoption of the government curriculum, Pesantren A had santris’ organisations such as OSIS (Santris Intra School Organisation), Pramuka (Santris Scouts) and Santris Red Cross. Through these organisations, santris learnt about skills such as leadership and management. These organisations and activities were much supported by the kyai and ustadzs. A santri, Amran (October 2000) claimed:

_The kyai and particularly the government curriculum’s ustadzs supported our activities. The kyai even convinced us not to hesitate to inform him if there should be a problem in the programs._

In Pesantren B, even though santris had their own organisation—so-called konsul (lit. consul, an organisation representing santris’ regional background, such as konsul banjar meaning the Banjarese santris representative)—to realise some of the extra curricular activities, this organisation received less commitment from the kyai and ustadzs. Hence, as a santri, Syakir (October, 2000), said, this only santris’ organisation was not effective to accommodating santris’ creativity.

Overall, there are two types of skills that both pesantrens’ curriculum provided for their santris. These are: first, society-oriented skills that support santris in dealing with their jobs as preachers or ulama; and second, enterpreunership skills that will make them independent people in earning a living later.

### 6.4.4 Content orientation

The above description of the broad curriculum content implies the very specific orientation of the curriculum in both pesantrens. Curriculum orientation is the direction in which the outcomes will be brought (Brady & Kennedy, 1999; Kemmis, Cole, & Sugget, 1983). Both pesantrens’ curricula were directed towards a social-religious orientation.
The curriculum in both pesantrens was mainly concerned with religious disciplines. The santris were supposed to apply and teach other people the knowledge they had acquired during their schooling in the pesantrens. Therefore, subjects and kitabs taught, as well as the skills, were directed to help the santris in their real lives later on in the society. Besides, moral and sufistic values were two elements embedded in both pesantrens’ curriculum. The kyai in Pesan tren A said:

“We expect that ustadzs always include moral and sufistic values in teaching. This is because these values are vital to their lives later on” (Kyai A, September, 2000).

However, in reality today, it seems to me that there is a widespread apprehension in the Indonesian society that many ulama tend to just please the corrupt society and forget their mission in educating the people. The pesantrens’ graduates, therefore, should not be trapped in this situation. The curriculum should reflect a clear vision and mission of the pesantrens and can ensure the graduates to be consistent with it in a more strong focus on moral and sufistic values & practice in critical thinking.

6.5. Curriculum Implementation

The heart of the curriculum development is its implementation because it is at this stage the planned programs are enacted. Consistently with the curriculum planning, I will begin discussion with the macro-curriculum implementation and then the micro-implementation.

6.5.1 Macro-curriculum implementation

The daily curriculum implementation in a broad general sense can be observed through the following timetable for the santris’ general activities as outlined in Tables 7 and 8.

From the tables, santris in Pesantren B had more spare time than those in Pesantren A. Except for the optional curriculum santris, classes were only attended from 10:00 to 12:00 in the morning and from 15:30 to 16:00 in the afternoon. This impression can also be seen in the following fieldnotes:

At about 11 am, I was invited to a general meeting with santris who undertook the English program. The coordinator wanted me to give encouragement to the santris to learn English. Before I spoke to them, it was explained by the coordinator that santris usually take a nap at this time.

This is a habit in this...
pesantren community. Therefore, santris who undertake the English or Arabic program may no longer have a nap, as the class is held at about 10:30 to 11:30 (Fieldnotes, Pesantren B: October, 2000).

Table 7. Timetable in Pesantren A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04:30 – 06:00</td>
<td>Dawn Prayer, General Lecture</td>
<td>Musholla (prayer room)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06:00 – 07:40</td>
<td>Exercises, Rest, Breakfast</td>
<td>Court, Dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:40 – 12:10</td>
<td>Pondok Curriculum Classes(^{29})</td>
<td>Classrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:10 – 14:00</td>
<td>Midday Prayer, Lunch, Break</td>
<td>Musholla, Dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 18:15</td>
<td>Government Curriculum Classes(^{30}), Afternoon Prayer (Approx. 15:30 – 15:45)</td>
<td>Classrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:15 – 20:00</td>
<td>Sunset Prayer, Reciting <em>Yasin</em>(^{31}), Evening Prayer</td>
<td>Musholla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:00 – 20:30</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>Dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:30 – 22:00</td>
<td>Different activities for different nights</td>
<td>Musholla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Timetable in Pesantren B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04:30 – 06:00</td>
<td>Dawn Prayer, Reciting al-Qur’an</td>
<td>Musholla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06:00 – 07:00</td>
<td>Break, Breakfast</td>
<td>Dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:00 – 10:00</td>
<td>Learning-teaching Time</td>
<td>Classrooms, Musholla,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 – 12:00</td>
<td>Rest time, some selected santris work in the farmland, English and Arabic teaching for some</td>
<td>Dorm, Farm,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ustadzs’ houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 – 12:30</td>
<td>Midday Prayer</td>
<td>Musholla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30 – 13:30</td>
<td>Lunch time</td>
<td>Dorm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30 – 15:30</td>
<td>Learning-teaching Time</td>
<td>Classrooms, Musholla,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ustadzs’ houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{29}\) See Appendix 19 for an example of the *pondok* curriculum timetable.

\(^{30}\) See Appendix 20 for an example of the government curriculum timetable.

\(^{31}\) A chapter of al-Qur’an, which is believed to have a special virtue. It is read usually between the two prayers, Sunset (*Maghrib*) prayer and Evening (*'Iya*) prayer.
Meanwhile, santris in Pesantren A had a fixed heavily loaded program. In particular, those who undertook both pondok and government curricula might not have enough time to take a rest during the day, except after 10pm. This condition was acknowledged by some ustadez as influencing their teaching (Pesantren A, Ali & Somad, September, 2000). This will be discussed in the obstacles in the curriculum implementation subsection.

In the government curriculum implementation in Pesantren A, there had been changes and variations from what was recommended in the curriculum modules. For example, the recommended time allocation for the Math subject in the MTs (Junior Islamic Secondary School) was six sessions per week with forty-five minutes per each session. Because of the limited time, it became four sessions a week with thirty minutes per session. Therefore, the creativity of ustadez was needed in adapting such curriculum to the context within such a limited time.

**6.5.2 Micro (subject) curriculum implementation**

Discussed earlier, some basic considerations for ustadez in developing their lessons were the parameters of the Sunni madzhab, goals of the pesantren, and the santris' ability. Aspects planned by ustadez in both pesantren were topics, objectives, methods of teaching, and the end-point of the lesson. These aspects were not in a written form, but only in their heads. Exceptionally, ustadez in the government curriculum in Pesantren A systematically planned the lesson in a written form as in Appendix 18. At this stage, how such plans

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32 See Appendix 2 of number of santris undertaking the government curriculum in Pesantren A.
were enacted in the classroom setting and what variation was made during the classroom are analysed.

As discussed in the Curriculum Goals section, ustadzs in both pesantrens, except the government curriculum in Pesantren A, only intended their santris to understand the lesson they taught. Indeed, they had certain targets or the amount of the lesson that should be achieved in each lesson. According to ustadzs in Pesantren A, these targets were usually achieved because they had already set up the maximum time for the amount of the lesson. Ustadzs in Pesantren B, however, said that mostly the targets set could not be achieved by the minimum time because of the emphasis on mastery of the learning. Therefore, the ‘rhythm’ of delivering the lessons by ustadzs depended on the ‘rhythm’ of the santris’ understanding.

Depending on the nature of the subjects, the methods used in teaching in the two pesantrens varied to some extent. Lecturing, memorisation, question and answer and discussion were the common methods used for teaching in both pesantrens. In Pesantren B, memorisation and a few questions and answers seemed to be dominantly used in teaching language subjects, that is nahwu and sharf.

I came to the class 2 minutes before Ustadz Usamah came. There were about 23 santris coming to the class and waiting for the ustadz. He then came and sat down. Once the ustade sat, one santri came to the front to the class, and recalled passages from his memory. Each santri by turns did the same thing. A santri hardly recalled what he was expected to memorise. He was still trying, while other santris took their turns to be in the front of the class. Eventually the santri successfully finished his job. This recalling method took about 5 minutes at the beginning of the class.

After all santris came to the front to show their memorisation, Ustadz Usamah began the class by reciting iftitah\(^33\). He was looking at the kitab, and then he said: “Let us repeat the previous lesson”. He read the text with some pauses to give some times to santris to take notes and put syakl\(^34\). After reading some sentences, the ustade explained what the text meant and all santris seemed to notice carefully his explanations. Then he repeated what he just explained, while he was still looking at the kitab (Fieldnotes, Usamah, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

\(^{33}\) Iftitah literally means opening. It is a tradition in Islam that an ustade commences the class with an iftitah. Usually, iftitah comprises praises to God and prayers for the Prophet to be blessed. It is not unusual that iftitah contains the recitation of the first chapter in al-Qur’an, namely the Chapter of al-Fatihah. Beginning the class by iftitah is intended to gain God’s blessings so that the lesson taught will be easily understood and applied or implemented in the day-to-day lives.

\(^{34}\) Syakl is some signs put above, under, or on Arabic letters, which helps the reader to read and understand the text. Kitab kunings taught in the pesantrens are without syakl. Therefore, it is important for santris, while listening to their ustade’s reading and explanations, to put the syakl. Usually they just put syakl at the end of a word, because this reflects the function of the word in the whole sentence.

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Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren
The above quote indicates how an Arabic grammar *kitab* (*al-Ajrumiyyah*) was taught in Pesantren B. *Santris* were obliged to memorise all the contents of the *kitab* word by word and, after they finished studying the *kitab*, they would demonstrate their memorisation before the appointed examiner. The quote also describes the *ustadz*’s teaching strategies: reading and explaining the text, and repeating it in order to make *santris* understand.

During teaching, the *ustadz* gave some examples and wrote them on the board. Sometimes he asked questions of *santris*. Such questions, in my view, were only rhetorical questions. He actually answered the questions himself without giving adequate time for *santris* to answer.

Alter explaining the examples he made, the *ustadz* asked a question to *santris* about changing a word function in a sentence (*’irab*). He paused for a while, then answered the question himself. He then sat down on the chair (Fieldnotes, Usamah, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

This feature of language teaching was different when other subjects such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) were taught.

Once Ustadz Zaid came to the class and sat, the santri who sat at the left side to the *ustadz*’s desk read and translated a paragraph of the text. Other *santris* listened to him, as well as the *ustadz*. It seemed that he read the last lesson.

Ustadz Zaid then began the class by reciting the chapter of al-Fatihah and prayers. He read the lesson, translated, and explained it, while *santris* listened and took any necessary notes. The topic was about water for purification. Ustadz Zaid continued to read, translate, and explain. His eyes sometimes were directed around to *santris*. He explained with some examples (Fieldnotes, Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

The above quote indicates that the methods used in teaching *fiqh* were mainly: lecturing, reading, translating, and explaining. Other classroom observations indicate the same thing. It seemed that the higher the level of a *kitab*, the less the variation of teaching methods used.

In Pesantren A, similarly, memorisation, question and answer, and exercises were used in teaching the language subjects. Also, some *ustadzs* in this *pesantren*, in the *pondok* curriculum in particular, used reading, translating, and explaining approaches in teaching subjects other than language. However, some other *ustadzs* who also taught in the government curriculum used some variations in methods such as question and answer at the beginning and end of the class.
Ustadz Somad asked the santris about the end-point of the last lesson. Some santris answered quickly. Then he asked again “what is the hikmah (wisdom/philosophy) of the fast?” No santri responded to this question, while the ustadz was waiting. Eventually, he answered the question for his santris by himself (Fieldnotes, Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

The ustadz then explained about the dispensation for people not to fast during Ramadan. He wrote on the board a diagram of ‘illat (reasons) by which people may not fast in Ramadan (Fieldnotes, Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

At the end of the class:

At about 11:35, a santri entered the classroom. It was very late indeed, almost half an hour late. He sat on his chair and opened his kitab. Ustadz Somad did not notice this situation. He asked his santris: “what are the types of the recommended fasts?” Some santris mentioned them. After all, the ustadz mentioned the types of them to complement what the santris already mentioned. After this, he said: “Do you have any question?” No santri seemed eager to ask questions. After waiting for a while, the ustadz concluded the lesson by reminding santris to note the importance of understanding the ‘illat (reason) of a law being produced. This is because, according to him, understanding the ‘illat will bring to understanding the context of the law regulation” (Fieldnotes, Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

One of the important aspects was the language of instruction used in both pesantrens. In Pesantren A, the government curriculum’s ustadz basically used Bahasa Indonesia in teaching because, perhaps, the textbooks were written in this language. Differently, the pondok curriculum’s ustadz, like those in Pesantren B, used the local Banjarese language in teaching, but in translating the Arabic texts during teaching they used the Malay language. Sometimes they mixed all three languages in one sessional class, since these three languages have many similarities.

Beside such common teaching methods used in both pesantrens, the discussion method was also employed with a little bit of difference in one to the other. In Pesantren B, a regular discussion (mudzakarah) among santris was held once a week in the prayer room to review the compulsory primary lessons during the week. Santris were grouped with their classmates, and the ustadz who closely supervised became a source for santris.

To my observation, such a method was not a real discussion method, because it was just an activity of reviewing lessons during the week. It was lacking in involving deep thinking by the santris. The santris just read and translated to other santris, if any santri did not understand the lessons, he could ask another santri who understood or his ustadz. “A discussion is designed to encourage students to think more deeply about a topic while developing their thinking skills” (Eggen & Kauchak, 2001, p. 92). This did not appear to occur.
In the pondok curriculum in Pesantren A, such a discussion program was found to discuss issues related to *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence). This discussion was purely initiated by, and involved only, the MA’s grade 3 *santris*, and it was held once a month. The *kyai* said:

*They formed a study club in which they might read a kitab by turns and discuss the actual issues related to it. If they have unsolved problems during the discussions, they will consult an ustaz* (Kyai A, September, 2000).

I had no chance to observe this activity since this discussion program had been cancelled for the national exam preparation.

As discussed previously, because of the very limited time allocated for the government curriculum, the *ustadzs* had to make changes and adaptations when implementing the curriculum. *Ustadz* Ali and Masri (Pesantren A, September, 2000), the headmasters of the two government programs (MTs and MA) in Pesantren A asserted that to cope with the time problems, the *ustadzs* were expected to emphasise the *santris*’ mastery of the lessons by giving summarising points to the *santris*.

*We cannot implement the government curriculum as it is, but we do it by changing here and there. The ustadzs must be creative, so that the target that santris understand certain amount of the lessons will be reached. So, the ustadzs are expected to give santris summaries and questions of the lessons. When necessary, some ustadzs give additional classes in the evening* (Ali, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

How the government curriculum at the classroom level was implemented is depicted in the following quote:

*Ustadz Tariq came to the class when there were just three santris in it. Probably, the lateness of santris to come to the class was because they had taken a rest after the pondok curriculum classes. It seemed to me that the ustaz was used to this situation. He began the lesson by asking santris about the endpoint of the last lesson. Some santris responded to the ustaz's question, while other santris came to the class one by one. The ustaz let the santris come without questioning them about their lateness. The ustaz dictated the lesson. After reading some lines, he explained the meaning. He said that there are many actions that seem to be individual, but have social implications. Thus we have to be careful of our actions, so that we do not disturb other people. As a result, tolerance and togetherness can be created in the society. Then, he asked: “when you go to toilet for defecation, what do you need?” Some santri answered: “water and its dipper!” “Is this considered as a social action?” asked the ustaz. No santri answered it. The ustaz then said that it is a social action if the water is provided by other people* (Fieldnotes, Tariq, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

As discussed earlier, *santris* who also undertook the government curriculum did not have enough time for rest after the pondok curriculum hours. This made them come late to the government curriculum classes, especially to the first session. Also, the sleepiness might influence the *santris*, which, in turn, might result in unsatisfactory outcomes. It is, thus,
reasonable that Ustadz Tariq attempted to communicate effectively with the santris during the class by asking questions of them and frequently attempting some humour, so that santris would not get bored.

Another difference between both pesantrens in the micro-curriculum implementation was regarding reasoning and critical thinking, which can be seen in the following fieldnotes as an example.

Ustadz Somad’s classroom in Pesantren A:

He (Ustadz Somad) also explained about the rukhsab for people not to fast during Ramadhan. He asserted that the ilat for musafir (wanderer/traveller) not to fast is the masyaqqat (hardness or difficulty), not the safar (trip). When there is no masyaqqat in a trip, there is no rukhsab. Also, when there is masyaqqat, even though not in travel, there is rukhsah not to fast or to break the fast (Fieldnotes, Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Ustadz Zaid’s classroom in Pesantren B:

“When water does not flow and its colour changed, it is still pure and can be used for purification. This is with a condition that the change is not intervened deliberately by human beings” said Ustadz Zaid. A santri then asked about filtered water. The ustadz answered: “This water should not be used because it changed by the deliberate intervention. Although there has been a view that this filtered water may be used for purification, this view came later, and later views are usually weak” (Fieldnotes, Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

From the two quotes, critical thinking towards the texts taught was the main issue. On one hand, Ustadz Somad in Pesantren A tried to relate the text to the context. When there is a masyaqqat (difficulty) in performing the fast, there will be a rukhsah (dispensation). This understanding was against the established verdict in fiqh kitabs in the pesantrens that when in a trip reaching a certain distance, people might break the fast regardless of whether there is masyaqqat or not. On the other hand, there was lacking in critical thinking by Ustadz Zaid towards the text he taught. It seemed that he rejected the opinion that filtered water is pure and useable for purification even though it is much cleaner and more hygienic than other kinds of water such as river water.

