

Islamic Boarding School in the Trajectory of Indonesian History: Origins, Characteristics, and Policy Dynamics

*Ana Maulida Sabila¹, Syamsul Arifin², M. Nurul Humaidi³

^{1,2,3}Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, Jl. Raya Tlogomas No. 246, Malang, Indonesia
*anamaulida620@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: *Islamic boarding school as a local genius has a long history before it was finally integrated into the Indonesian national education system. This paper examines the existence, characteristics, and dynamics of government policies towards Islamic boarding schools. This research uses a historical qualitative approach by relying on a literature review for data sources (library research) and analyzed by the content analysis method. The results show that the existence of boarding schools is influenced by several factors, including adaptive, integrative, management, role, and function. The characteristics of an Islamic boarding school are reflected through its forming elements consisting of kiai, santri, mosque, dormitory, and the study of kitab kuning. Regarding policy dynamics, the harmonization of the relationship between education and politics can be seen through the need for education for state recognition and government policies in managing education according to its objectives. This research emphasizes that education is interested in and depends on state recognition, and conversely, the state has an interest in education to develop the potential of its citizens.*

Pesantren sebagai sebuah *local genius* memiliki sejarah yang panjang sebelum akhirnya diintegrasikan ke dalam sistem pendidikan nasional Indonesia. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji eksistensi, karakteristik, dan dinamika kebijakan pemerintah terhadap pesantren. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif historis dengan mengandalkan kajian literatur sebagai sumber data (*library research*) dan dianalisis dengan metode analisis isi (*content analysis*). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa eksistensi pesantren dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor, antara lain adaptif, integratif, manajemen, peran, dan fungsi. Karakteristik khas pesantren tercermin melalui elemen-elemen pembentuknya yang terdiri dari kiai, santri, masjid, asrama, dan pengajian *kitab kuning*. Terkait dengan dinamika kebijakan, harmonisasi hubungan antara pendidikan dan politik dapat dilihat melalui kebutuhan pendidikan akan pengakuan negara dan kebijakan pemerintah dalam mengelola pendidikan sesuai dengan tujuannya. Penelitian ini menekankan bahwa pendidikan berkepentingan dan bergantung pada pengakuan negara dan sebaliknya negara berkepentingan terhadap pendidikan untuk mengembangkan potensi warganya.

²  orcid id: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8207-0293>

Keywords: *Boarding School, Historical Trajectory Study, Characteristic, Policy Dynamics.*

Received: August 18, 2023; *Revised:* October 26, 2023; *Accepted:* January 7, 2024

I. INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools are a unique phenomenon in Indonesia and have contributed significantly to maintaining and expanding Islam in the country. Islamic boarding school, as an indigenous culture, has a long journey in the history of Indonesian education (Abdurrahman, 2020; Kosim et al., 2023; Makruf & Asrori, 2022). Factually, boarding schools as traditional educational institutions have contributed to the realization of national education goals, although there is a debate among historians regarding its early emergence (Arjiarna et al., 2020; Wathoni, 2020).

The existence of Islamic boarding schools today can be seen from the increase in their quantity as a response to the rise in public trust (Arief & Assya'bani, 2022; Ma'arif, 2019). Islamic boarding schools can adapt to changing times through the integration and modernization of systems as well as management, thus transforming their roles and functions (Isbah, 2020; Zulfikar et al., 2023). Islamic boarding schools cannot be underestimated and limited to its position as an educational institution but also in the social aspects of society at the same time (Saiin et al., 2020).

Islamic boarding school has characteristics that are fairly unique and distinctive as an educational institution. Five main elements characterize boarding school, namely *kiai*, *santri*, mosque, dormitory, and the study of classical Islamic books (Wathoni, 2020). In the traditional boarding school, classical books are better known as *kitab kuning*, which are taught directly by *kiai* to students using traditional methods (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). However, in its journey, boarding schools experienced differences in responding to modernization, giving birth to the *salaf* (traditional) and *khalaf* (modern) Islamic boarding school models.

Speaking of contributions to the nation and state, Islamic boarding schools not only act as centres of scientific transmission but also as centres of reproduction and regeneration of scholars (Arjiarna et al., 2020). Islamic boarding school is a representation of a local genius who has fundamental values and is committed to *tafaqquh fiddin* (Setyawan, 2019). However, its existence since the pre-independence era was considered not very important and was often treated discriminatively (Badrudin et al., 2018; Kosim et al., 2023).

The dynamics of Islamic boarding school policies after independence began with the proposal of the Central Indonesian National Committee Working Board (BPKNIP) to continue religious education that had taken place in dormitories, surau, and langar until the issuance of Law Number 4 of 1950 but was considered unable to accommodate the needs of boarding school as educational institutions (Badrudin et al., 2018).

It's not much different from the next period's policy. Islamic boarding school graduates are still underestimated and do not have a civil effect in the professional world (Wathoni, 2020). Hope for this recognition began to grow slowly through several policies until the passing of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning boarding schools was an affirmation of its existence as well as being able to strengthen *khidmat* in *tafaqquh*

fiddin, da'wah, empowerment of the people, and other aspects (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). Nevertheless, in its implementation, several things caused controversy among Muslims.

The study of Islamic boarding schools has an undeniable strategic value in understanding their existence, characteristics, and related policy dynamics. The existence of an Islamic boarding school, as a unique traditional Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, plays a vital role in maintaining the sustainability of Islamic culture and teachings. One of the uniqueness of Islamic boarding schools lies in its forming elements that other educational institutions do not have. In addition, the study of policy dynamics can be a reference material for formulating better and more sustainable policies in the context of education and religion in Indonesia.

II. METHOD

This paper is an Islamic boarding school study focusing on aspects of existence, characteristics, and policy dynamics using a qualitative and historical approach. The historical process critically evaluates historical sources based on guidelines and systematic principles to be presented in written form (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The historical approach in policy studies can be used to examine the background of certain phenomena. This is important to understand the context and origin of the birth of a policy. The data sources used in this research are divided into two categories, namely primary and secondary data sources. Preliminary data includes official documents such as laws, government regulations, and Minister of Religious Affairs (PMA) regulations related to Islamic boarding school policies. Secondary data consists of documentation in books, articles, and scientific publications related to the research focus. To analyze the data obtained, this research uses the content analysis technique, a systematic and objective approach to analyze the content of laws and regulations related to the dynamics of boarding school policies in Indonesia (Creswell, 2019).

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) noted 39 thousand Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia in 2023. All of these Islamic boarding schools educate 4.8 million students. According to the provinces, the most significant number of boarding schools is in West Java, with 12,121 units. East Java occupies the second position with 6,745 boarding schools (Emis PD-Pontren, 2023).

This article discusses three aspects of Islamic boarding schools in the long history of Indonesian education. *First*, the existence of boarding schools. *Second*, the characteristics of boarding schools include their forming elements and models or categories of boarding schools to date. *Third*, the dynamics of Islamic boarding school policies since the beginning of Indonesian independence until the issuance of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning boarding schools.