Thus, reasoning and critical thinking in Pesantren B was weaker than that in the other pesantren. It is not unusual indeed that most pesantren communities, particularly those from traditional pesantrens, believe that kitab kunings are the sources for solutions and truth (Nasuha, 1999). However, today when some new problems have been arising, pesantrens
should produce graduates who are able to be critical, even, of what people used to accept from the religion as truths, especially the teachings of the *kitab kunings*, which were written hundreds of years ago. This is one of the education functions of the *pesantren* and other Islamic educational institutions, that is, to teach people logical and reasonable tenets of Islam.

To promote critical thinking skills, it is necessary to have special planning in which the following three components should be involved:

- engaging students in dealing with tasks that call for reasoned judgement or assessment,
- helping them develop intellectual resources for dealing with these tasks, and
- providing an environment in which critical thinking is valued and students are encouraged and supported in their attempts to think critically and engage in critical discussion (Bailin, Case, Coombs, & Daniels, 1999, pp. 298-299).

In short, the macro and micro-curriculum implementation in both *pesantren* as depicted above were largely similar, except the amount of activities experienced by *santris* in the government curriculum in Pesantren A. Generally, *ustadz* in both *pesantren* had a great extent of freedom in imparting the lessons. There were no prescriptions for *ustadz* in terms of strategies in teaching. The *kitab* they taught as well as the *kyai* did not provide such hints. It was left to the *ustadz*’ creativity to teach in their own ways. The only guidelines were that they should teach the content of the *kitab* thoroughly to *santris*, and should not be out of the parameters of the *madzhab* both *pesantren* followed.

Although *ustadz* were given such a freedom of selecting methods used in teaching, the methods selection was mainly influenced by the educational backgrounds of the *ustadz*. This seemed to make the above differences great in the curriculum implementation between the two *pesantren*. Realising the situation of a lack of *ustadz* with adequate knowledge of pedagogy, it is important to have professional development programs, which emphasised such issues.

### 6.5.3 Other aspects of the curriculum implementation

Other aspects from the curriculum implementation in both *pesantren* were values experienced and learnt by *santris*. As discussed in the curriculum content section, both
pesantren communities were embedded with the values of *akhlak* or morals in their daily lives. The following quotes depicted such a situation.

I came to Pesantren A with a friend of mine who graduated from this pesantren. It was about 9:30 when we entered the pesantren office. In the front room, there are chairs for guests. We met a man sitting on a chair in this room. Once we said an Islamic greeting to him and he replied without standing, my friend shook his right hand and kissed it. I knew that this is part of the pesantren tradition. I followed my friend, and kissed the man’s right hand. Then, I spoke about my intention of coming here. He said that I had to wait for the kyai. Later on, I knew from my friend that the man is a senior ustadz.

After expressing my intention to the kyai, he then invited me to look around the pesantren. I walked with him around the pesantren. Every time we meet santris, they respected us by stepping back from our way. Some santris bow respectfully to us (Field notes, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

A similar situation was also seen in Pesantren B. Respect is the key word for this vignette. It is not only respect for the ustadz because they teach santris, but also respect for the knowledge they possess (Al-Zarnuji, n.d). This value much influenced the curriculum development in general and the curriculum implementation (classroom learning process) in particular.

However, there was a difference between the two pesantrens in terms of how this value was perceived and applied in the daily activities such as in the following quotes:

From Pesantren A:

In the afternoon, I had an appointment with the kyai to continue interviewing him. The appointment was about 16:00. I came to his house on time. I knocked on the door that had been opened already. Immediately, the kyai came out from his room and invited me to come in. After greeting him, shaking, and kissing his right hand, he invited me to sit down. I began the interview then (Field notes, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

From Pesantren B:

Today, at about 10:00, when I was almost leaving the pesantren for something necessary in the city of the district, an ustadz came to me and said that the kyai was available for interview. I had already made the appointment yesterday, but he had said that he would tell me when he was ready for the interview. I came with the ustadz to meet the kyai in his house. Once I got to the veranda, the ustadz held my hand and said “hold on”. We just stayed outside waiting for the kyai to come out. The kyai then came out and invited me to come in, while the ustadz after kissing the kyai’s right hand went away. I said a greeting to him and shook and kissed his right hand following the tradition in the pesantren. He then invited me to sit. After a while, when I saw he was ready, I started the interview. Honestly, I was a bit nervous before him (Field notes, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

From the two above selections, it was indicated that I could easily meet the Pesantren A’s kyai and come to his house in a common way: making an appointment first, coming on
time, knocking on the door, and coming in. Yet, I could not do the same thing with the Pesantren B's kyai. It is regarded as respectful not to knock on the door of the kyai's house, instead, to wait on the veranda for his coming, except in an emergency situation. This is just an example of how the two pesantrens differed in perceiving and applying the respect value.

Some other moral values deliberately implanted to santris and shown by ustads in their deeds were such as togetherness and obedience to the rules of the religion and pesantren.

The other values were sufistic values. Being mukhlis (sincere) was among the most important goals in learning in the pesantren. Ikhlas (an abstract noun of mukhlis) is an ideal value for each Muslim to possess (Al-Nawawi, 1996), meaning that every righteous deed a Muslim does is for the sake and pleasure of God. There should not be other intentions in doing so, as well as in avoiding God's prohibitions. In both pesantrens, this value was highly appreciated.

The kyai in Pesantren A (September, 2000) said: “I am happy with the ustads who teach here. They are generally sincere. This makes santris like staying in this pesantren for a long period of time”. The kyai in the female division also said: “the older ustads have a cleaner heart. They are terribly sincere, and they never complain whether they are paid or not” (Kyai AF, September, 2000). Similarly, the kyai in Pesantren B said, when he was asked of the requirements of the ustads recruitment, that an ustaz must be mukhlis (sincere), and academically bright. One of the reasons that ikhlas (sincerity) became the first requirement was because there was no salary for this job (Kyai B, October, 2000).

Santris I interviewed in Pesantren B commented about the sincerity of their ustads. For example, Fitri (October, 2000) said: “when I first came here, I was really surprised with the fact that the ustads are not paid for their teaching. I can imagine how mukhlis (sincere) they are”. Also, Syakir (October, 2000) said: “The ustads here are very mukhlis (sincere), teaching without payment. Have you found teachers like them in common schools? Do you think they will teach without salary?”
It seemed that *ikhlas* (sincerity) is the motto in both pesantren's community. *Ikhlas* in teaching and learning, according to an *ustadz* whom I had an informal conversation with (without being taped), causes the *ustadz* and learners to be blessed. The learners will easily understand and apply what they received from the sincere *ustadz*. This belief became, in my opinion, a strong motivation for *ustadz* in both pesantren in their teaching activities, regardless of the payment or other material rewards. It is not surprising, then, that *ustadz* in Pesantren B were not paid for their job and *ustadz* in Pesantren A received a very small amount of monthly payment.\(^{35}\)

Other sufistic values taught within the two pesantren were such as *zuhd* (preferring the hereafter’s life, not to be enchanted with this earth life), *qana’ab* (pleased to accept what God has given), *shabr* (patience), *tawakkul* (submission to God), and the like. All these values were taught in *tashawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) in the two pesantren along with the bad characteristics that each Muslim has to avoid. Such values constituted the pesantren community living in a simple way (Dhofier, 1985).

To conclude, the implemented curriculum in both pesantren was much broader than just the planned and/or written on a document. All activities in the pesantren that santris undertook every day encompassed all of the santris' domains. Their learning process commenced from bed and finished in bed as well. The teaching was not only written on kitabs, but also it was practised in the day-to-day lives, and the Islamic values constituted a large amount of the curriculum.

Indeed, values are an important part of a curriculum. A study (Reetz & Jacobs, 1999) on morals in education reveals a finding that all respondents viewed the importance of teaching moral values. However, teaching such religious values should not hinder a better learning process, in this case, democratic learning. For example, in the pesantren, the value of respect should not stifle santris’ critical thinking towards the materials or even the curriculum as a whole. There should be a redefinition of the concept of respect, so that

\[^{35}\text{Roughly Rp 150,000.00 per month or about AUD$ 30.00 with the rate of Rp 5000.00 per AUD$ 1.00. This amount is too small compared to the Regional Minimum Wages for the South Kalimantan Province, that is about Rp 310,000.00 to Rp 331,000.00 or about AUD$ 60.00 to 65.00 per month (Source: Dept. of Labour, the Republic of Indonesia).}\]
this value should not benefit one group of people in the pesantrens at the expense of another.

Both pesantrens like other educational institutions, however, had some problems or obstacles in their curriculum implementation. The following sub-section will outline some of these obstacles.

6.5.4 Obstacles in the curriculum implementation

Some obstacles in the curriculum implementation within the two pesantrens came from ustadzs, santris, funds and facilities. Many ustadzs in Pesantren B and some in Pesantren A, especially the older ones, still have conservative views that they tended to keep the current curriculum as it has always been implemented. This was felt by some younger ustadzs as an obstacle preventing changes. Ustadzah Hanna said: “If there is an idea of introducing a new change, many of them usually do not accept it. They say that we have to keep the current curriculum” (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Another obstacle sourcing from ustadzs was their economic situation as depicted in the quote below.

I think the main problem is less cooperation among ustadzs. This is because many of the married ustadzs are not really concerned with the educational matters, especially to the santris’ disciplines. For example, they do not participate in controlling santris’ activities. This job is only burdened on us because we are still single. A few ustadzs, even, teach less than the determined length of time (Bakir, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

This quote indicates that receiving no salary for their teaching made ustadzs in Pesantren B, particularly married ustadzs, do some work other than teaching to earn a living. Unmarried ustadzs were provided with limited basic needs, that is food and a room. More or less, this influenced the teaching process and rules enforcement to santris. In Pesantren A, however, the economic situation of ustadzs seemed to not influence their teaching since they received their payment.

Another source of obstacles was santris. In Pesantren A, an over-loaded activity as discussed in the macro-curriculum implementation section was admitted to be a problem. Because of this, ustadzs reconsidered giving santris homework. Ustadz Masti said:
Santris have problems with the limited time. They do lots of activities, from the morning until ten or eleven at night. They almost have no time to do their homework. Therefore, it is hard to give assignments to santris in the government curriculum (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Age differences of santris created another problem in Pesantren B, but not in Pesantren A. Ustadz Usamah, who had a more-than-fifty-years-old-santri among his santris, said that sometimes older santris seemed to be bored because he repeated many times his explanations to make younger santris understand (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Also, santris’ differences in educational background became a problem. In Pesantren A, according to Ustadz Somad, this aspect became a problem about Arabic literacy only during the Preparation Grade since the santris came from either Islamic or general elementary schools. Once santris finished the preparation grade, their qualification was relatively the same (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

In Pesantren B, however, since no certain educational background was required, santris were very varied. At the lowest extreme, some of them even had not graduated from any elementary school, and at the highest one, some of them had graduated from universities. There was no single document for this data, but according to Ustadz Umar, the majority of the santris were elementary and junior secondary graduates (Pesantren B, October, 2000). This aspect was a problem in the teaching process as the kitab-mastery-based system combined santris from any educational background.

Lack of funding and facilities were also obstacles for the two pesantrens in the curriculum implementation. The two pesantrens similarly had funding problems that both, according to the respective kyai, had no permanent funding sources. In Pesantren B, santris fees could only fund the daily needs of the pesantren, such as electricity. Similarly, santris fees in Pesantren A could adequately be used for santris’ daily needs, such as meals and electricity, and also the ustadez’ wages. It is important to note that santris in Pesantren A paid monthly fees which covers their meals, while those in Pesantren B must provide (cook) the meals by themselves. The decision-makers of the two pesantrens, therefore, relied very much on people’s occasional donations in order to expand and maintain the infrastructures of the pesantrens.
Overall, the curriculum implementation in both pesantrens shared a very basic similarity in that the process was greatly beyond the written curriculum as the hidden curriculum was dominant regarding values in both pesantrens. There were variations by ustadzs during the implementation process. This was what Marsh (1992) and Marsh and Willis (1999) called as fidelity of use and adaptation or process orientation. The former refers to some basic guidelines that ustadz had to follow, whereas the latter refers to variations made by ustadz in their teaching processes.

However, the differences were found in such a process in both pesantrens such as differences in recruiting ustadz and selecting santris, which resulted in the differences in the micro or classroom process. In some cases, such macro-implementation differences created some problems and even obstacles in the whole curriculum implementation.

### 6.6. Summary

To summarise, the curriculum in the two pesantrens was first developed by the respective kyai. An involvement of other people in this process occurred in later development. In Pesantren A, this process involved not only the kyai, but also ustadz, foundation, santris, and even parents, whereas in Pesantren B it involved only the kyai and ustadz. The curriculum development in both pesantrens encompassed the following stages.

First, there were two levels in the curriculum planning in both pesantrens, namely: macro and micro-curriculum planning. The whole planning included, with some similarities and differences, the situational analysis. At this stage, some factors were considered including external and internal ones. Besides, there was administrative planning regarding ustadzs' recruitment and santris' admission to the pesantrens.

Second, another stage was setting the curriculum goals. Basically, the goals of the two pesantrens curriculum were the same, that is, to uphold the religion of God and create Muslim leaders who will teach the people. In interpreting such goals, both pesantrens differed from each other. These differences along with the curriculum planning differences led to the differences in the curriculum content and changes.
Third, both *pesantrens* had two main curricula: compulsory and optional. The content organisation and structure in the two *pesantrens*, however, were different from each other. With the graded structure system, Pesantren A offered *santris* with a fixed duration of study, while the other *pesantren* with its *kitab* mastery-based learning system set the only minimum duration of study. The content coverage in Pesantren A was very much larger and heavier than that in the other *pesantren*, which included a wide variety of *kitab kunings*, values, skills, and the MORA curriculum.

Fourth, the plans and content were enacted in both *pesantrens*’ curriculum implementation. *Santris* in Pesantren A undertook more scheduled and heavier activities than those in the other *pesantren*. In the micro or classroom implementation, *ustadzs* in both *pesantrens* taught their respective subjects or *kitabs* differently. Generally, the teaching methods and strategies used in Pesantren A were more varied than those used in the other *pesantren*. It is also concluded that reasoning and critical thinking in Pesantren B was weaker in some degrees than that in the other *pesantren*.

Moral and sufistic values prevailed in all the curriculum processes in both *pesantrens*. The most obvious value seen in both *pesantrens* was respect, even though it was perceived differently by the two *pesantrens*’ people.

The implementation of the curriculum in both *pesantrens*, as in other educational institutions, did not go smoothly. There were problems obscuring the process of the curriculum implementation in the two *pesantrens*. Such problems were sourced from *ustadzs*, *santris*, and lack of facilities. Some problems emerged from *ustadzs* and *santris* and their backgrounds.

The planned and implemented curriculum in both *pesantrens* was then assessed and evaluated. This stage of the whole curriculum development process will be discussed in the following chapter along with the rest of the curriculum development issues in both *pesantrens*. 
CHAPTER SEVEN: CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN THE
PESANTRENS (PART 2)

This continuing chapter presents the remaining stages of the curriculum development process in both pesantrens, which include curriculum assessment and evaluation, curriculum changes, and curriculum factors. This chapter also analyses the communication pattern in both pesantrens.

7.1. Curriculum Assessment and Evaluation

After the curriculum in both pesantrens was planned and then implemented, the next stage was the assessment and evaluation. It is differentiated in this study that assessment is concerning the santri's achievement in learning, while evaluation is dealing with the curriculum or program or even a subject as a whole. In the previous sections, I began the analysis with the curriculum in a broader sense, and then the classroom curriculum. In this section, however, I will begin the analysis with the assessment of the santri's outcomes followed then by the evaluation of the curriculum as a whole. This is because the santri's assessment results were one of the considerations in evaluating the broader curriculum in both pesantrens.

Aspects of the santri's outcomes assessed in both pesantrens were academic performance and akhlak (morals). However, in deciding whether a santri can be promoted to a higher grade or higher level of kitab, the ustads of Pesantren A integrated the academic assessment with the akhlak assessment, whereas in Pesantren B the ustads merely based their decisions on the santri's academic assessment.

Ustads I interviewed asserted that the two aspects determined the eligibility of a santri to be promoted either in the pondok or government curriculum. Ustadz Ali in Pesantren A explained:

In the final decision, it is required that a santri achieves an average score of 6 out of 10 for all subjects with none of the religious subjects in “red” [ie. 5 or below meaning a fail]. Then, we see the akhlak of santri. Even though a santri has good academic achievements, but if his akhlak is bad, he cannot be promoted to a higher grade (Pesantren A, October, 2000).
In regard to the assessment in Pesantren B, Ustadz Abbas said:

In the final decision of the santris assessment, akhlak is not considered as a determining aspect. It is merely about their understanding and mastery of the kitabs tested. This is because here we believe that if a santri stays in a period of time, his akhlak will be good (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Such a belief in Pesantren B that the akhlak of santris gets better over time led to a decision that akhlak does not determine the eligibility of a santri for promotion. However, the akhlak of santris was still under close watch and assessment by the ustads and there were sanctions for those who broke the rules. According to an ustad, the most severe sanction for a santri breaking the rules was suspension from studying in the pesantren (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

The assessment in Pesantren B was on the santris’ mastery of the primary curriculum only, whereas their mastery of the additional and optional curricula was not assessed. A final exam was held once a kitab of the primary curriculum had been finished. According to Ustadz Umar (Pesantren B, October, 2000), there were oral and written tests in order to investigate the santris’ mastery of a kitab. While the written test questions were made by the ustads, there were special examiners from ustads appointed to test the santris orally. The questions of the test in both pesantrens usually encompassed only the cognitive domains of the santris’ achievement as in the following examples.