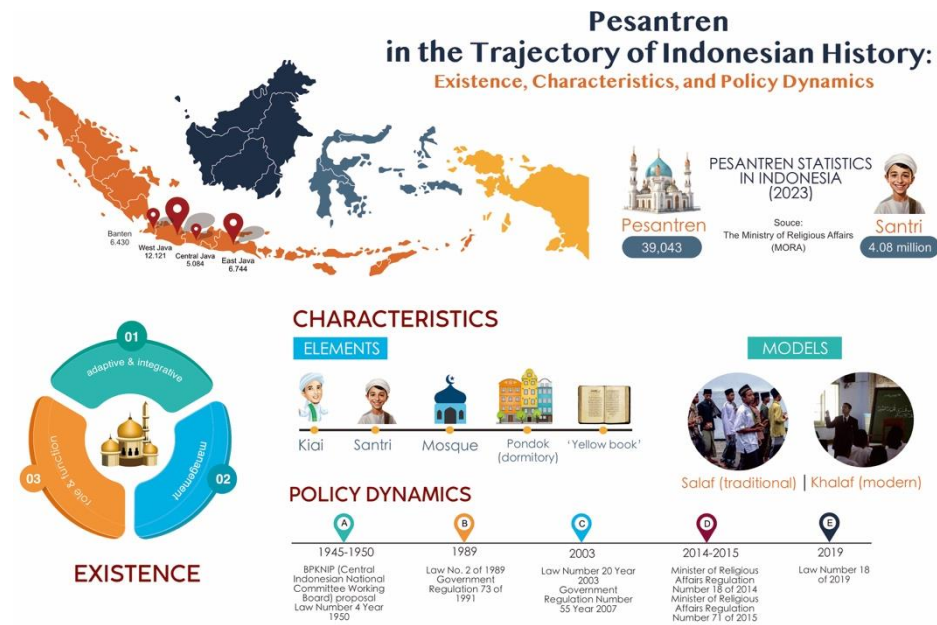


Figure 1. Islamic boarding school in the trajectory of Indonesian history

The Existence of Islamic Boarding School

Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia experienced significant development after the 1998 reform (Malik, 2023). Unlike the previous leadership when boarding schools were marginalized, today, thousands of boarding schools are spread throughout Indonesia as evidence of their existence. Some reasons related to the existence of Islamic boarding schools until now can be seen in the following three aspects.

First, adaptive and integrative. Islamic boarding schools can adapt to the times through efforts to integrate the modern school system into the boarding school education system (Ma'arif, 2019; Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). The integration has implications for the teaching of non-religious subjects in boarding schools to prepare graduates who are equivalent to public schools to be able to compete in the global era (Isbah, 2020; Zulfikar et al., 2023). Entering the 20th century, the term modern boarding school was first given to Gontor Islamic boarding school by the community because of its distinctive nature and characteristics, different from the traditional boarding school model that developed in the community (Zarkasyi, 2020). The modernization effort brought Gontor boarding school as a pioneer of modern Islamic boarding school as well as a driving factor in the existence of Gontor Islamic boarding school towards the age of a century.

Second, Islamic boarding school management (Arief & Assya'bani, 2022). In the leadership aspect, the kiai is a central figure with a very essential position. The skill of a kiai in running the wheels of boarding school leadership significantly affects the achievement of Islamic boarding school goals (Ikhwan et al., 2023). The Islamic boarding school organizational system that appears disproportionate in the division of labour between units but does not cause conflict in practice illustrates a family style of work that emphasizes human-oriented. The working relationship that occurs in the system is based on blessing, *ikhlas*, and worship. In addition, Islamic boarding schools as an educational institution should have financial independence. The management of funding sources needs to be done in an organized manner, including the development of sustainable waqf for the stability and productivity of boarding schools (Cahyo &

Muqorobin, 2019). Management modernization is an axis for boarding schools to continue to evaluate and adapt while maintaining their traditions (Chotimah et al., 2023).

Third, roles and functions. Islamic boarding schools, which exist to this day, not only act as educational institutions like schools and madrasas (Hidayat et al., 2018), but boarding schools also function as institutions that form social ethics in society (Zulfikar et al., 2023). Since its inception, boarding schools have inherent values in a democratic community and promote tolerance in a pluralistic society (Sainin et al., 2020). Of course, the role and function of boarding schools also depend on the kiai as the leading actor in internalizing values and shaping the social ethics of the community. For example, a kiai can provide an example of altruistic work, where he and the boarding school he fosters are not involved in politics or Islamic organizations but still obey government regulations by religious law (Karim et al., 2023).

In fact, given the majority muslim population in Indonesia, a study of faith-based morphology in Tebuireng Jombang shows that aspects of faith can influence city formation. The *ngalap barokah* tradition that thrives in the community becomes the primary basis for development planning and public space utilization (Fijriah & Ellisa, 2022). In the end, the existence of Islamic boarding schools has touched various aspects of social life in Indonesia.

Characteristics of Islamic Boarding School

Islamic boarding schools, as a model of traditional Islamic educational institutions, had a straightforward form at the beginning of its establishment (Setyawan, 2019). An *'alim* or kiai is the owner and caretaker of the boarding school. The Islamic boarding school environment generally consists of the kiai's house, a place of worship that also functions as a place of teaching, a boarding house where students live, a room for cooking, and a home or pool for ablution (Hidayat et al., 2018; Susilo & Wulansari, 2020). In general, the boarding school has five main elements, namely *kiai*, *santri*, mosque, dormitory, and the teaching of classical Islamic books (Wathoni, 2020).

In organizing their education, Islamic boarding schools do not have a written curriculum like schools. The orientation of boarding school education can be said to be in line with the kiai as the central figure in boarding school life (Ikhwan et al., 2023). The *santri* study Islamic knowledge, such as *tafsir*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, *nahwu*, *tawhid*, and *tasawwuf* which are the main subjects in Islamic boarding schools (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). The *nahwu* and *fiqh* materials receive a more significant portion, so it is not uncommon for boarding schools to be called *nahwu*-oriented or *fiqh*-oriented. The primary source of the reading is the *kitab turats*, which is better known as the *kitab kuning* (Badrudin et al., 2018).