An example of the questions on subject sharf (morphology) in Pesantren B:

1. How many letters are added to each of these words: munajatan, iswaddi, and mubranjaman?
2. What was each kind of these words—tasyniyatayn, muhaddatan, and rakhiyatani—called? (Pesantren B, Document, October, 2000).

An example of the questions on tafsir (Quranic exegesis) in Pesantren A:

1. Write the first verse of the chapter al-An’am of al-Qur’an!
2. Interpret (tafsir) the meaning of such a verse! (Pesantren A, Document, September, 2000).

Such examples of the questions in both pesantrens indicate that the domain of the santris tested was only cognitive. In these examples, the questions merely asked the santris to recall their learned material. It means that the level of cognitive domains tested within the santris was the lowest one, that is ‘knowledge’ (Bloom, 1956). The second question of the Pesantren A’s example looked like an analytical question. However, what was intended by
the *ustadz* was the answer that comes from the textbook. Probably, the highest level of the Bloom’s taxonomy of cognitive domain exercised in the two *pesantrens* was ‘application’. This is related to the contextualisation of the texts approached by some *ustadzs* in Pesantren A.

In addition, in the primary curriculum, the *ustadzs* held a weekly exam, which greatly contributed to the final judgement in whether a *santri* could be promoted or not. According to *Ustadz* Umar, the examiners would accumulate the performances of the weekly and final exam results in order to make interpretations and judgements or decisions about *santris*’ promotion to a higher level of *kitab* (Pesantren B, October, 2000). There was no comprehensive exam to investigate the *santris*’ mastery of the whole primary curriculum.

In contrast, the assessment in the *pondok* and government curricula of Pesantren A was on the *santris*’ mastery of all subjects of the given curricula. In the *pondok* curriculum, the assessment was administered every six months using both written and oral approaches. According to the Pesantren A’s *kyai*, the examination, 100 minutes for each, process usually took ten days with two subjects per day. The questions were made by each *ustadz* (*Kyai* A, September, 2000). At the end of the academic year, judgements about the *santris*’ eligibility for promotion to a higher grade was made based on the interpretations from the examinations. In the government curriculum, however, the assessment was conducted on a quarterly basis with exam generally in the written form.

There were two levels in oral examinations in both *pesantrens*, namely memorisation examination and reading comprehension. The memorisation exam was applied to basic *kitabs* of language such as *al-Ajrumiyah*, while reading comprehension was applied to *kitabs* of *fiqh* (only of the primary curriculum) in Pesantren B and to subjects other than language in Pesantren A (all *kitabs*). There were two aspects of the *santris* tested in the reading comprehension: the accuracy of reading the texts in terms of Arabic grammar and their understanding of the texts. The first is usually a sign of the second. If a *santri* could read the texts with high grammar accuracy, it was expected that s/he understood well the content of the texts.
In both Pesantren A’s curricula, a comprehensive exam was held at the end of the third year of schooling to investigate the santris’ mastery of certain subjects in order to make judgements whether a santri was qualified to successfully graduate from the pesantren. Within the government curriculum, the comprehensive exam contained all subjects taught from Grade 1 to 3, whereas in the pondok curriculum, the comprehensive exam was on certain subjects only. Ustadz Ali said:

> At the end of the academic year, the Grade 3 santris of Secondary Level are tested of their mastery of the kitab Fath al-Qarib (fiqh). Meanwhile, the Grade 3 santris of High Level are tested of their mastery of the kitab Fath al-Mu'in (fiqh) and they have to memorise the kitab Alfiah (Arabic grammar). This comprehensive exam is conducted orally (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Also, there was one important feature emerging from the study, that is, an ongoing observation by ustads on the santris’ akhlak as part of the assessment. In Pesantren A, the method of the akhlak assessment was identifying wrong deeds done by a santri such as breaking the rules; this was recorded in special cards. Ustadz Somad, when he was asked of how he assessed the akhlak of santris, said:

> Firstly, santris should not be late in performing the communal prayers. Secondly, they should not frequently go home, although they have permission for that. All of these two categories are filed in the OSIS (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

The above quote implies the level of severity of the wrong doings, that not-performing the communal prayers was put at the top level. Also, the quote implies a peer assessment on santris’ akhlak done by senior santris and recorded on a file with the kyai and ustads having access to it. In Pesantren B, however, akhlak of santris was not recorded on any document because of a belief that santris will have a better akhlak. As asserted by Ustadz Abbas (Pesantren B, October, 2000), the milieu within this pesantren was created to build the akhlak of santris.

In regards to the santris’ promotion, the decision in Pesantren A was taken through a meeting with all ustads (Ali, Pesantren A, September, 2000). However, in Pesantren B, the decision was taken only by the ustad who held the class/group and the appointed examiner. Such a difference is possibly due to the differences in the learning system in both pesantrens. In Pesantren A, with the graded learning system, the assessment was on the santris performances of each subject in one grade. Therefore, it was necessary to have a meeting with all ustads who teach the subjects in the grade in order to decide whether a
santri was qualified or not to be promoted to the higher degree. In Pesantren B, with the kitab mastery-based learning system, the assessment was only on the santri's performance of one kitab, and, therefore, the decision was sufficiently made by the ustadz of the kitab and the examiner.

From such a process of the santri assessment in both pesantrens, it became clear that assessment meant examination. There were no other forms of assessment except what was just discussed. Also, exceptionally in the case of the government curriculum in Pesantren A, the emphasis of the assessment was only on cognitive and affective (akhlak) domains, while psychomotor aspects were not covered. This was parallel to the finding about the subject or classroom goals, which did not cover the three domains either.

Another point was that there was a formal summative assessment on the santri's academic achievement in both pesantrens at the end of the kitab or quarter or semester through written and oral examinations. On the affective (akhlak/morals) domain of santri, there was a continuous assessment. This cannot be said as a formative one, however, since santri did not receive feedback from the ustadz. The nature of close watch by the ustadz and the santri's peers over the santri's akhlak was identifying the inappropriate behaviours of the santri. So, feedback in the form of advice and punishment would be given once a santri broke the rules.

In regard to the curriculum evaluation, the kyais and ustadz in both pesantrens generally evaluated aspects of what was being implemented. These aspects included the instructional processes and the implementation of the curriculum as a whole. However, there were also differences concerning methods used in both pesantrens in evaluating the respective curriculum, as well as some similarities.

Some ustadz in both pesantrens evaluated their instructional strategies in order to make their santri more easily understand the lessons they taught. Ustadz Somad said:

*I think the basic content of the curriculum cannot be changed. Yet, I evaluated and changed my teaching strategies. For example, before [the evaluation], I did not ask santri to memorize some lessons, now I do so. From 40 santri, I take randomly some santri to show that they have memorized in front of the class (Pesantren A, September, 2000).*

Similarly Ustadz Zaid said:
Usually, I analyse the santris’ shortcomings in understanding my lesson. I tried to make them understand my lessons more easily by changing the strategies. For example, I give many more examples than I used to do. Or, I change the way I teach because my santris seemed to be not attracted by my way. These are all to make santris understand my lessons easily (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

While Ustadz Somad used daily exercises, as he mentioned above, as a means of analysing the santris’ understanding of his lessons, Ustadz Zaid only asked a few of his santris to read the texts to know whether a santri understood or not from his intonation in reading the texts, such as providing punctuation."36 (Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Regarding the broader curriculum implementation, ustadzs in both pesantrens evaluated this through regular meetings with their respective counterparts. What was covered in these meetings was exemplified in these quotes:

- "Every month we have a meeting with ustadzs to evaluate activities we have done. Some decisions were made in the meeting. We also tried to cope with some problems found during the implementation process (Ali, Pesantren A, September, 2000)."

- "We have a regular meeting every month with ustadzs in which we talk about santris’ activities in learning. Then, each ustadz comes up with his own problem he finds during the teaching. For example, there are lots of numbers of santris who cannot follow the lessons well. Then, we try to solve the problems (Abbas, Pesantren B, October, 2000)."

The methods of curriculum evaluation in Pesantren B included using the santris assessment, ustadzs’ reflections of their teaching implementation process and also the kyai and ustadzs’ reflection of what was best in the whole curriculum and its implementation. The first two methods were already depicted in the above quotes (Zaid and Abbas). The last method was reflected in the case of introducing the English program as a result of the evaluation.

In Pesantren A, however, the methods varied slightly. Besides the three methods above, the kyai in Pesantren A also collected some information from santris when he was teaching. The information was usually about the ustadzs’ aspirations regarding the curriculum. The kyai explicated:

- "Their [some ustadzs’] aspirations seemed to be in disagreement with the curriculum variation that enable santris to enhance some necessary skills such as discussion and speech skills. I received this information from santris (Kyai A, September, 2000)."

36 It is important to inform that most kitab kunings read in the pesantrens are the Arabic texts without punctuations. Therefore, it is important for the reader to put the punctuations in by him/herself during reading. To do so, s/he must understand at least Arabic grammar and morphology. An example of the texts of a kitab kuning can be seen in Appendix 21.
This quote reveals that the curriculum in Pesantren A was also evaluated by santris, and, in fact, their evaluation brought about some changes.

Another method used in Pesantren A in evaluating the curriculum was interactive dialogue with santris. A range of information about the implementation process, including also the santris’ expectation of the curriculum, was collected during the dialogue.

Overall, the assessment processes in both pesantrens similarly constituted the curriculum evaluation. Both pesantrens evaluated the curriculum with the emphasis on the implementation process. Consistently with the curriculum planning, Pesantren A involved more parties in the evaluation process than the other pesantren. This means that the information underpinning the interpretation and judgement of the curriculum in Pesantren A was more varied and, maybe, more reliable. However, it seemed that the curriculum evaluation was very simple, and there was no systematic system or structure for curriculum evaluation in either pesantren.

The evaluation of the curriculum, of course, brought about some changes in both pesantrens’ curriculum. These changes are analysed in the following section.

7.2. Curriculum Changes

The discussion of the curriculum changes in both pesantrens is divided into three sub-sections. The first sub-section concerns changes that occurred in the past and present, and the second one is about changes that should occur. In order to enhance curriculum improvements, one of the tools used was professional development. This is the third sub-section.

7.2.1 Previous changes

There had been changes in both pesantrens’ curriculum as a result of the santris assessment and curriculum evaluation. Some of the changes in the two pesantrens were conveyed in the curriculum planning section such as the adoption of the government curriculum in Pesantren A and the commencement of the English program in Pesantren B. Therefore, I am not going to discuss these changes in this section. Instead, I assert that such changes
were the results of the evaluation of the previous curriculum in both *pesantrens* with consideration of other important factors such as societal changes and expectations.

The follow-up of the evaluation of the previous curriculum implementation in Pesantren B also led to the introduction of many more high levels of *kitab kunings*. This was intended to keep *santris* and prevent them from moving to other *pesantrens*. Ustadž Zaid said:

*Previously, this pesantren was intended to provide santris with basic Arabic and Islamic knowledge. It was like a bridge. Now, we offer santris with more high levels of kitabs that are the same as kitabs taught in other pesantrens (Pesantren B, October, 2000).*

In Pesantren A, there seemed to be a major change that the *kyai* used to reduce the number of subjects taught in the Preparation Level because he had found it had been beyond the *santris’* capability. He said:

*In 1989, analysing the santris’ capability in the Preparation Level, and having consultation with Ustadž Z, I decided to reduce the number of subjects from 18 subjects to 6 subjects (Kyai A, September, 2000).*

The reduction was not only of the numbers of subjects, but also the time allocated for the subjects. Hence, now, young adolescent *santris* (10-14) in Preparation Grade would not have significant difficulties since the curriculum they have been undertaking seemed to be appropriate to their capability.

In terms of the government curriculum in Pesantren A, it was analysed in the curriculum planning section that the changing paradigm of the *ustadž’s* roles in the classroom brought about an improvement in teaching strategies.

### 7.2.2 Anticipated changes

Besides the changes that occurred or have been occurring in both *pesantrens*, there were some changes that the *kyais*, *ustadžs*, and *santris* respectively expected to happen. These anticipated improvements were not structured into any plan yet. In Pesantren A, there should be a shared vision among *ustadž* regarding the curriculum. Ustadž Ali asserted:

*First of all, we must share the same vision among the foundation, kyais, ustadžs, and those who are involved in this pesantren. They all have to have a strong commitment to improve the curriculum. After all, there will be a very big obstacle when there is no shared vision (Pesantren A, September, 2000).*
When there was a shared vision, a better communication could be established. Further improvement, which some *ustadžs* expected, was the integration of the *pondok* and government curricula. This integration was viewed as an important step in order to have a more efficient curriculum. “Efficient” means that the curriculum saves times in reaching the goals. *Ustadž* Somad explicated:

> I expected that the curriculum [of this pesantren] is only one. When a santri enrols in this pesantren, in one package s/he undertakes religious and non-religious programs. This will enable the graduates to continue their study to either general or Islamic universities. Also, this will reduce the ‘sufferance’ of santris of having over-loaded activities (Pesantren A, September, 2000).

The integration was supposed to bring about some improvements of the *pondok* curriculum: the reduction of the overlapping content, better teaching-learning processes, and the *santris’* outcomes. One of the teaching process improvements expected was the use of a variety of teaching methods. For instance, discussion was a method expected by *santris* in Pesantren A. Albi (Pesantren A, September, 2000) and Ipah (Pesantren AF, September, 2000) said that in the *pondok* curriculum the discussion method was rarely used by *ustadžs*. Ipah explained the reason for having discussion method learning: “[This is intended] that we are more active in studying a lesson. Here, the discussion method is only used in the government curriculum, not in the *pondok* one”.

The reason for the fact that the discussion method was only used in the government curriculum was possibly the *ustadžs’* educational background. In the *pondok* curriculum, the majority of *ustadžs* did not graduate from formal education, or only from pesantrens, while those in the government curriculum graduated from formal education institutions like university. This led to the differences in that *ustadžs* in the government curriculum had a schooling experience in which a variety of methods had been highly possibly used.

The above improvements expected by some *ustadžs* in Pesantren A are indeed vital to the *pesantren* and curriculum development. Shared vision is the central notion of school improvement (Hill & Crevola, 1999). It is not merely to share an idea that the *pesantren* should improve, but also the direction to which the improvement is led. Therefore, the communication should not be amongst *ustadžs* only, but also amongst all those involved in the curriculum decision-making processes like *santris* and the parents. While amongst the *ustadžs* a professional learning team should be established in which they may gather

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and share ideas (Everard, 1996; MacGilchrist, Myers, & Reed, 1997), between the pesantrens and the parents there should be a parental board (Doll, 1992). This is to assure that communication becomes permanently and regularly held.

In Pesantren B, besides the introduction of the JIHSOP, expected improvements were about how to make santris understand and finish the kitabs, as well as how to improve a better akhlak of santris. In order to make santris more easily understand the lessons, according to Ustadz Bakir, it is necessary for ustadzs to use various methods in teaching. He said:

To make santris understand easily, it is important for ustadzs to have various teaching methods. I realise that we master knowledge and subjects, but we transmit them in a monotonous way. I think we (ustadzs) here lacked in training (Bakir, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

This belief, or maybe self-realisation, was impressive. It indicates a realisation by some ustadzs of better ways in teaching, even though they had no adequate skills to do so. I think this self-realisation could be a great motive to do some improvements. In this case, professional development in a form of in-service training should be held in dealing with this issue. This issue will be discussed further in the professional development section.

Another improvement expected to occur in the future was grouping santris on the basis of their educational backgrounds, especially for university graduates. Ustadz Abbas said:

We now think we should group santris based on their educational backgrounds. Those who hold high level education will be grouped together and will have a special ustadz (Abbas, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Regarding the matter of akhlak, the kyai, ustadzs, and even santris admitted the current curriculum did not provide adequate teaching of akhlak. The kyai asserted that based on his observation the akhlak of santris now was worsening (Kyai B, October, 2000). Therefore, he and some ustadzs expected that there would be more kitabs teaching about akhlak to the first year santris. Ustadz Zaid said:

I think now we start thinking to teach more kitabs about akhlak to the first year santris. This is important because if a santri performs good akhlak, he will understand the lessons fast (Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Responding to this situation, some santris also expected that the load of akhlak lessons would be more than that in the current curriculum. Idi said:
I think, in this pesantren, what should be paid more attention to is akhlak. For example, how a santri behaves in relation to his ustadz is extremely important. Here, this matter has been a lack of concern from the ustadzs and santris. In other pesantrens, as far as I know, akhlak is the first thing to teach (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Such santri’s comments about both pesantren’s curricula respectively reflected their expectations of the curriculum. Ipah’s comment, previously, about the method of discussion in the pondok curriculum was a common expectation by the Pesantren A’s santris, both male and female. When a santri was asked of ustaz whom he likes most, he answered:

[I like] Ustadz A since he always challenges us with discussion and questions. He has bright insights of many things. Therefore, when he is teaching, some points other than just the lesson come up (Amran, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

Such a quote indicates an expectation that there should be, especially in the pondok curriculum, an improvement in the ustaz’s teaching strategies that can challenge the critical thinking of the santris.

7.2.3 Professional development

To improve the curriculum in both pesantren, professional development was a concern of the respective kyai and ustaz. Some potential graduates in both pesantren were sent to study further in other Islamic educational institutions, pre-service training. It was not unusual that some graduates from Pesantren A were sent to formal Islamic universities such as IAIN in Indonesia and al-Azhar University in Egypt, whereas those from Pesantren B were mostly sent to institutions that had the same system as itself. After graduating from the institutions, they have to return back to their respective pesantren to teach. In Pesantren A, there was usually a contract declaring such an agreement (Kyai A, September, 2000).

Another means of professional development in both pesantren was in-service training. Ustadz Abbas said: “If there were calls for training by government, we usually sent some ustaz to attend” (Pesantren B, October, 2000). Some training in Pesantren B seemed to be only in responding to the government’s calls, whereas in Pesantren A there was also training initiated and held by the kyai and ustaz themselves. The kyai of Pesantren A said: “We used to hold training for all ustaz either from the male or female divisions. We
asked some outside experts to train them” (Kyai A, September, 2000). In the case of the government curriculum, as the headmasters said, there was a regular training for ustads.

Unfortunately, the training that a few ustads of Pesantren B undertook was not dealing with the issues of enhancing better ustads’ qualification in teaching, but regarding the farmland management and agricultural matters only. Looking back to the ustads self-realisation of their weaknesses in teaching ability reported in the curriculum improvement section, there should be an initiative from the ustads to propose a training program to cope with such weaknesses. Alternatively, the kyai could realise this situation and hold such training for his ustads.

In Pesantren A, although there were some training programs held for ustads dealing with curriculum issues, these were not done in a continuous way. Admitted by the kyai, there has been no single training program in several years (Kyai A, September, 2000). This lack of regular training, in my opinion, contributed to unchanged teaching strategies by the majority of ustads in the pondok curriculum.

Another method of professional development in both pesantrens was informally held through some conversations amongst ustads on any occasion. In the curriculum evaluation section, there was an implication of some meeting among ustads concerning the professional development since there might be ideas exchanged in order to improve a better curriculum. The communication section, later on, also implies that professional development in both pesantrens was not only in formal ways, but also informal ways such as during meal times.

The last method of the professional development found only in Pesantren A was comparative study. Some ustads went to some good Javanese pesantrens and studied their strengths. The kyai said:

*Next month, we are going to some good pesantrens in West Java to conduct a comparative study. This is intended to improve the quality of our ustads. So, they are supposed to learn about the visited pesantrens’ strengths in their education processes (Kyai A, September, 2000).*
When I was in a city in East Java in November 2000, I met in a hotel some *ustadz* from *Pesantren A* who had just returned from their comparative study tour. They said to me that they have seen some very good *pesantrens* and learnt many aspects from them.

In conclusion, the improvements anticipated by the Pesantren A’s community seemed to be more innovative than those in Pesantren B in a sense that the improvements take into consideration the changes occurring in the society. In addition, they expected to have more collaborative curriculum development on the basis of the shared vision amongst those involved. In contrast, the curriculum improvements in Pesantren B’s community seemed to be conservative and institutional-centred. Thus, there is a sense that improvement will not go far beyond the current implemented curriculum as this was the testament of the late founder.

Overall, the professional development in Pesantren B was not beyond its conservative approach, whereas that in Pesantren A was more innovative.

### 7.3. Curriculum Factors

The factors influencing the curriculum in both *pesantrens* can be divided into two categories, external and internal. Some factors that were already analysed in the curriculum planning or implementation sections will not be detailed in this section.

#### 7.3.1 External factors

Factors external to the *pesantrens* were found to be the government, socio-cultural changes, and community’s expectations. The first two factors, the government through the MORA and socio-cultural changes, were already discussed in the curriculum planning and implementation sections. So, it was decided not to repeat the discussions here.

The data collected from the *kyai* and *ustadz* indicated the influence of community or parents’ expectations on the curriculum. In Pesantren B, the *kyai* and *ustadz* believed that the community expected the *pesantren* to produce graduates possessing strong morality. The *kyai* of this *pesantren* said: “Their parents and also community expected their children...
to possess Islamic knowledge and behave according to the teaching of Islam” (Kyai B, October, 2000).

In Pesantren A, the influence of the community’s or parents’ expectations seemed to be stronger than those on Pesantren B. It can be seen from the acceptance of the MORA curriculum as part of the pesantren’s programs as discussed previously in the curriculum planning section.

Regarding this involvement of parents, however, it should not be just an accidental involvement. More than that, it is important to build a permanent involvement of parents and community with regular meeting with other stakeholders (Boyer, 1995; Hill & Crevola, 1999). To facilitate this, there should be a board of parents and community in which they could help or contribute to the pesantren development.

7.3.2 Internal factors

The internal factors were Islamic traditions, the founders of the pesantrens, kyais, ustadzs, santris, and subject matters.

Islamic traditions passed down through generations were the main factor affecting the curriculum of both pesantrens. Interpretations of al-Qur’an and the Prophet’s traditions resulted in some disciplines of knowledge such as fiqh, taubid, tashawwuf and the like, and different madzhabib (schools) such as Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama’ah (Sunni), Syi’ah, Mu’tazilah, and so on.

In Indonesia, the Sunni madzhab with the fiqh of Syafi‘i has been highly appreciated and followed. The teachings of this madzhab are preserved and transferred by the pesantrens in Indonesia (Bruinessen, 1999). From this brief historical analysis, it is clear how strong the influence of the Islamic traditions is on the two pesantrens’ curriculum.

Part of the traditions has been the teaching of kitab Ta’lim al-Muta’allim Thariq al-Ta’allum (teaching students about methods of learning) in both pesantrens. This kitab (see Appendix 22 for an excerpt of the translated content of the kitab), to my observation and some interviews with the ustadzs in the two pesantrens, influenced greatly the process of the
curriculum implementation, particularly in terms of morale building including relationships between _ustadz_ and _santri_.

However, the influence was less strong in Pesantren A than in the other _pesantren_. This may be because of the adoption of a modern system of education, that is the MORA’s. _Ustadz_ Tariq who taught also in the government curriculum commented on the _kitab_:

_I take a middle way in perceiving the kitab (Ta’lim al-Muta’allim). It is a good kitab, but some ideas in it are no longer appropriate to teach. For example, [in the kitab there is a doctrine that] a santri must _sami’ta wa _atha’na (listen and obey) his _ustadz_. To my knowledge, in a democratic learning, we may disagree with a teacher. However, we should do that in a polite manner (Tariq, Pesantren A, September, 2000)._  

Another factor was the founder’s ideas. The founders had played their roles in determining the initial content of the curriculum of the two _pesantrens_. The influence of the founder was very much stronger in the curriculum of Pesantren B than that in Pesantren A. Even though he already passed away, his ideas seemed to always pre-occupy the _ustadz_. This was probably because the _pesantren_ was established and owned privately by the founder. His ideas became references for the _kyai_ and _ustadz_ in teaching, like in this quote:

_The late founder always said that we in teaching should not forget to give advice before beginning the lessons. I do this, but I sometimes put at the end of my lessons. The advice is mainly about akhlak (morals) (Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000)._  

Another evidence was that his name was still put on the highest hierarchy in the _pesantren_ organisational structure (see Appendix 16). The _kyai_ said that he sometimes dreamt of the founder revealing what to do concerning the _pesantren_ development.

In contrast, in Pesantren A, the late founder’s influences seemed to be not as strong as in the other _pesantren_. This might be because, during his time leading the _pesantren_, he gave the responsibility of the management to a collaborative leadership, a board or foundation. In this case, now there have been frequent consultation between the current _kyai_ (of male and female divisions), _ustadz_, and the foundation in curriculum decision-making.

Another internal factor influencing the two _pesantrens’_ curriculum was the _kyai_. The difference of how strong the influence of respective _kyai_ was in each _pesantren_ was discussed in the curriculum planning section.

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37 See the list of the _kyais_ respectively leading both _pesantrens_ since the establishment in Appendix 23.
Ustadz also influenced the curriculum of the two pesantrens, and seemed to be more important than other factors, particularly in terms of the classroom curriculum implementation. Some factors embedded within the ustadz effected their contributions to the curriculum, such as their educational background, perception of santris’ best way of learning, economic situation, and personal values.

About 20 percent of ustadz in Pesantren A, as shown in Appendix 1, graduated from formal educational institutions. This had a specific influence on the curriculum in this pesantren that they had more variation in their teaching methods. As discussed in the curriculum implementation section, some of them even possessed ideas about contextualising the curriculum in the broader and immediate contexts rather than just totally accepting the texts as the sole truth. This might also influence other ustadz as there was an extensive and intensive interaction between them.

Similarly, ustadz in Pesantren B had a very significant influence on the curriculum. The following quote might portray an influential relationship between a santri (now an ustadz) and his previous ustadz and, in turn the curriculum.

I usually tell stories in teaching which are related to the lesson. This was my learning experience that my ustadz also frequently told some stories in teaching. He gave some advice about teaching. Firstly, do not spend too much time in teaching. Secondly, in teaching we have to give advice to our santris although this advice is only stories (Abbas, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Since most ustadz in Pesantren B graduated from the same pesantren as where they now teach (see Appendix 1), the possibility of making significant changes in this pesantren education system was rather small. The previous ustadz transferred not only the lessons, but also the way they teach, which was relatively unvaried.

Related to this factor, ustadz in both pesantrens had perceptions of santris’ best way of learning. This perception, regardless of which pesantren, to some extent, influenced the way they teach and, in turn, affected the curriculum as a whole. Ustadz Zaid said:

The best way to learn is that the santris are asked to read, one by one, at beginning or the end of the class. So, I am able to distinguish which one understands and which one does not yet (Zaid, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

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38 This means that the teaching duration in one session should not be long as it may make santri become bored.
In practice, however, this ‘best way of learning’ could not be fully applied because of time constraints.

Similarly in Pesantren A, the *ustadž*’ perception of the best way for *santris* to learn influenced their teaching style. *Ustadž* Somad said:

>*The best way of learning is that after reading, santris should make a summary in a small notebook. This notebook can be brought wherever they go, and they can read the summary easily* (Somad, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

This perception was not reflected in his teaching practice that he, besides reading and explaining the lesson, made a summary by drawing a diagram to make it easier for *santris* to understand and remember the lesson. In this case, *santris* were not given the opportunity to generate their own summaries.

The economic situation of *ustadž* also affected the curriculum of the *pesantrens*. This aspect was previously discussed, and will not be repeated here. The last factor from *ustadž* was their personal values. These values were much influenced by moral and sufistic values. As an example, besides what was already depicted in the aspects of the curriculum sub-section, of how these values influenced the curriculum, here are two quotes from the interviews.

The *kyai* in Pesantren A explained the strong connection between teaching strategies and underlying values of *ustadž* when he said:

> *Tasawwuf* [Islamic mysticism or sufism] is concerned with heart matters—how we keep our hearts from feeling arrogance, showing off, and other bad characteristics. Realising the importance of these values (to be taught to the santris), some *ustadž* feel that they are not terribly qualified to teach other people. Because of this, I have not seen any improvement in their teaching. They avoid the discussion method in teaching because they believe that this method will make the santris show off their skills. So, it is not purely for God (Kyai A, September, 2000).

*Ustadž* Zaid from Pesantren B said:

> I think one of the problems is that santris frequently break the rules. Many *ustadž* are not concerned with this situation in a sense that they do not give advice to the santris. These *ustadž* consider themselves unqualified for advising other people since they feel they are not really purified from sins themselves. To me, it is not the case. We are here in the same boat to correct ourselves (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Indeed, Doll (1992) stated that teachers in teaching are constrained with factors, such as their philosophical belief and values. The above description implies the strength of the
influences of the ustadz’s values in both pesantrens. Such values seemed to be obstacles in the curriculum improvement rather than motivators. I think it was not a sensible decision to give up such methods because they are important to provide santris with improved communication skills, and they will use them once they return back to the society.

The next factor internal to the pesantren was santris. There are some analyses concerning the santris’ influences on the curriculum in both pesantrens throughout previous sections. Their needs, educational and economic backgrounds, and ages were shown to be influences on the curriculum of both pesantrens.

The last internal factor influencing the curriculum was subject matter. Subjects, to some extent, influenced the teaching methods selection in both pesantrens, as described in the curriculum implementation section. Unlike in Pesantren A, the level of the difficulty of a subject in the other pesantren was found to influence the duration in studying the kitab. Ustadz Umar from Pesantren B admitted:

_There is sometimes a kitab that is very hard to understand, and I have to teach it. As a result, it is very slow and hard to make my santris understand. This difficulty usually arose because I learnt the kitab in a general sense, not word by word_ (Umar, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

Overall, among the above factors, Islamic traditions were dominant in influencing the curriculum in both pesantrens. These traditions along with the values perceived and interpreted by the pesantrens’ community also became the bases in considering necessary changes in the curriculum. Of course, the perception of Islamic traditions and values between those in Pesantrens A and B varied because of the differences in the members of the pesantrens backgrounds, such as education. Other factors such as socio-cultural changes and outside authority seemed to be secondary factors influencing the curriculum, since such factors were subject to the pesantrens’ kyai’s and ustadz’s perceptions, and always conformed to the Islamic traditions.

7.4. Communication in the Pesantrens

Analysing the whole curriculum development process in both pesantrens—from curriculum planning to evaluation, it was found that one of the underlying features was
communication among the people. There were some differences in terms of the way the pesantren's community communicated with each other.

It seemed that the communication between the kyais (of male and female divisions) and the ustadzs in Pesantren A was more extensive and frequent than that in the other pesantren. The following quotes suggested how informal communication occurred between the kyais and the ustadzs in both pesantren.

In the break time, the kyai and ustadzs gathered in the meeting room, having cups of tea and some cakes. This gathering included both older and younger ustadzs; they sat together on the chairs. I was also invited to sit with them and have some morning tea. A conversation among them took place and it seemed to be open, without any barriers. The conversation was mainly about santris' activities in learning (Fieldnotes, Pesantren A, September, 2000).

The above quote reflects the everyday situation in Pesantren A regarding the way informal communication occurred among the kyai and the ustadzs. A similar situation also happened in regard to the female division. Such a situation occurred possibly because of: first, the will of the kyais (of both male and female divisions) as leaders and managers of the pesantren; and second, a well-arranged timetable that enables them to gather together at a particular time.

These two underlying factors, however, were not found in Pesantren B, no evidence suggesting that the kyai and ustadzs gathered together at a regular time. It appeared to be socio-culturally hard for ustadzs to communicate with the kyai at all. Ustadz Bakir said:

Ustadzs who disagree with the English program do not dare to express their disagreement to Abah [the kyai]. This is because they respect him very much. Indeed, I myself, when I want to speak with Abah, it usually takes about 4 to 5 days for me to think of how and what I am going to say to him (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

The kyai said: “Nowadays, I pretend to avoid santris. This is a method in teaching them akhlak—how to respect kyais or ustadzs” (Kyai B, October, 2000). This situation was frankly admitted by a santri in Pesantren B as follows:

He [the kyai] should monitor and communicate with us. So far, he has just stayed at home. He has not even attended the regular meeting with ustadzs. He just receives the results of the meetings. Also, he should know all of the discussions and conflict that have been happening lately. He should establish a dialogue between him and us. We do not dare to initiate it (Idi, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

The communication among ustadzs in Pesantren A was very open as depicted in the first above quote of this page. Besides the regular break at about 10am, the ustadzs had another
chance to be together communicating with each other at lunch times in a special place. During my time in this pesantren, I frequently joined the lunches.

In Pesantren B, the communication among ustadz was not as frequent or open as that in the other pesantren. Ustadz Usamah explicated:

I cannot cope with some problems here, because I am at the lowest level. To speak to the upper level ustadz is rather difficult. There is no ustadz who graduated at the same year as me. Don’t you think that it is easier to communicate with those of our age? (Pesantren B, October, 2000).

There was rarely any moment for ustadz to communicate with each other, particularly older with younger ustadz or vice versa because older ustadz had another job rather than teaching in the pesantren. Younger ustadz should actually have had many chances to communicate among themselves at meal times, since they were supposed to eat at a special room. However, as I observed, they usually did not have their meals at one time together. So, the communication, that was supposed to occur, rarely took place.

To establish better communication, in Pesantren B, there has actually been an attempt by the community to use a special friendly title for the kyai and ustadz. The kyai was called Abah (father) and ustadz as Kaka (older brothers). Syakir said: “Here, we have not recognised the terms ustadz and santri, the only terms we know are Kaka (older brother) and Ading or Adik (younger brother)” (Syakir, Pesantren B, October, 2000).

However, the reality suggested another way far from the intention of the use of the terms. This is probably because they—kaka and ading—respectively positioned themselves as teachers and learners. Moreover, as discussed previously, the influence of the kitab Ta‘lim al-Muta‘allim on the pesantren education processes seemed very great. Thus, the terms remained terms.

On the contrary, in Pesantren A santri could easily communicate with ustadz and even with the kyai. A female santri said:

We may easily come to the kyai to report/complain about something. He then followed up in responding our complaint. For example, in regards to the dormitory’s affairs, we complained about the electricity. Also, we can complain something about an ustadz (Ipit, Pesantren AF, September, 2000).