Kitab kuning, as a characteristic of a boarding school, has at least three uniqueness. *First*, it can guarantee sequential, tiered, and complete learning because the book is like a ladder that cannot be continued before learning until it is finished. *Second*, it has a classification of knowledge and continuity or *sanad* to the Prophet that can be traced genealogically. *Third*, it accommodates a variety of institutionalized learning patterns. This is because the yellow learning method itself has its terms, such as *bandongan*, *sorogan*, *musyawarah* or *bahtsul masail*, and so on (Kemenag, 2022).

Learning activities are conducted in the mosque as one of the main elements of Islamic boarding schools and use traditional methods without an assessment and certification

system. The traditional methods commonly used are *sorogan* and *bandongan* or *wetonan*, where students listen to a teacher who is reading and reviewing the contents of the book (Hidayat et al., 2018). Until now, this method is still widely used in traditional boarding schools, characterized by the study of the *kitab kuning* (Isbah, 2020).

In general, Islamic boarding schools that are currently developing can be categorized into two, namely *salaf* (traditional) and *khalaf* (modern) Islamic boarding schools (Ma'arif, 2019). *Salaf* or traditional boarding schools are characterized by religious education and character development. The source of teaching comes from the kiai and the *kitab kuning*. The use of Arabic in the study of Islamic literature is still consistently used. Some of the works of Indonesian scholars are also written in Arabic, such as Kiai Akhmad Khatib Nawawi Banten and Kiai Makhfud Termas, who lived in Mecca, as well as scholars who lived in Indonesia, such as Kiai Ihsan Jampes from Kediri. However, traditional Islamic boarding schools tend to limit teaching innovation, especially in the curriculum (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022).

The early 19th century became a new chapter in boarding school education with the birth of the *khalaf* (modern) boarding school model that organizes formal education through madrasahs and schools. The Islamic boarding school that is said to be the pioneer of *pesantren modern* is *Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor* (PMDG), founded in 1926 in Ponorogo, East Java (Zarkasyi, 2020). The self-definition of Gontor Islamic boarding school as a modern boarding school aims to try to be different from traditional boarding school, which within certain limits, is synonymous with the dullness of thought and an ineffective and inefficient education system. One is the emphasis on teaching and using Arabic and English in daily conversation (Nuhrodin & Dhina, 2021).

Gontor Islamic boarding school combines the study of classical texts with modern educational concepts that various reformist-oriented educational institutions later emulated. As an inspiration, the founders of Gontor implemented a synthesis education system with a combination of Al-Azhar, Aligarh, Syanggit, and Santiniketan education systems. The four aspects of Islamic boarding school modernization carried out by the founders of Gontor include: 1) general teaching methods 2) Arabic and English teaching methods 3) educational strategies consisting of religious education, moral education, physical education, entrepreneurship education, and organizational education. 4) education organization and management (Zarkasyi, 2020).

Islamic boarding school as a local genius has several fundamental values which include a commitment to *tafaquh fiddin*, the implementation of a full-day school system where students follow the educational process around the clock (Ikhwan et al., 2023), the performance of an integrative and comprehensive education system that involves affective, cognitive, and psychomotor aspects, and an independent and responsible multiculturalism life pattern (Setyawan, 2019). However, if Islamic boarding schools as Islamic educational institutions emphasize less and less religious education and character development, it will be less likely to be considered a proper boarding school.

Historically, there are three roles that boarding schools and similar traditional Islamic educational institutions have for the muslim community. *First*, as an educational institution as well as a centre for the transmission of Islamic religious knowledge.

Second, as the guardian of Islamic traditions that have taken root in community life. *Third*, as a centre for the reproduction or regeneration of ulama (Ma'arif, 2019; Saiin et al., 2020).

Looking at the future of Islamic boarding schools amid the vortex of globalization, an evaluation of each of its achievements should be carried out. This is important considering that both *salaf* (traditional) and *khalaf* (modern) boarding schools have problems in carrying out their functions. In general, *salaf* boarding schools tend to be closed and conservative in responding to modernization, emphasizing more *fiqh* and *sufism*, traditional methods, and the dominant role of kiai as the primary source of learning. The problems of *khalaf* boarding school, in general, include religious education that is no longer given intensively, the application of regulations that are too strict, the tendency of *santri* who prefer to study science and technology, the lack of a sense of *ta'dzim* towards the *kiai*, and the loss of the tradition of *ngalap barokah* which is still fertile among *salaf* boarding school (Badrudin et al., 2018). The changing times require both to synergize with each other to maintain the existence of Islamic boarding schools and contribute to the development of the nation and state.