In addition, some ustadz pro-actively had informal conversations at rest times. Ustadz Ali said:
I frequently talk with the santris informally. It seemed to me that they hope that this pesantren becomes a modern pesantren. This means it does not only provide santris with kitab kunings, but also other kinds of knowledge even such as politics. If we look at the display board, we see that Islamic spheres have rarely been their concerns (Pesantren A, 20 September, 2000).

Such a quote indicates that the *ustadz* deliberately opened up the lines of the communication between himself and the *santris*. Besides, it also implicitly suggests that the *pesantren* also urged *santris* to express their ideas by creating a display board. In my observation, this board was also displayed along with a newspaper so that *santris* could access updated information about outside situations.

To conclude, Pesantren A had a more open communication than in the other pesantren. In Pesantren B, the communication took place in a top-down way through a hierarchical system. This conclusion is shown in Figures 9 and 10.

**Figure 9. Communication Pattern in Pesantren A**

![Diagram of Communication Pattern in Pesantren A](image)

**Figure 10. Communication Pattern in Pesantren B**

![Diagram of Communication Pattern in Pesantren B](image)
From the figures, the communication pattern in Pesantren A can be seen to be a two-way process, while in Pesantren B it was more on a one-way hierarchical communication pattern. The dotted lines in Figure 10 indicated the very rare opportunity for the lower hierarchy people to communicate with the higher ones in certain exceptional circumstances.

7.5. Summary

The curriculum development processes in both pesantrens discussed through this chapter can be summarised as follows:

First, the implementation of the curriculum was assessed and evaluated. While both pesantrens assessed the santri's academic performances and akhlak, only Pesantren A used the santri's akhlak performances as a determining factor in promoting the santri to the higher grade. It was common in both pesantrens to use oral and written examinations in the assessment. The decision about the santri's promotion was decided through meeting between ustads and the examiner in Pesantren B, and among the kyai and all ustads in the other pesantren.

The results of the santri's assessment constituted partly the curriculum evaluation in both pesantrens. Besides, the ustads' reflections of their teaching activities and strategies were one of the methods of curriculum evaluation. In Pesantren A, another strategy that could not be found in the other pesantren was using santri's information. The evaluation aspects in both pesantrens included both the classroom teaching and learning processes and also the curriculum as a whole.

Second, as a result of curriculum evaluation, there were some changes that occurred and have been occurring in both pesantrens, as well as some changes that should occur according to the kyais, ustads and santris. One of the changes noted in Pesantren A was the introduction of the MORA curriculum, while in Pesantren B it was the English program.

Some changes anticipated in Pesantren A basically were that the pesantren's people should share a vision. It was then expected that there would be an integration of the pondok and
government curricula with the intention to have a more efficient curriculum. In Pesantren B, however, the improvements supposed to occur were mainly about how to make santris understand and finish the kitabs, the introduction of the JIHSOP, as well as to improve a better akhlak of santris. These improvements included issues of grouping santris and adding more kitabs teaching about akhlak. Part of the curriculum improvement was the professional development, which comprised pre and in-service training.

Third, there were some factors both external and internal to both pesantrens that influenced the curriculum. The external factors included the external authority (MORA), socio-cultural changes, and community’s expectation of the pesantrens. The internal ones included Islamic traditions, the founders of the pesantrens, kyais, ustadzs, santris, and subject matters. Such factors influenced the pesantrens’ curriculum differently.

Last, from examining the curriculum development processes in both pesantrens, it was found that communication was one of the underlying aspects. The communication among the community members in Pesantren B was rather a top-down and one-way, while in Pesantren A, it was open and a two-way communication.

Overall, there were similarities and differences in the curriculum development processes in both pesantrens. Such similarities and differences will be concluded in the final chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter draws conclusions from what has been conveyed and discussed in all the previous chapters. This very last chapter also gives some recommendations to the two pesantrens and for further research to conduct into other pesantrens and their curriculum.

8.1. Conclusions

A pesantren is an indigenous education institution in Indonesia concerned with conducting Islamic education. The uniqueness of this kind of institution, such as people living together in a boarding school permeated with values in all interactions, constitutes a sub-culture of the whole Indonesian culture (Wahid, 1995). As a sub-culture of the Indonesian culture, the pesantren seems to be isolated and exclusive. However, as Dhofer (1985), Mastuhu (1994) and Wagiman (1997) indicated, there has been a dynamic development within the pesantren in responding to ‘outside’ developments or changes in society. This means that the pesantren indeed responds to the changes in its own way. Some of them are slow and others are quick to change.

In responding to the changes, the pesantren has, then, been divided into two major types, namely: salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern) (Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Sebagai Pola Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar, 2000). While the former still retain kitab kunings as the only curriculum to teach, the latter includes the formal government curriculum into its system. These two major types of pesantren imply that there must be a curriculum change process within these pesantrens. This process can only be seen by looking closely at how curriculum development looks in practice in the pesantren. Unfortunately, research on pesantren has been rarely conducted with this aspect as the focus.

Therefore, this study investigates curriculum development in both salafi (traditional) and khalafi (modern) pesantrens in a comparative approach with the focus on who are involved, how the curriculum is developed, and what the curriculum is in both pesantrens.
8.1.1 Key stakeholders in curriculum development

The two pesantren can both be classified as site-based managed institutions where the key stakeholders have almost total control over the pesantren and the curricula. Although the curriculum of each pesantren was first developed by its respective founder, in later development there have been more people involved in such a process. Pesantren A had a more collaborative curriculum decision-making process than the other pesantren.

In Pesantren A, all the kyais (of male and female divisions), ustadzs, santris and members of the foundation were involved in the curriculum decision-making processes through frequent consultations and a good coordination among them. Santris were involved through a regular interactive dialogue, informal conversations with ustadzs, and also informal investigations by the kyais and ustadzs. In the government curriculum, like the kyais, the headmasters were responsible to the foundation (see Appendix 15 for the organisational structure), but it seemed that the kyais were the checkers and auditors for the government curriculum.

On the contrary, in Pesantren B, the leadership and curriculum decision-making process tended to be ‘single-handed’, which involved only the kyai and ustadzs. There was a regular meeting among the ustadzs regarding the day-to-day curriculum implementation. The results of this meeting were reported to the kyai, and he would take the final decision.

One major similarity from both pesantren's curriculum decision-making processes was lack of a permanent involvement of the parents and community. In the site-based managed educational institution like these two pesantren, the parents and community should be involved and treated as partners, not as clients, because they economically support the pesantren or schools through their children’s tuition fee and any other form of donations. Also, they might have different interests on the curriculum (Brady & Kennedy, 1999). Besides, as research findings suggested, their involvement has a significant correlation with the schools’ activities and students’ progress (Boyer, 1995; Hill & Crevola, 1999).
8.1.2 Curriculum development processes

2. How is the curriculum in both pesantrens developed?

There were some similarities and differences in the curriculum development processes in both pesantrens concluded throughout the following comparative sub-sections and Figures 11, 12, and 13 below. This conclusion of the curriculum development process is different from my conceptual framework in Chapter Four. A major difference is that in the framework I had expected that the curriculum development of the two pesantrens would be goal-oriented, while the findings suggest that only the Pesantren A’s government program was goal-oriented curriculum development. The Pesantren A’s pondok and Pesantren B’s curriculum seemed to be a content-oriented development.

8.1.2.1 Planning process

2.1 How is the curriculum planned?

In this process, as shown in the three figures, both pesantrens’ curriculum decision-makers conducted a situational analysis in which an obvious phenomenon of two competing forces emerged as also found in other studies such as Dhofer (1985), Mastuhu (1994), and Wagiman (1997). On the one hand, there was a force of retaining the pesantrens’ traditions affiliating to the Islamic Sunni traditions, and on the other hand, the other force sought to accommodate external societal changes, which might lead to the decrease of valuing the traditions. In this regard, as a whole, the curriculum of each pesantren seemed to be an Islamic socio-oriented curriculum.

A significant difference between the two pesantrens’ curriculum was the extent of the adaptation to the external societal changes. In Pesantren A, there seemed to be ongoing analysis and adaptation to the changes as indicated by the adoption of the government curricula, MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiyah) and MA (Madrasah ‘Aliyah) with some variations. Therefore, it can be predicted that there will be some more innovative changes occurring in this pesantren.
In Pesantren B, however, the analysis and adaptation to the societal changes seemed to be intending to cease at the future adoption of the JIHSOP curriculum. This is because the late founder’s testament that this pesantren is not a common school had a great influence in the curriculum decision-making processes. Contrasted to government curricula in Pesantren A, which covered all subjects as in common schools, the JIHSOP curriculum covers only some basic knowledge of non-religious subjects such as Math and Sciences.

8.1.2.2 Goal setting

The next process was generating the goals. Although both pesantrens in a general sense have the same goal of upholding the religion of Allah, the emphasis of the interpretation of such a goal was quite different. The goal “to revive [teach] Islamic knowledge through teaching Arabic grammar and morphology” of Pesantren B, as indicated in Figure 13, implies a rather textualist goal of the curriculum. The textualist goal inspires them to perceive Islamic knowledge written in kitab kunings as the literal and sole truth. On the contrary, one of the goals “to prepare santris to be able to develop themselves through the development of science, technology, and arts inspired by the teaching of Islam” of Pesantren A, as shown particularly in Figure 12, was a rather contextualist goal. The contextualist goal means that what is to be reached in the education process is the outcome appropriate for the current contexts. Therefore, it is not unusual that some ustadzs contextualised the texts of kitab kunings in teaching, and did not take the contents of the texts for granted or as the literal sole truth.

8.1.2.3 Content selection

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39 The terms ‘textualist and contextualist’ here do not refer to the common same terms in Islamic studies, which indicate two different approaches in understanding Islam, i.e. al-Qur’an and al-Sunnah (Prophet’s traditions). The textualist approach in understanding the two sources merely take for granted what was written in the Scriptures, whereas the contextualist approach tries to look at the situation and context of the revelations.
As indicated in Figures 11, 12 & 13 (connecting arrows), the above similarities and differences in the curriculum planning process and the curriculum goals in both pesantren led to similarities and differences in the content selection. The content of both pesantren's curricula was similarly dominated by Islamic Sunni kitab kunings and traditions. No religious kitabs taught in both pesantren were outside the Sunni parameters. Islamic values constituted the main part of the experienced curriculum even though some values were perceived differently. As graduates were expected to return to, and play an important role in, the society, the content also covered some skills such as leadership and trading/agricultural skills. See Figure 14 in this chapter for a more clear depiction.

However, the content structure was different in both pesantren, which implies that Pesantren A was more accommodative to non-religious subjects, while the other pesantren put them subordinate to religious knowledge. The content in Pesantren A contained two equally time-allocated curricula, namely: pondok (kitab kuning) in the morning as compulsory and government (most are non-religious) curricula in the afternoon as optional. The content in Pesantren B was dominated greatly by Islamic kitab kuning disciplines divided into compulsory and optional. The compulsory curriculum contained primary and additional kitab kunings, and the optional included other unlimited kitab kunings, the English program and the future JIHSOP.

Another difference was that the curriculum content in Pesantren A was very much heavier than that in Pesantren B. Besides the government curriculum, Pesantren A’s santris must finish 60 kitab kunings in seven years, while Pesantren B’s santris should finish only 29 kitab kunings in 6 years at a minimum. The JIHSOP itself at the time of data collection was not yet implemented. This loaded content difference implies that Pesantren A’s santris were more exhausted than those of the other pesantren.

Analysing the curriculum content in both pesantren, it is difficult for me to confirm if the curriculum content of both pesantren meet the content selection criteria—validity, significance, interest, etc—suggested in the literature such as McGee (1997) and Brady (1995) since it needs a comprehensive specific study. Yet, there appears a question of
whether the content meets the interests of santris, is consistent with the social reality, learnable, and utilised across the subjects.

8.1.2.4 Implementation process

2.4 How is the curriculum implemented?

At this stage, the experienced curriculum in both pesantrens similarly appeared to be broader than just implemented in the classrooms. In macro-curriculum implementation, since the santris and most ustadz lived in the pesantrens’ complex, all activities done were learning experiences. During these experiences, interactions occurring in day-to-day lives in the two pesantrens were permeated by religious values.

In micro-curriculum, except of the government curriculum in Pesantren A as Figure 12 indicates, the implementation process in both pesantrens was very much content-oriented (Figures 11 & 13). While there should be good learning objectives generated encompassing cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains of a santri (McGee, 1997), the ustadzs generated only very simple learning objectives, imparting the contents to and making the santris understand them. These two learning objectives, which were not explicitly stated in a document, only covered the lower ‘understanding level’ of the cognitive domain (Bloom, 1956).

Figures 11 & 13 also indicate another similarity that there were variations of the curriculum when implemented in both pesantrens. The variations were regarding issues of reviewing other sources before teaching for enrichment and of including values in teaching. Unfortunately, although the ustadzs had a high degree of freedom to develop their own curriculum, the variations of teaching methods and strategies were very few. Teaching methods and strategies—mainly memorisation, lecture, and limited question and answer—in both pesantrens were very ustadz-oriented in which the santris were not empowered to be active learners.

As indicated in Figure 12, the government curriculum in Pesantren A also had variations in the implementation process, which were concerned with the issues of time availability
and instructional strategies. The nature of the government curriculum was goal-oriented, and the *ustadz* in their classroom process clearly stated specific learning objectives written on a document. Therefore, with the time constraints, the *ustadz* tried their best to ‘play’ with teaching or instructional strategies to reach the objectives. Changes and adaptation were made to do so.

One major difference between the two *pesantrens* was regarding reasoning and critical thinking in the classroom processes. As Pesantren A had the contextualist goal, some *ustadz* contextualised the content (texts of *kitab kunings*) with the recognition of changes occurring in the society. It was not unusual for these *ustadz* to exercise the reasoning and critical thinking of the *santris* during the classroom learning process. In contrast, in line with the textualist goal, *ustadz* in Pesantren B did not promote reasoning and critical thinking to the *santris*, and as claimed by Nasuha (1999), they perceived, instead, the texts as the sole truth.

Another difference was also concluded regarding the *pesantren*’ community’s perception of the values, particularly the value of respect. Respect seemed to be defined by the people in Pesantren B as listening and following (*sami’na wa atha’na*) what the *kyai*, *ustadz*, and *kitab kunings* say and teach. In this concept, it seemed that no objection or disagreement was voiced from the younger to the older (e.g. *santris* to *ustadz* and the *kyai*, and *ustadz* to the *kyai*). The *santris* were taught to put ‘respect’ above other things, even respect for the *kitab kunings* as well as the writers in a special manner, which cannot be found in other Indonesian communities. Such a manner seemed to be in accordance with the teaching of a *kitab* called *Ta’lim al-Muta’allim* read in both *pesantrens*. The ‘single-handed’ leadership style was highly likely a conducive condition for such a concept of a hierarchical interpretation of respect.
Figure 11. Content-Oriented Curriculum Development Process in Pesantren A (pondok)

Situational analysis:
Internal:
- Islamic Sunni traditions, values
- Foundation, Kyai, Ustadz, Santris (good coordination and communication)
- Material Resources
External:
- Outside changes & authority (MORA)

Goals: to uphold Islam by reviving Islamic knowledge
Objectives: to make santris understand the lessons

Content Selection:
Subjects/kitab kunings of Islamic disciplines
Values, & Skills

Assessment: on academic & akhlak leading to
Evaluation: on the content and implementation

Implementation:
Implementing the content, contextualising it, including values, selecting few instruction strategies

With the government curriculum
Innovative Curriculum Changes and Improvements
Figure 12. Goal-Oriented Curriculum Development Process in Pesantren A (government)

**Situational analysis:**
- **Internal:**
  - Islamic Sunni traditions
  - Foundation, Kyai, Ustadz, Santri,
  - Resources

- **External:**
  - Outside changes & authorities (MORA): new paradigm

**Goals:** To uphold Islam by reviving Islamic knowledge and teaching science and technology and arts

**Precise Objectives:** depending on the subject

**Content Selection:**
- MTs and MA, Values, Skills

**Assessment** on academic & akhlak leading to **Evaluation** on the content and implementation

**Implementation:**
- Implementing the content with changes and adaptations, including values, selecting more variety of instructional strategies

**Innovative Curriculum Changes and Improvements**
Figure 13. Content-Oriented Curriculum Development Process in Pesantren B

Situational analysis:
Internal:
- Islamic Sunni traditions
- Late founder’s ideas
- Kyai, Ustadzs, Santris
- Material resources
External:
- Outside changes & authority (MORA)

Goals: to uphold Islam by reviving Islamic knowledge through teaching Arabic grammar and morphology
Objectives: to make santris understand the lessons

Content Selection:
Kitab Kunings, English & Arabic, Stronger Values, Skills, & Future JIHSOP

Assessment on academic & akhlak leading to Evaluation
On the content and implementation

Implementation:
Implementing the content, including values, selecting few instruction strategies

Institution-Oriented Curriculum Changes and Improvements or more likely retaining the status quo
In Pesantren A, the concept of respect seemed to be less strong than in the other pesantren even though it was still valued (see Figure 14). It was practised with a critical attitude from some ustadzs especially those who graduated from formal education institution and teach the government curriculum. For example, the classroom interaction in this pesantren was relatively similar to the common schools’ classroom interaction (I used to teach in a public senior secondary school), where the santris could erupt any time in reaction to their ustadz. The facilitative and collaborative leadership in this pesantren seemed also to support this interpretation of the concept, respect.