Dynamics of Islamic Education Policy in Islamic Boarding School

In the early post-independence period of Indonesia, precisely in the period 1945-1950, the government focused on religious education. The BPKNIP (Central Indonesian National Committee Working Board) proposed that implementing Islamic religious education in mosques, *langgar*, *surau*, or madrasah should continue and be improved. Because Islamic boarding school is the oldest educational institution in Indonesia (Badrudin et al., 2018), this shows the government's good intention to improve the quality of religious education. Of course, this intention requires careful planning and strategic steps.

BPKNIP's proposal received a response with establishing the Teaching Investigation Committee chaired by Ki Hajar Dewantara and issued Ministerial Decree No. 104/Bhg.0 on 1 March 1946. In the field of education and learning, there were several important decisions, including 1) religious lessons were taught at the *Sekolah Rakyat* (SR). 2) Religious teachers were appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and paid by the government. 3) Religious teachers must have general knowledge, so Religious Teacher Education (PGA) schools were established. 4) The quality of Islamic boarding schools and madrasahs had to be improved (Khairani et al., 2021; Susilo & Wulansari, 2020).

However, Islamic boarding school graduates do not get equal opportunities and treatment in the world of work, when compared to formal school graduates who can occupy administrative and government positions. The existence of boarding schools recognized in the BPKNIP edict is not enough to empower boarding schools, especially when viewed in the aspect of funding, where most Islamic boarding schools receive financial support from the community and organizers (Badrudin et al., 2018).

Islamic boarding schools as religious education institutions are not regulated in Law Number 4 Year 1950. In Chapter I Article 2, paragraph 1, it is stated that "This law is not intended for education and teaching in religious schools and communities". The government divides the types of education and teaching into kindergarten, lower education, secondary education, and higher education (Law No. 4/1950, Chapter V, Article 6, paragraph 1).

Thus, Islamic boarding schools are not included in the classification of types of education and teaching institutions recognized by the government. Islamic boarding schools are not considered to have a contribution, and their existence has not been taken into account as an essential part of the national education system. Until the issuance of Law No. 2/1989, boarding schools seemed to be isolated and run as non-formal educational institutions.

Law No. 2 of 1989, passed on 27 March 1989, was a new chapter for the government's recognition of boarding schools. In the act, boarding schools are classified as formal education or *Pendidikan Luar Sekolah* (PLS). Islamic boarding school is an education and teaching institution based on the spiritual needs of the community and the desire to learn religious knowledge.

Implementing boarding school education that is carried out outside of school and managed explicitly, especially the traditional boarding school model based on the authority of the *kiai* (Isbah, 2020), has logical consequences for the output produced. Islamic boarding school graduates are seen as having only religious competence and weak in general competence. In contrast, public school graduates have higher competencies and skills, so they can take professional jobs (Aidulsyah, 2023).

President Soeharto enacted Government Regulation 73 of 1991 on out-of-school education on 31 December 1991. In Chapter I, article 1, paragraph 1, it is stated, "PLS is education that is organized outside of school, whether institutionalized or not. Types of *Pendidikan Luar Sekolah* (PLS) consist of general education, religious education, vocational education, official education, and vocational education" (Government Regulation 73 of 1991, Chapter II Article 2, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3).

Thus, Islamic boarding schools are included in non-formal religious education. Its existence in the out-of-school pathway makes boarding schools treated by the government and other educational institutions established by the community with a funding system based on the community. Seeing the contribution of Islamic boarding schools to the nation and the government's response in recognizing them seems to tend to discriminate against boarding schools in the national education system.

In the next period, coinciding with 8 July 2003, President Megawati Soekarno Putri ratified Law Number 20 2003 concerning the "National Education System". In Chapter III Article 4, paragraph 1, it is stated that "national education is organized democratically and equitably and is non-discriminatory by upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values, and national diversity". Politically, this paragraph is an indication that Islamic boarding schools also have the same space as education providers in Indonesia.