8.1.2.5 Assessment and evaluation process

After implementing the curriculum, the next stage of the processes in both pesantrens, was assessment that usually meant examination as in Figures 11, 12 and 13. Aspects assessed within the santris included academic (cognitive) and akhlak (affective) achievements. There was no indication from the findings that the psychomotor domain was also assessed. The academic achievement of santris was assessed through both written and oral final exams, whereas akhlak assessment was conducted by identifying the wrong behaviours of the santris. Both pesantrens’ santris assessment, except the government curriculum, was content-oriented assessment. This was because the ustadzs did not generate specific learning objectives, so which parts of the content were given an emphasis was not determined.

Considering the results of the santris assessment was one strategy for curriculum evaluation in both pesantrens, along with the ustadzs’ reflections and regular discussions at meetings. In this case, the curriculum evaluation approach in both pesantrens was very traditional in a sense that the outcomes achieved became the indicator of the program effectiveness (Brady, 1995). In addition, the evaluation process in both pesantrens did not involve a systematic and structured approach. The curriculum decision-makers in both pesantrens similarly evaluated the content of the curriculum and instructional strategies.
One major difference from this evaluation process was that in Pesantren A there was collaborative evaluation involving all the mentioned key stakeholders, the foundation, kyai, ustads, and santri. In Pesantren B, the process involved only the kyai and ustads.

8.1.2.6 Changes

2.6 What changes are found in the curriculum?

It can be concluded as depicted in Figures 11, 12 & 13, the whole curriculum development processes have resulted in some improvements in both pesantrens. Some major changes were such as the adoption of the MORA curriculum in Pesantren A and the introduction of the English and Arabic programs in the other pesantren. Besides, there were some changes that some people in the two pesantrens have anticipated. These anticipated changes could be tentative indicators to predict the future improvements in both pesantrens.

A major expected change in Pesantren A was the integration of the two curricula, pondok and government, to have an efficient curriculum. To do so, there is a need for a shared vision and good communication between the members of the pesantren. In Pesantren B, however, the expected improvement is not much beyond the current curriculum implementation as the wish of the late founder. There is still a big question whether the JIHSOP curriculum will really be implemented or not. Even if it is, it will mean only a small inclusion of non-religious studies.

To improve curriculum, professional development can be one useful tool. However, so far, the professional development, particularly in-service training, in both pesantrens has not been well directed or regularly organised. In Pesantren B, even the in-service training programs that ustads joined were only concerning agricultural affairs. In pre-service training, some ustads in Pesantren A graduated from formal tertiary education such as universities and institutes, whereas almost all ustads in Pesantren B graduated from the pesantren or similar pesantrens and other Islamic institutions within the same system.

Informal professional development occurred on some occasions such as during break and lunch times. In Pesantren B, this was rather difficult to occur. The implication of the
above differences is that Pesantren A had more variations in its ustads' educational backgrounds than in the other pesantren, which might create a big possibility of innovative changes. Pesantren B, however, might still retain the status quo.

8.1.2.7 Communication

| 2.7 How is the communication established in both pesantrens? |

Such professional development as concluded above, more or less, was influenced by the communication established in each pesantren. The communication channels in Pesantren A were deliberately opened and established in a two-way process, whereas in the other pesantren the communication pattern was rather a one-way process. Hence, Pesantren A had a bigger possibility for an extensive involvement of the key stakeholders in the curriculum process than the other pesantren. This resulted in that the former might have more innovative improvements as concluded previously.

8.1.2.8 Curriculum factors

| 2.8 What are the factors influencing the curriculum? |

The whole curriculum development process in both pesantrens was not independent of several factors, both external and internal. Of the external factors, societal changes and the government to some extent influenced the curriculum in both pesantrens. However, these factors seemed to be always conformed to Islamic traditions, which constituted a major significant influence on the curriculum and its processes in both pesantrens.

Of the internal factors, besides Islamic traditions, the late founder, the kyais, ustads, santris, time and funding are very important influences to note. In Pesantren A, some factors such as ustads' personal values, time availability and funding seemed to be major obstacles, while in the other pesantren, lack of cooperation between ustads, a wide variety of santris' backgrounds, and funding become real problems.

8.1.3 The curriculum of the pesantrens

| 3. What is the whole curriculum in both pesantrens? |

Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren
From the findings, basically and formally, Pesantren A had a subject-based curriculum, whereas Pesantren B had a *kitab*-based curriculum. The curriculum in the former was structured based on subjects such as *fiqh* and *tauhid* in regards to the *pondok*, and Math, English in the government curriculum. In Pesantren B, the curriculum was structured and arranged based on *kitabs* to be learnt such as *kitab Kaylani*, *Mutammimah*, and so on. Yet, both pesantrens had a *vertical or spiral integrated content* (McGee, 1997) in the sense that concepts in most subjects/kitabs were revisited in subsequent years.

The whole curriculum in both pesantrens can be seen in Figure 14. Differently from my framework in Chapter 4 that *kitab kuning* load in Pesantren B was heavier than in the other pesantren, it is clear now that Pesantren A had a heavier curriculum than the other pesantren, even in the case of *kitab kunings* teaching. The boxes within the circles are the formal curriculum of both pesantrens, while the circles indicate the informal curriculum that is the interaction and experiences by the pesantrens’ members in both pesantrens. This interaction was permeated with the values. In Pesantren B, as the shading indicates, the values perceived and practiced were stronger than in the other pesantren. However, this does not indicate that Pesantren B’s curriculum is better since it depends on the perspective used to see it. From my pedagogical perspective, such strong values could even hinder the learning process from being democratic and innovative as discussed previously.

### 8.2. Recommendations

There are two parts to my recommendations, namely: recommendations for the two pesantrens and recommendations for further research.

#### 8.2.1 Recommendations for the pesantrens

Giving recognition to the funding constraints of the two pesantrens, I propose some recommendations for the improvement of both pesantrens’ curricula.
Figure 14. Curriculum of Both Pesantrens

Pesantren A

1. 38 subjects in 60 kitab kunings in the pondok curriculum
2. The government curriculum
3. Extra curricular for enhancing skills

Pesantren B

4. About 29 kitab kunings in 17 subjects
5. English & Arabic & the future JIHSOP with only a few subjects
6. Extra curricular for enhancing skills

= The shading indicates the informal curriculum with whole interaction among the members permeated with some values (Pesantren B’s values were stronger than Pesantren A’s).
8.2.1.1 For both pesantrens:

First, the attitude of perceiving the *kitab kunings* as if they are the literal and sole truth should be re-defined. This re-definition will lead to a more democratic learning process since it opens up the texts to critical and higher order thinking. Part of this will require re-conceptualisation of some values that have hindered the curriculum development processes from being collaborative and democratic, such as the value of respect. It is difficult indeed to change since current attitudes have been passed down through generations in the *pesantren* traditions. An intensive and focused approach with open communication between the key stakeholders is needed for a systematic curriculum review.

Second, there should be a permanent involvement of the parents and local community in the curriculum decision-making through a Board. It is important for the *pesantrens* to hear the voices of the parents and community as they might have different innovative ideas for the *pesantren* improvements. As some of the *santris* come from distant areas, the involvement could be restricted to those relatively close to the *pesantrens*. This involvement may help with the difficulty in implementing the first recommendation since there would be frequent communication between the *pesantrens* and parents/community that might influence the attitude of the *pesantrens*’ people towards *kitab kunings* making them more consistent with broader societal expectations.

Third, there should be an establishment of an association of all *pesantrens* existing in the South Kalimantan Province to facilitate communication and information exchange among them. Through this association, some activities such as professional development through *ustadzs* exchange can be held. Each *pesantren* and the *ustadzs* can then learn from each other.

Fourth, since *ustadzs* were a very influential factor, regular professional development, particularly in-service training, should be held with the focus on pedagogical issues, so that *ustadzs* will have insights into how to do their job better. In Pesantren A, this can be done by using the government curriculum *ustadzs* as trainers, while in Pesantren B by
using the university graduate santris. Another way is that the government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs in South Kalimantan could play a more pro-active role in providing qualified trainers for professional development programs.

Fifth, by receiving well-directed and regular professional development programs, ustadzs need to develop the curriculum in a more systematic approach and structure. What became of most concern to me is the need for having more precise goals or objectives in each subject and lesson unit. This will lead to more clear and systematic plans in the stages of implementation, assessment and evaluation. Indeed, kitab kunings are ready-to-use content. Yet, the ustadzs still need to give emphasis to some more important parts of the content they teach, and hence focus their assessment. This can be done only if they have more precise objectives and desired outcomes.

Sixth, in the evaluation processes, they need to set some criteria for the appropriateness of the curriculum to the contexts, Islamic Indonesian education and the immediate society. Ideal educational outcomes in Islamic (Al-Attas, 1979; Rahman, 1988), as well as Indonesian contexts (Depdiknas, 2001), are people who possess an integrated personality; possessing both Islamic and non-Islamic disciplines. For the immediate context of the pesantrens' surrounding society, as I have experienced living in the society, there are some deviations from the true paths of the religion by the community. This is partly the responsibility of the pesantrens' graduates. More critical outcomes seemed to be necessary to maximise the roles of the graduates in educating the society. Therefore, there should still be more critical thinking of the Islamic texts in the curriculum, not just taking them for granted.

8.2.1.2 For Pesantren A:

There is a need, also anticipated by some ustadzs, for an integration of the two curricula, pondok and government. Indeed, this is not an easy task. This needs a long time to plan, promote and gain acceptance, preparing the materials and developing the human resources such as ustadzs' readiness to change, and then to implement it. The integration should not eliminate the identity of the pesantren as an Islamic education institution but it
should produce a more effective and efficient curriculum, which will lead to better outcomes for santris.

8.2.1.3 For Pesantren B:

There should be more direct involvement of santris in the curriculum decision-making process to ensure that the curriculum enacted meets their expectations and interests. An extensive communication process through regular and open dialogue, for example, is needed. Considering the real situation in this pesantren, more open communication between the kyai, ustadz, and santris can be established by empowering the roles of konsul (the santris representative board). Yet, this board should not be taken by the kyai and ustadzs as an information centre only. This board could also facilitate the communication amongst santris.

If the JIHSOP curriculum is implemented, some points should be taken into account. There should be an approach to the ustadzs who might disagree with this curriculum in order to avoid conflict between the ustadzs and santris. The santris will need continuous encouragement and support. There should be a comprehensive consideration of the human resources who will teach this curriculum. Employing university graduate santris to teach this curriculum, as they have planned to do, is a temporary solution, but later on, these santris might leave the pesantren at any time.

8.2.2 Recommendations for further research

The above conclusions imply some points for further investigation.

It would be illuminating and interesting to investigate further, in a more specific study, the negotiation processes that result from the tension between the two forces: retaining the traditions and accommodating societal changes. More interestingly, how the leadership plays its role in the negotiation processes could also be explored. So far, research on this matter has just come to a conclusion that there is a process of negotiation, but I have not considered how the process took place.
The relationship between professional development and the curriculum processes is also in need of investigation in the case of the two types of *pesantren*. What types of professional development improve curriculum outcomes? The case of the *pesantrens*, with their unique features, might be different to that of common schools.

Overall, the involvement of the key stakeholders in both *pesantrens* basically needs to be more extensive so that a more collaborative curriculum development could be enhanced in a more systematic and structured approach. Both *pesantrens*’ curriculum decision-makers also need to consider the goals and directions of Islamic education and the demands of the immediate society. So, they can ensure that the education process in the *pesantrens* can produce Muslims who have integrated personality and strong commitment to the religion. This is vital because the inevitable cultural penetration from ‘outside’ (read: the West) through globalisation might bring along bad influences on their personality.

Now, it is clear that for the first time it has been articulated who are involved in the curriculum development process in the two types of *pesantren*, *salafi* (traditional) and *khalafi* (modern), how the curriculum is developed, and the distinctions found in the two enacted curricula. This study surely contributes to providing comprehensive information about such aspects of *pesantren*, and extending the literature in the field.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


*Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren*


APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Number of *Ustadz* & Educational Backgrounds in Pesantrens A & B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pesantren</th>
<th>Pesantren (Non-Formal Educ.) Graduates</th>
<th>Non-Pesantren (Formal Educ.) University Graduates</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In-Country Grads</td>
<td>Overseas Grads</td>
<td>In-Country Grads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (male division)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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</table>

---

79 No document was found regarding the data of the number of *ustadz* and their educational backgrounds in the female division in Pesantren A. This number includes *ustadz* of the government curriculum.
### Appendix 2

#### NUMBER OF PESANTREN A’S SANTRIS

(a) Adapted from official document of the Pesantren A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grade 1</td>
<td>Grade 2</td>
<td>Grade 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliyah</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>281</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajhizy</td>
<td>637</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>1259</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

(2) SANTRIS UNDERTAKING OPTIONAL (GOVERNMENT) PROGRAMS

<table>
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<th>Grades</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Aliyah</td>
<td>Tsanawiyah</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

594 = 39.1%  955 = 76%

(3) Appendix 3

(4)

(5) Number of Pesantren B’s Santris

Adapted from interview with Ustadz Faiz (10 October, 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>869 (75%)</th>
<th>289 (25%)</th>
<th>1157 (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>4-6 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) Number of Years-Classified Santris

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80 This pesantren did not have any document about santris’ classification on any basis. The information in the table was merely based on Ustadz Faiz’s guess, except for the total number of santris.
Appendix 4

(7) The Typical Configuration of the Classroom Setting in Pesantrens A & B

**In classroom Pesantrens A & B**

![Diagram of classroom setup]

**In Ustadz’s House or Musholla in Pesantren B**

![Diagram of Ustadz’s house or Musholla setup]
1. Setting of the classroom
2. Opening Session
3. CORE SESSION
   - Instruction topics/lessons; explanations, responses to santris questions,
   - Methods of instruction; lecturing, discussion etc.
   - Assessment and evaluation; feedback during sessions, assessment techniques.
   - Encouragement, reinforcement
   - Improvisations; all actions by Ustadz that are not in the written curriculum
     ➢ Constructive
     ➢ DESTRUCTIVE
4. Closing session; concluding, greeting
5. Gestures
   - How they pay attention, get bored, concentrate etc.
(9) Pesantren General Observation Guide

SETTINGS:
1. Setting of the Pesantrens

PARTICIPANTS: Age, Gender, Social Class, Ethnicity, Dress, Interactions or Behaviour
1. The Leaders
2. Ustadzs
3. Santris

EVENTS:
Ustadzs' office/staff room daily event:
• Coming and going
• Greetings
• Interactions amongst Ustadzs & the Kyais

Extra Curricular Events:
• Religious activities
• Sports, etc.

(10) Kyai Interview Guide

(11) Curriculum development process
1. How do you develop this pesantren curriculum?
2. In your opinion, can you find some principles in the Quran and al-Sunnah that underpin Islamic education?
3. To what extent do you consider such principles in developing the curriculum of this pesantren?
4. What do you think about changes that have been happening in the society nowadays?
5. Do you also consider those changes in the curriculum development of this pesantren? To what extent?
6. In your opinion, what does the society demand from this pesantren?
7. To what extent do you consider the demands in developing the curriculum?
8. In developing the curriculum, what steps do you take? Can you explain?
9. What do you consider in the planning stage of the curriculum development? Can you give me some reasons?
10. What considerations, in your opinion, were taken in developing this curriculum?
11. In your opinion, how do ustadz understand about this pesantren’s curriculum?

The goals of the curriculum:

12. What do you think are the goals of this pesantren curriculum?
13. Are the goals already written in this pesantren curriculum? How do you interpret these goals in your policies and decisions in managing this pesantren?
14. What do you think are the principles underpinning such goals?

Curriculum content & structure:

15. Why should this existing curriculum be structured like it is? Any special considerations?
16. Are all the subjects in this pesantren compulsory for santris to take?
17. In general, what is the content of the subjects?
18. Which subjects are given higher priority in terms of the allocated time, resources, staffing, etc? Can you explain the reasons for that?
20. In the society, we frequently face some religious problems, and they have to be solved. Do you think the pesantren graduates should take the responsibility to solve such problems?

21. If so, in order for the santris to have the ability to solve the problems, what kind of skills do santris have to possess? And how do you teach these skills?

22. Are there any other skills (e.g. communication, thinking skills) that are important to teach across the subjects?

23. Do you adopt some (parts of) curriculum from other educational agents, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs or Ministry of National Education?

24. To what extent do you adopt that? And what for?

25. In addition to the formal curriculum, what extra curricula does this pesantren offer?

The implementation of the curriculum:

26. How do you put the planned curriculum into action?

27. How many subjects are taught in each grade?

28. On what basis have you chosen certain subject for certain grades?

29. How do you select ustadzs for teaching the subjects? What are the selection criteria?

30. What are the challenges and problems in implementing the curriculum?

31. How do you deal with them?

32. Are any of the planned aspects modified by the ustadzs when implemented? Which ones? How?

33. Does this pesantren follow the national academic calendar? Why?

34. How many schooling days does this pesantren use?

35. How many hours a day?

36. Is there any difference in terms of learning hours between lower grades and upper grades? Why?

37. What do you think are the factors that affect curriculum implementation?

The evaluation of the curriculum:

38. How do you determine the candidates to be santris in your pesantren? Are there any requirements?
39. Do you have regular assessment on your santris’ progress? How is it like?
40. What aspects of the santris’ progress do you assess?
41. Has the santris’ progress that you have evaluated brought about any changes the whole program of the pesantren?
42. Do you think this curriculum and its implementation so far have achieved the purpose of the Pesantren curriculum?
43. How do you know this?
44. Do you have regular meetings with your staff in order to evaluate the curriculum?
45. In what ways do you evaluate the curriculum?
46. As far as you know, how is the implementation of the curriculum going?
47. Is the implementation of the curriculum in accordance with the plan?
48. In what ways is the curriculum working well at the moment?
49. Do you think the current curriculum can reach the purpose of the pesantren?
50. How might the curriculum be improved?