Islamic boarding schools are accommodated in Law Number 20/2003 in Chapter VI Article 30 paragraph 1, "religious education is organized by the government and/or community groups of religious believers, by statutory regulations. Religious education functions to prepare students to become members of society who understand and practice the values of religious teachings and/or become experts in religious science" (Law Number 20 Year 2003, Chapter VI, Article 30 paragraph 2). "Religious education can be organized in formal, non-formal and informal channels" (Law No. 20/2003, Chapter VI, Article 30 paragraph 3). "Religious education takes the form of *diniyah* education, *pesantren*, *pasraman*, *pabhaja samanera*, and other similar forms" (Law No. 20/2003, Chapter VI, Article 30, paragraph 4).

Its implementation is outlined in Government Regulation No. 55/2007 on "Religious Education and Religious Education" Article 14 states, "Islamic religious education can take the form of *diniyah* education and Islamic boarding school". Furthermore, paragraph 3 states, "Islamic boarding schools can organize education units and/or programs in the formal, non-formal, and informal channels".

Article 15 states, "Formal *diniyah* education provides education in sciences derived from Islamic religious teachings at the levels of early childhood education (PAUD), basic education, secondary education, and higher education". Article 21 states, "Non-formal *diniyah* education is organized in the form of book recitation, *majlis ta'lim*, Al-Qur'an education, *diniyah ta'miliyah*, or other similar forms". Based on this regulation, Islamic boarding schools can organize formal education such as madrasahs and schools, as well as formal and non-formal *diniyah* education.

Regarding education financing, the government regulates in Article 31 Paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia that, "the state prioritizes an education budget of at least 20 percent of the state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN) and regional revenue and expenditure budgets (APBD) for the needs of national education". Law No 20 of 2003 regulates education funding in article 11 paragraph 2 that "the government and local governments must ensure the availability of funds for the implementation of education for every citizen aged seven to fifteen years".

Government Regulation No 48/2008 article 2 on "Education Funding" states, "Education funding is a shared responsibility between the government, local governments, and the community. The community as intended includes organizers or education units established by the community, students, parents, or guardians of students, and other parties with attention and roles in the field of education". However, in practice, most Islamic boarding school fund management is dominated by funds from organizers, *santri* guardians, or donors (Badrudin et al., 2018).

As an implementation of Law No. 20/2003 and Government Regulation No. 55/2007, the Ministry of Religious Affairs issued Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 13/2014 on "Islamic Education". Article 3 states that Islamic education institutions consist of Islamic boarding schools and *diniyah* education. The aim is to instil faith and piety, *tafaqquh fiddin*, and form a person with good character (Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 13/2014 article 2). "The elements of pesantren include kiai or other similar designations, *santri*, Islamic boarding school, *pondok* or dormitory, mosque or prayer room, and the study of the *kitab kuning* or *dirasah Islamiyah* with a *mu'allimin* education pattern" (Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 13/2014 article 5).

"The implementation of Islamic boarding school education can take the form of an education unit or as an education provider. *Kitab kuning* recitation is held in the form of *kitab kuning* recitation in general and/or *takhasush* (specialized) programs in certain fields of Islamic science on the characteristics and excellence of each boarding school. Implementing *dirasah Islamiyah* with the *mu'allimin* education pattern is carried out integratively by combining Islamic religious science and general science. It is comprehensive by combining intra, extra, and co-curricular" (Article 12 Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation Number 13 of 2014). "The results of Islamic boarding school education as an education unit can be valued as equivalent to formal education after passing an exam organized by an accredited education unit and appointed by the

director general (*mu'adalah*)” (Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 13/2014 Article 18).

In addition, it is also stated that "Islamic boarding schools can organize other education units and/or programs, including formal *diniyah* education, non-formal *diniyah* education, general education, general education with Islamic characteristics, vocational education, equivalency education, *mu'adalah* education, higher education and/or other education programs" (Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation Number 13/2014 Article 19). “Regarding the financing of Islamic religious education, it is sourced from the organizer, government, local government, community, and other legal sources. Islamic religious education financing is managed effectively, efficiently, transparently, and accountably” (Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 13/2014 Chapter IV Article 53).

The state's partiality towards Islamic boarding schools has become more apparent since the issuance of Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation Number 18 of 2014 concerning "*Mu'adalah* Education Unit" and Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation Number 71 of 2015 concerning "*Ma'had Aly*" (Ghofarrozin & Janah, 2021). Based on the Government Regulation above, qualified Islamic boarding school can organize their education and issue *mu'adalah* certificates for their graduates without the need to take exams with the national standard curriculum.