(a) The curriculum leadership

51. What is your role in developing the curriculum? Can you explain it?
52. Do your staff take part in curriculum development?

53. IN WHAT WAYS DO YOUR STAFF BECOME INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS?

54. Do you have regular meetings with the staff and santris to talk about a wide range of issues regarding educational activities in this pesantren?
55. Do you also involve parents and other community members in the curriculum decision-making? How do you do that?
56. If so, why do you do that? What changes have occurred through this process?

Santris expectations of the curriculum:

57. What do you think are santris’ expectations of the curriculum of this pesantren?
58. Why do you think so?
59. In what ways do you think the curriculum has accommodated the santris’ expectations?
Questions:
1. Questions about educational, economical, and occupational background.

Curriculum development process:
2. How is the curriculum of this pesantren developed?
3. Are you involved in that development? In what way are you involved?
4. How do you develop the curriculum you teach?
5. Can you explain the steps undertaken in that development?
6. Why do you think you should follow or take those steps?
7. What considerations have you taken into account in developing your curriculum?

Curriculum Goals:
8. What do you think are the goals of this pesantren curriculum?
9. Have the goals been written in this pesantren curriculum?
10. What do these goals mean to you? And how do you interpret these goals?
11. What do you think are the beliefs or values underpinning such goals?
12. Do you generate learning objectives or outcomes from the goals? Why?

Curriculum content & structure:
13. Who designs the overall curriculum of this pesantren?
14. How was it decided?
15. Who designs each part of the curriculum within the subjects?
16. Do you have an authority to plan or design the curriculum or subject you teach? To what extent?
17. What subject(s) do you teach?
18. What is the content of the subjects?
20. In the society, we have frequently been faced with some religious problems, and they have to be solved. Do you think this pesantren graduates should play roles to solve such problems?

21. If so, in order for the santris to have the ability to solve the problems, what kind of skills do they have to possess? And how do you teach those skills?

22. Are there any other skills (communication, thinking skills) that are important to teach across the subjects?

23. Is some (part of the) subject that you teach adopted from other educational agents such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs or Ministry of National Education?

24. If so, to what extent?

25. In addition to the formal curriculum, what extra curricula does the pesantren offer?

Curriculum implementation:

26. What is your preparation each time you teach?

27. Do you usually have a lesson plan each time you teach?

28. Is the plan usually written?

29. What aspects do you include in your lesson plan?

30. Do you set up learning objectives for each lesson?

31. Do you always consider the lesson objectives of the curriculum every time you teach?

32. Do you think it is important to follow the written curriculum? Can you give me some reasons?

33. To what extent do you think you should follow the written curriculum?

34. In your opinion, how do you think santris learn best?

35. Does this have an impact on your teaching strategies?

36. What methods and strategies do you usually use in your teaching?

37. What considerations do you take in choosing a method in your teaching activities?

38. In your teaching, do you ask santris questions? How do you do that?

39. Do your santris usually give you responses?

40. What do you say or do if your santris can give you the expected answers?

41. What do you say or do if your santris cannot give you the expected answers?

42. Do you encourage your santris to ask you questions? How do you do that and when?
43. Do they usually ask you questions voluntarily during the class?
44. How do they vary in their questions?
45. How do you respond to their questions?

Curriculum evaluation and improvement:
46. How do you assess the santri’s learning progress?
47. What aspects do you think are important to assess? Why?
48. Is this assessment one of the ways by which you evaluate the curriculum or lesson you teach?
49. Do you have certain methods to evaluate the curriculum and its implementation?
50. Why do you think the subject(s) you are teaching now should be taught in this pesantren?
51. In what ways should the curriculum be improved? Why? How?
52. What do you think are the challenges for the improvement? Why?

Factors influencing the curriculum and its implementation:
53. What factors do you think influence this pesantren’s curriculum?
54. In what way do they influence? To what extent?
55. What do you think are the factors affecting the curriculum implementation?
56. Do you have any problems in teaching the subject?
57. Do your santri, in terms of their behaviour, background, difference of intelligence, and ability, affect you in implementing the curriculum? If so, to what extent?
58. Do you have another job other than teaching in this pesantren? Why so?
59. Does it affect you in terms of the curriculum implementation? In what ways?
60. What are the difficulties in implementing the curriculum?
61. How do you cope with them?
62. Is there (do you know) any kitab(s) that you make as guidelines in your teaching process? If so, can you mention it?
63. In general, what is the content of the kitab? What do you think of that kitab?
64. Do you follow what the kitab says in the teaching-learning process? Why? To what extent?
Santris’ expectations:

65. What do you think are santris’ expectations of the curriculum of this pesantren?
66. Why do you think so?
67. Do you think the curriculum does accommodate the santris’ expectations?
Appendix 9

Santris Questionnaire and Interview Guide

(i) SANTRIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: ___________________ Grade: ________________

Age: ___________________ Parent’s Occupation: ________________

Gender: __________________ Place of Origin: ________________

Education before entering this pesantren: ________________

date: 

Code: 

Questionnaire Number:
Directions:

Answer each question in the space below it, and provide as many explanations as you can!

Questions:

1. After finishing your study in this *pesantren*, what do you hope to do?

2. Can you explain why?

3. What do you expect from this schooling?

4. Do you think the program or activities here in this *pesantren* meet your expectations?

5. What is the best thing about attending this *pesantren*?

6. In your learning experience, what do you dislike from learning and teaching process as a whole?
Questions:

Santris’ expectations:
1. Why did you choose this pesantren?
2. What are your hopes and expectations after finishing your study in this pesantren?
3. What drives you to have these expectations?
4. What do you do to meet these expectations?
5. In terms of programs of this pesantren, what do you expect from them?
6. Do you think the programs accommodate your expectations?
7. Why do you think so?
8. When you finish your study here, you go back to your society. For example, there is a religious problem in your society that needs to be solved. How do you think you can solve that problem?
9. Do the lessons of this pesantren develop your ability or skills in order you to solve problems? Can you explain?
10. Are you comfortable of being a santri here? Why?

Curriculum implementation:

11. As far as you are concerned, how are the programs or learning-teaching activities in this pesantren implemented? Can you explain?
12. Do you think the implementation needs to be improved? In what ways?

Curriculum leadership & evaluation:

13. What do you think of the leadership here in this pesantren?
14. What do you think of the teaching and learning here in this pesantren?
15. What do you expect from the leader?
16. What do you expect from ustadzs?
17. In your experience, have the leader or ustadzs asked you, or other santris, about your expectations of this pesantren?
18. Have you or other santris told the leader or ustadzs about your expectations of this pesantren?
19. Are you assessed regularly in terms of your study progress in this pesantren?

20. Have you been involved in talking about programs here? In what ways? Questionnaire, discussion?
Curriculum design
Curriculum goals
Curriculum content & structure
Curriculum implementation
  • Time table
  • Time allocated
  • Ustadz & subjects
  • Academic calendar

CURRICULUM EVALUATION
  • Time-table for meeting regarding curriculum
  • Minutes of the meetings.
  • Copies of test or assessment materials: formative, summative, etc.

CURRICULUM DOCUMENTS FROM OTHER AGENTS
EXTRA-CURRICULA DOCUMENTS
NUMBER OF SANTRIS WITH THEIR BACKGROUNDS & USTADZS DOCUMENT
THE STRUCTURE OF THE PESANTREN ORGANISATION
Classroom Observation Fieldnotes

Name of Ustadz: Bakir (Pesantren B)

Kitab: Tafsir Jalalayn (Quranic Exegesis)

Time: 02:15 – 03:00pm

Location: His Room

I came to his house after having lunch together with him. When we were coming, some santris were waiting for him with a very respectful manner. The santris came to his room after us. They sat in a half circle with the Ustadz at the centre. All were sitting including me. The santris were only looking at their kitab as if they did not dare to look at the Ustadz. There were 13 santris attending this class.

Ustadz began the lesson by reciting the chapter of al-Fatihah, followed by the santris. This is an Islamic tradition that every beginning of a lesson should commence with this chapter of al-Qur’an. This is for the lesson to be easily understood and blessed. The Ustadz recited some verses of al-Qur’an. The santris listened carefully; one of them was using a fan. The weather was rather hot that afternoon. After reciting some verses, the Ustadz reviewed the last lesson. He said: “Iblis (devil) did not bow himself before Adam because there was an envy in his heart and this led to arrogance. Therefore, it is prohibited to be envious and arrogant”.

Then he recited some more verses, then translated into the local language. He read the texts explaining the verses, then explained the meaning. Reading, translating, and explaining the meaning were his methods throughout his teaching. While the Ustadz was reading and translating the texts, the santris took notes at the edge of their kitab pages. Sometimes they put syakl at the end of each word and put the literal meaning under it. Sometimes the Ustadz was pausing for a second and mentioned God’s name.
The Ustadz then explained the truth of why Adam ate the forbidden fruit. It was not because Adam committed a sin and being seduced by the devil, but it was because of the will of Allah. God already promised to send (create) mankind to be a vicegerent on earth. So, all were with the will of God.

The Ustadz explained the lessons based on the texts he just read. He urged the santris to have pious heart. Advice about inner characteristics (sufistic values) was frequently given an emphasis during teaching. The hot weather made some santris feel sleepy. The Ustadz noticed this, and said: “we are going a bit more”.

Then the Ustadz read the next sentences, translated, and explained. He advised the santris not to think negatively of what seemed to be hard, because it will be good and easy at last. We have to positively think about God and his wills.

He finished the lesson with prayers for the knowledge received to be blessed.

During such lesson there is no questions either from the Ustadz or from the santris. Although there was only one way communication, his explanation was clear and easy to understand.
Appendix 12

(16) An Excerpt of Transcribed Interviews of Ustadz Bakir

Q: Where did you graduate?
A: From this pesantren.

Q: How long have you been teaching here?
A: More than 10 years.

Q: Do you work other than teaching here?
A: No.

Q: What do you think of the curriculum development in this pesantren?
A: According to the late founder, it is enough for santris to learn one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. According to him, the ability of human being is limited. So, to be successful is not to be interfered with other activities.

Q: Why should the existing kitabs be taught in this pesantren?
A: According to the late founder, this pesantren aims to learn the religion through its original language [Arabic]. To do this, we therefore teach Arabic grammar and inflection. Fiqh, tauhid, and other subjects are taught after such Arabic subjects.

Q: Is it possible for an ustadz to teach a new kitab?
A: Yes, but we will have a meeting to discuss it.

Q: What decisions are like in such a meeting?
A: They are about many things like planning programs, determining commencing date, etc.

Q: Are you always involved in meetings?
A: There are two kinds of meeting: general and limited. I usually attend the general meetings, the limited meetings are for limited ustadzs.
Q: What do you think the aims of this pesantren are?

A: Besides teaching the religion in its original language, the ultimate goal is to produce Muslims who are in service to God and society. To be able to serve the society, English is taught here. We used to have an English program too, but because the teacher was from outside and he expected salary while we have no funding for that, we failed.

Q: Was there a meeting prior to the introduction of the current English program?

A: Yes, but in later development, the program coordinator involved also the beginning santris in learning English. This is in disagreement with the initial deal.

Q: Do you generate objectives each time you teach?

A: All the kitabs we teach here are in the direction to reach the general aim. So we do not necessarily need to generate objectives for each lesson.

Q: What do you think underpins the general aim?

A: It is from al-Quran, like “I have not created the Jinn and human but for serving me”. And one way to create the serving human is through education.

Q: Do you plan the lesson before you teach?

A: Yes, but just in my head. It is like reviewing other kitabs for enrichment. But in the implementation it does not match what I have planned.

Q: Why?

A: For example, when I teach there are other things that I have to emphasise even though this is not in my plan. But, it just comes to my mind. Usually it is about the santris’ akhlak (morals).

Q: What kitab do you teach?

A: Mutammimah [Arabic grammar kitab], but this is the second time for the same santris. The first time is to emphasise memorisation, not understanding. I also teach Risalah mu’awanah [akhlaq/morals kitab], tafsir [Quranic exegesis], and Arba’in Nawawiyah [kitab of the Prophet’s traditions collection about akhlak].

Q: You do not teach the primary kitabs?
A: No, after I was sick.

Q: What do you think of usbul al-fiqh subject and other methodological subjects?

A: According to my previous ustadzs, those who learn fiqh should also learn usbul al-fiqh, as well as regarding badits and tafsir.

Q: What for such methodological subjects are taught?

A: Usbul al-fiqh contains the rules and principles of issuing laws. We learn this subject to understand comprehensively the processes of issuing (istinbath) laws.

Q: Do you think by mastering this subject, a santri may be able to solve some religious problems?

A: For that purpose we provide the subject “qawa'id al-fiqhiya” (the rules of fiqh). When there are some problems arising that the answers may not be found in fiqh kitabs, we will refer to “qawa'id” (the rules) which are made based on al-Qur’an and the Prophet’s Traditions.

Q: Do you think it is important for santris to participate in solving problems in the society?

A: We suggest them first to let the village’s Muslim scholars (ulama) to solve, but if there were no ulama, they can do so.

Q: Is there any critical thinking skill taught to santris?

A: Yes, it is taught so that the santris do not take for granted what the ustadzs say. For example, the Ustadz read the text in a grammatical way, the santris should be critical and ask a question ‘why he read in such a way?’

Q: In teaching, do you often use question-answer technique?

A: Usually, santris who graduated from formal secondary education are critical. Even not given a chance, they will ask. If the santris are passive, I urge them to ask questions. But, if my explanation is already clear, they will not ask.

Q: Can you give me an example?
A: In the subject ‘tafsir’ (Quranic exegesis), there is hardly any question from santris. In fiqh, there are many. In tafsir, if there are questions, usually about grammar and meanings of some difficult words.

Q: Is there discussion method in teaching?

A: No, here is only mudzakarah once a week among santris. They review the lessons and ask orally or in writing some questions if they do not understand.

Q: What do you prepare each time you teach?

A: In teaching tashrif (Arabic inflection), I prepare many more examples. In other kitabs, I just review some other sources for enrichment.

Q: Is such a plan written?

A: What I write only some verses of al-Quran, the number of chapter and verses.

Q: Do you think it is important to follow thoroughly the texts?

A: It depends on the ustadzs. Some ustadzs just read what are written. I think we should give advice to santris as the late founder urged. Then, I also look at the santris, so that I know the santris’ behaviours during teaching. Some ustadzs even do not look at the santris in teaching because of fear of being judgmental to the santris.

Q: Do you usually reach the target of the curriculum?

A: Here, we set the minimum time [for primary curriculum]. For instance, tashrif should be minimally finished within three months. Some of the santris cannot finish it by the end of the third month.

Q: Why some cannot be finished within the minimum time?

A: The problem is with santris. They are not good intellectually.

Q: What do you think is the best way for santris to learn?

A: We already formed a group of 13 older santris to assist younger santris in learning. But this does not work well because of lack of control from Ustadzs.

Q: What methods usually do you use in teaching?
A: For *tasbîr*, memorisation, not understanding. For other *kitâbs*, usually reading and explaining.

Q: Is there an examination during the term?
A: Yes, for the primary *kitâbs* we conduct examinations for *santris* until the *kitâb* 'fath al-mu’în’.

Q: How do you assess the *santri*’s progress?
A: I first look at their academic achievement on the subjects: in memorisation-based subjects I look at their memorisation.

Q: How do you assess the *santri*’s understanding?
A: Because I intensively interact with them, I just see from their faces to see whether they understand or not. To prove this, I ask them. After 2 or 3 meetings, we can conclude their ability of understanding.

Q: From such information, can you make judgements for the *santri*’s promotion?
A: Yes, I can predict that this santri will pass the exam, that santri will not.

Q: Besides the academic achievement, what else is assessed within your *santri*?
A: Nothing else. That is the only aspect we assess. Their *akhlak* cannot contribute to the judgments of the promotion. We believe here the higher *kitab* a santri learns, the better his *akhlak*.

Q: Does it mean the *santri*’s *akhlak* is always under close watch?
A: Yes, but it is not included in the assessment process.

Q: How do you watch the *santri*’s *akhlak*?
A: We just observe their behaviour everyday.

Q: Is the *santri* assessment result considered in the curriculum evaluation?
A: We usually consult with the colleagues about this. Then we change some strategies such as the question forms. We no longer ask *santris* difficult questions, but only easy ones.
Q: Do you have a strategy to evaluate your curriculum or instruction?

A: I usually see the santri situations. Sometimes, I have to be hard to them, some other times I have to be lenient.

Q: Do you think this pesantren curriculum could be improved?

A: First is regarding the methods of instruction. We have good knowledge about the contents, but we have no sufficient skills to impart them. We did not have training for this.

Second, not all santri have the chance to read during the sessions, because of limited time.

Q: What else do you think this curriculum could be improved?

A: I may not answer this [he paused for 4 minutes]. [But at last he answered]. Maybe this is about our system of teaching. We do not have the grading system like common pesantrens. So, this makes the learning processes too slowly. To change this system is impossible because this is what the late founder wanted.

Q: What problems did you find in the curriculum implementation and improvement?

A: I think a lack of ustaz cooperation is number one. This is because married ustaz are busy with other things, so they pay less attention to the santri. In watching santri, only we, unmarried ustaz, control the santri. Even, they do not advise the santri any more because of another job. This makes some santri dare to challenge the unmarried ustaz.

Also, in the case of instructional methods, some married ustaz no longer ask santri to read during the classroom. So there is no uniformity.

Q: What factors do you think influence you in teaching?

A: First, many santri get sleepy during the class. Second, bad akhlak of santri sometimes bother me. For example, some santri pay less respect to ustaz.

Q: What problems do you find in teaching?

A: The santri’ attention to the lesson seems to decrease now. When I ask a santri, and he cannot answer, his expression does not change. Usually, a good santri when he cannot
answer a question from the ustaz will be disappointed and this can be seen from his face’s expression.

Q: Do you think santris’ backgrounds influence the teaching processes?
A: Yes, old-aged santris cannot easily memorise lessons, while their understanding is good. Also, for me it is difficult to have variety of santris in one class.

Q: What is your guideline in teaching?
A: Nothing. I just saw the previous ustaz’s teaching styles. There is a kitab Ta’lim al-muta‘allim, but I just take my experiences as guideline.

Q: To what extent does such a kitab influence you in teaching?
A: It is mainly about akhlak. For example, a santri may not walk before ustaz. There are also some methods in the kitab to follow. The intention is that the knowledge we gain will be blessed.

Q: What do you think are the santris’ expectations of the curriculum?
A: I think the santris expect blessed knowledge which can save them in this world and hereafter.

Q: Do you think this curriculum already meets such an expectation?
A: Yes, as long as it is well implemented.
### Example of the Collapsed Category of Curriculum Content with the Quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Sub-Categories (Pesantren A)</th>
<th>Sub-Categories</th>
<th>Sub-Categories (Pesantren B)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data Collecting Methods/Quotes</td>
<td>Interview</td>
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• All ustads agreed that the emphasis of the curriculum is mastery of the *kitab kunings* particularly *fiqh*. So, secondary level graduates will master *kitab* 'fath al-qarib', and high level graduates will master 'fath al-mu'īn'. For the assessment, we conduct the oral examination on the *santri* mastery of the *kitabs*. We name it 'bahth al-kutub' (reading comprehension) (Ali).

• All ustads wish that the curriculum orientation is *fiqh*. Generally, the results indicate that they indeed master *fiqh*. For instance, majority of graduates who continue to IAIN [an Islamic university] chose Islamic Law as their major (Kyai A).

• Each *pesantren* has its own orientation. In this female division, I emphasise *akhlaq* as the orientation. So, we have here *kitabs* of *akhlaq*/*tasawwuf* concerning heart purification: how to behave properly in accordance with the Islamic teaching (Kyai AF).
Kitab kuning (pondok) curriculum is compulsory here. The first thing to teach to santris, besides fiqh, tauhid, and tasawwuf, is nahwu and sarf. After they understand these subjects, they will easily study other subjects (Kyai A).

All kitab kunings are compulsory to the santris, including extra curricular mostly held in musolla (Kyai A).

- We have talked about fiqh, tauhid, and tasawwuf as fardu 'ayn. Besides that, there are fardu kifaya knowledge. We provide this knowledge as we want to produce Islamic leaders or figures, so that their knowledge about fiqh will be deeper. For example, they are taught about qawa'id al-fiqhiya. Religious problems have been arising continuously nowadays. These new problems are not found in the fiqh kitabs, since these problems never happened (at the time the kitabs were being written).

Thus, santris should read Qawa'id al-Fiqh in order to solve the new coming problems. Also, we give them Ushul al-Fiqh so that they know the way to draw up the laws from al-Qur'an and the Hadits... etc. (Kyai B).

According to the late founder, this pesantren aims to learn the religion through its original language [Arabic]. To do this, we therefore teach Arabic grammar and inflection. Fiqh, tauhid, and other subjects are taught after such Arabic subjects (Bakir).
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<th>Timetable.</th>
<th>Optional Content</th>
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<td>• The curriculum has two types: pondok and government. Pondok is compulsory and government is optional. The government curriculum is the same as that in madrasah (common government Islamic pesantren) (Kyai AF).</td>
<td>• Because I viewed that our nation introduced the 9-year compulsory education for children. Later on, the society would have a secondary pesantren education level at minimum. So, our religious generation must be the same. Right now, our santris, the majority of them, only hold the elementary Pesantren certificate. Therefore, we have to supply them with other knowledge up to the high pesantren level. Besides Arabic and so on, they would study Math, natural sciences, and the like (Kyai B).</td>
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<td>• The JIHSOP is not a compulsory program. It is up to santris to undertake or not (Umar).</td>
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<td>• Besides teaching the religion through its original language, the ultimate goal is to produce Muslims who are in service to God and society. To be able to serve the society, English is taught here. We used to have an English program too, but because the teacher was from outside and expected salary while we have no funding for that, we failed (Bakir).</td>
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</table>
In this pesantren, skills taught to the santris are mainly concerned with religious practical skills such as speech, leading prayers (Ali).

Besides speech skills, we have bridal-make up, tailoring programs for santris (Kyai AF).

We used to have trading skill program for santris such as automotive repairs (Masri).

Today, I came to the pesantren at about 3:30 in the afternoon. I prayed Asr [afternoon prayer] in the musolla. All santris came to the musolla to perform the prayer. A santri, I think Grade 5 santri of Madrasa ‘Aliya, led the prayer.

So, these farmland related products, besides being the source of funding for the pesantren development, the farmland can also provide santris with the necessary agricultural skills to enable them to earn a living in the future (Kyai B).

During my time in this Pesantren, I always performed the obliged prayers in the musolla with Ustadz and santris. Different from the other Pesantren, here the Imam was an Ustadz.

In my room, I could hear santris’ speeches in muhadarah (speech exercises) just now. On one side, one of santris spoke about the prohibition of learning English because it is a kuffar language. He gave some arguments like ‘whoever imitates a group of people, s/he is among them’. On the other side, a santri, after the current santri finished his speech, came up with counter arguments in convincing that learning English is agreed in Islam, as well as other languages. He said that sciences and technology are mostly written in English. For Muslims not to be left behind, they have to learn such language of sciences and technology.

Timetable

Skills/Vocational programs

Timetable

Skills/Vocational programs

Timetable

Skills/Vocational programs

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Skills/Vocational programs

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Skills/Vocational programs

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Skills/Vocational programs

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Skills/Vocational programs

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Skills/Vocational programs

Timetable

Skills/Vocational programs

**Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren**

**218**
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Values</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am happy with the <em>ustadz</em> who teach here. They are generally sincere. This makes <em>santri</em> like staying in this pesantren for a long period of time (Kyai A).</td>
<td>When I teach, I always put morals (akhlaq) on the top priority. The main goal is akhlaq. Bit by bit I include the values of morals to my <em>santri</em> during my teaching (Usamah).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The older <em>ustadz</em> have a cleaner heart. They are terribly sincere, and they never complain whether they are paid or not (Kyai AF).</td>
<td>For example, when I teach there are other things that I have to emphasise even though this is not in my plan. But, it is just across my mind. Usually it is about the <em>santri</em> akhlaq (morals) (Bakir).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think morals or <em>akhlaq</em> are important. I sometimes include the values of akhlaq when I am teaching. For example, when a santri does not respect me, I say to her that respecting <em>ustadz</em> and not being arrogant are important (Hanna).</td>
<td>I emphasise more on akhlaq. So I often tell stories about the virtues of akhlaq. (Abbas).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tasawwuf</em> is concerned with heart matters—how we keep our hearts from feeling arrogance, showing off, and other bad manners. Having these values, some <em>ustadz</em> feel that they are not terribly qualified to teach other people. Because of this, I have not seen any improvement in their teaching. They avoid the discussion method in teaching because they believe that this method will make the <em>santri</em> show off their skills. So, it is not purely for God (Kyai A).</td>
<td>When I first came here, I was really surprised with the fact that the <em>ustadz</em> are not paid for their teaching. I can imagine how <em>mukhlis</em> (sincere) they are (Fitri: a <em>santri</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Santri</em> and <em>ustadz</em> are very <em>mukhlis</em> (sincere), teaching without payment. Have you found teachers like them in common pesantrens? Do you think they will teach without salary? (Syakir: a <em>santri</em>).</td>
<td>The <em>ustadz</em> here are very <em>mukhlis</em> (sincere), teaching without payment. Have you found teachers like them in common pesantrens? Do you think they will teach without salary? (Syakir: a <em>santri</em>).</td>
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<tr>
<td>By <em>tasawwuf</em> [teachings], we clean their hearts. I see that people today like cleaning the outer personality (performance) only without any attention to the inner characteristics. They will face the bad ending in their lives (dying without the true faith) (Kyai B).</td>
<td>By <em>tasawwuf</em> [teachings], we clean their hearts. I see that people today like cleaning the outer personality (performance) only without any attention to the inner characteristics. They will face the bad ending in their lives (dying without the true faith) (Kyai B).</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Plain Language Statement

The University of Melbourne

Department of Learning and Educational Development

The title of this project:

Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren

a comparative case study of the curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan

Principal Investigators:

1. Dr Gaell M Hildebrand  ph: 61-3-8344 8442  fax: 61-3-9347 2468

2. ASS. PROF. DR ABDULLAH SAEED  PH: 61-3-8344 6861  FAX: 61-3-9349 3472

Other Investigator:

Raihani phone: 61-3-8344 8222

This project aims to compare the curriculum development processes in two Pesantrens in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. You are invited to participate in this study. We will collect data in the following ways:

1. An interview taking about 45 minutes with the leader/principal, (kyai);

2. An interview taking about 45 minutes with several teachers and also follow-up classroom observation of these teachers;

3. A written survey taking 15 minutes by students, and for some selected students, also an interview of about 30 minutes;

4. General observations of the school environment will be recorded in fieldnotes and we will collect examples of curriculum documents.
You are invited to participate in this project on the understanding that:

1. Your participation is fully voluntary
2. Student grades will not be affected at all by this study, whether they choose to participate or not.
3. Any process in the data collection is subject to your consent
4. We would like to audio-tape the interviews, with your permission.
5. You are free to withdraw your consent at any time
6. You are free to withdraw any unprocessed data that you have supplied
7. Your information will remain confidential, and you remain anonymous, subject to legal requirements
8. If you have any complaints concerning this project, you may contact the persons above or the Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics, The University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010, fax: 61-3-9347 6883; ph: 61-3-8344 7507.

The data of this research will be stored in a secure place at the Department of Learning and educational Development, The University of Melbourne, Australia.

*Thank you for considering this project.*
THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Department of Learning and Educational Development

Student Consent Form

Name of student: _____________________________________________________

Project title:

Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren:  
*a comparative case study of the curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan*

Name of investigator(s): Dr Gaell Hildebrand, Associate Professor Dr Abdullah Saeed, and Raihani

1. I consent to participate in the above project, the particulars of which have been explained to me, especially the fact that my grades will not be affected by this study.

2. I authorise the investigator or his or her assistant to use with me the survey and interview referred to under (1) above.

3. I acknowledge that:
   a) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied;
   b) The project is for the purpose of research;
   c) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
   d) I consent to the interview being tape-recorded.

Signature ____________________________ Date ____________________________

(santri)

I consent to the participation of ____________________________ in the above project.

Signature ____________________________ Date ____________________________

(Signature of parent or guardian)

Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren
THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Department of Learning and Educational Development

Kyai Consent Form

Name of the leader: ____________________________________________________

Project title: Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren: a comparative case study of the curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan

Name of investigator(s): Dr Gaell Hildebrand, Associate Professor Dr Abdullah Saeed, and Raihani

1. I consent to participate in the above project, which has been explained to me.

2. I authorize the investigator or his or her assistant to carry out the observations, questionnaire, and interviews referred to in the information given to me.

3. I acknowledge that:
   a) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied;
   b) The project is for the purpose of research;
   c) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
   d) I consent to the interview being tape-recorded.
   e) I recognise that because there are only 2 schools used in this study, it is simply possible that I may be identifiable as the leader of one of them.

Signature Date

(kyai)
Name of teacher: ____________________________________________________

Project title:

**Curriculum Construction in the Indonesian Pesantren:**

*a comparative case study of the curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan*

Name of investigator(s): Dr Gaell Hildebrand, Associate Professor Dr Abdullah Saeed, and Raihani

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   d) I consent to the interview being tape-recorded.
ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PESANTREN A

(i) Appendix 15

FOUNDATION

= commanding line

= coordinating line

Kyais of Male/Female Divisions

Headmasters of Government Curricula

Head of Islamic College

Some Structural Sections e.g. education section

Some Structural Sections e.g. education section

Ustadzs

Santris’ organisations

Lecturers

College Students

Some Structural Sections
This organisational structure is adapted from some interviews since there was no single document indicating this. The grey boxes indicate that they are not studied in this research.

There was no indication that there is coordination between the kyai and head of college, and between headmasters and head of college.
Appendix 16

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PESANTREN B

Extracted from board display in the office

- The Late Founder
- The Current Kyai
- Deputy
- Secretary
- General
- Administration
- Santris Affairs
- Santri
- Dorm Leaders
- Konsul Leaders
- Public Relations
- Sport/Health
- Cleaning Service
- Education
- Library
- Financial
- Security
- Cooperation

: Commanding Line
Appendix 17

INDONESIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM
Adapted from the National Education System Law No. 2/1989

http://www.pdk.go.id/SysEducation
Vocational Education (3 y) -> Special Education (3 y)

Islamic Senior Secondary School (MA) (3 y)
Appendix 18

(19) An Example of Lesson Unit Plan in the Government Curriculum in Pesantren A

The Translation of Satuan Pelajaran (Satpel) or Lesson Unit Planning

Subject: Bahasa Indonesia  Lesson Unit: Writing

Sub-Unit:

• Formal and informal letters in different occasions.
• Self-experiences

Grade/Quarter: 2/2  Allocated time: one session

I. Instructional Goal:

• *Santris* understand the types of written languages.

II. Instructional Objectives:

• *Santris* are able to write both formal and informal letters well.
• *Santris* are able to write their self-experiences interestingly.

III. Learning Activities:

• Approach: Communicative
• Methods: Lecturing and Assignment
• Time Allocated:
  ➢ Opening activity: Giving motivation (10 minutes)
  ➢ Core activity: Lecturing and Assignment
  ➢ Closing activity: Conclusion
### TIMETABLE FOR MA'S CURRICULUM  
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<td>kimia</td>
<td>B. Inggris</td>
<td>Ekonomi</td>
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</table>
Appendix 21

Example of a *Kitab Kuning* Page

Extracted from *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* by al-Syaikh al-Zarnuji
The Translation of An Excerpt of *Kitab Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*

Chapter in respecting knowledge and the owner

Know that the knowledge seeker will not gain the knowledge nor be able to get and give benefits with the knowledge except by respecting it and the owner, and also by respecting the *ustadż*. It has been said that no one can gain the knowledge except by respect, and that no one can lose except by ignoring respect. And it was said that respect is more valuable than obedience. Do you see that human being becomes infidel not because of doing sins, but of ignoring respect?

Of respecting knowledge is respecting the teacher. ‘Ali (one of the Prophet’s disciples) said: I am a slave of one who teaches me a single letter. If he wants he sells me, and if he wants he keeps me.

Our *ustadż* Syaiikh Imam Sadid al-Din al-Syairazy said: our *ustadż* said whoever wants his child to be an ‘alim (a scholar), he should look after the strangers of ulama, respect them and obey them. If not his child, his grand child would become an ‘alim.

Of respecting knowledge is not walking in front of *ustadż*, not sitting on his place, not beginning a word before him but with his permission, not saying too many things before him, not asking questions when he looks tired, not knocking his door but being patient until he goes out. Thus, a student must seek the pleasure of the *ustadż*, and avoid his anger, obey his commands so long as not to commit sins. This is because no obedience to creatures for disobedience to the Creator.

Of respecting the teacher is respecting his sons and his relatives. Our *ustadż* Syaiikh Burhanuddin told us that one of our leaders in Ghaza studied in a majlis (forum). He stood up for a while during the majlis, he was then asked about that (why did he stand up). He said: ‘my *ustadż*’s son was playing in the garden, so whenever I saw him I would stand up for respecting my *ustadż*. 
**Appendix 23**

(23) Table of *Kyai* Leading *Pesantrens* A & B

### Pesantren A (male division):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kyai</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1976 (6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1976-1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1989 (6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1989-1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1990-1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>The current Kyai (A)</td>
<td>1991-now</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Pesantren A (female division):

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Nyai</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1984-1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The current Kyai (AF)</td>
<td>1989-now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pesantren B:

| The late founder | 1958-1995 |
| The current Kyai | 1995-now |

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43 This table is adapted from some documents (Aduar, 2000; Al-Falah, 2000; Dahlan, 1997) from each *pesantren*. The names of all the *kyai* ever leading the *pesantrens* are pseudonyms.
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Title:
Curriculum construction in the Indonesian pesantren: a comparative case study of curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan

Date:
2001

Citation:

Publication Status:
Unpublished

Persistent Link:
http://hdl.handle.net/11343/38951

File Description:
Curriculum construction in the Indonesian pesantren: a comparative case study of curriculum development in two pesantrens in South Kalimantan

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