Factually and historically, Islamic boarding school have shown their dedication by participating in educating the nation and producing religious figures. Apart from being an educational institution, Islamic boarding school also acts as an agent of change that is expected to be a dynamic catalyst for human resource empowerment and mobilizers in various fields of life. On the other hand, the condition of the nation facing a moral crisis in the vortex of globalization expects the presence of boarding schools to be able to develop moral values in society (Setyawan, 2019).

The presence of Law No. 18/2019 on Islamic boarding schools is an affirmation of the existence of boarding schools as well as can strengthen their service in *tafaquh fiddin*, da'wah, community empowerment, and other aspects (Badrudin et al., 2018; Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). However, the law was born with the intervention of religious groups that have interests in political struggles in addition to other groups that need this formal legality. However, on the other hand, some groups want to review the draft law before it is passed (Ghofarrozin & Janah, 2021; Khairani et al., 2021).

“Islamic boarding school education is education organized by boarding school and is in the boarding school environment by developing a curriculum by the peculiarities of the boarding school based on the *kitab kuning* or *dirasah Islamiyah* with a *mu'allimin* education pattern" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter I Article 2). "The elements of Islamic boarding school consist of *kiai*, *santri*, *pondok* or dormitory, mosque or prayer room, and the study of the *kitab kuning* or *dirasah Islamiyah* with a *mu'allimin* pattern" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 5 paragraph 2). "*Kiai* must have an Islamic boarding school education, higher education in the Islamic religion, and/or competence in religious knowledge" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 9 paragraph 1).

"The establishment of Islamic boarding school must fulfil the elements of boarding school, notify its existence to the head of the local area, and register with the minister" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 6). "The implementation of the study of the

kitab kuning and *dirasah Islamiyah* with the *mu'allimin* pattern is carried out systematically, integrated, and comprehensively. The methods used are *sorogan*, *bandongan*, classical methods, structured, tiered, or others" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 13).

Furthermore, "Islamic boarding schools organize educational functions by the peculiarities, traditions, and curriculum of boarding school education" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 16). "Students of *mu'adalah* education units who have completed their education are declared graduates through assessment by educators and *mu'adalah* education units" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter III Article 19).

"The funding of Islamic boarding schools comes from the community, the government through the APBN and APBD by the provisions of the legislation, other legal and non-binding sources, and foreign grants" (Law No. 18/2019 Chapter V Article 48). "The government provides and manages a boarding school endowment fund that is sourced from and is part of the education endowment fund" (Law Number 18/2019 Chapter V Article 4).

Looking at some of the articles above, there are at least several government alignments towards boarding schools. *First*, the formal recognition and legality of boarding schools as educational institutions. *Second*, recognition of the academic tradition of boarding school. *Third*, maintaining the distinctiveness and independence of boarding schools. Nevertheless, the law's ratification was not free from controversy in response to various circles (Setyawan, 2019).

Therefore, the weakening of Islamic education as an implication of state intervention through the formulation of policies produced can be seen as a domestic policy that neglects Muslims. In the next development, the government began to direct its attention and alignment through policies that accommodate the regulation of Islamic education. This process began with the enactment of Law No. 2 of 1989, followed by Law No. 20 of 2003 and Law No. 18 of 2019.

Harmonious relations between the state and the majority population can be realized through accommodative policies. In the case of Islamic boarding schools, Indonesia has a majority Muslim population. Thus, the generous policy can be realized through government policies that can accommodate the needs of Islamic education to be more mature in the existing national education system. Until now, the government's partiality can be seen through several policies. Some of them are the teaching of religion in public schools, the recognition and equalization of boarding school graduates (*mu'adalah*), and the integration of boarding school into the national education system, thus enabling the implementation of formal education at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels with boarding school characteristics.

These developments also show that domestic policies that are impartial and tend to reduce the role of Islamic education can have implications for the emergence of tension and distrust of the government and have the potential to disrupt government stability. Conversely, accommodative policies taken by the government can be a medium for building positive relationships with Muslims. However, in this relationship, both parties can benefit, where government recognition facilitates the path of Islamic education to become more established, while the state has the power to develop the potential of citizens through its vision and mission. Therefore, the government is expected to prioritize accommodative policies, especially in terms of

religious education for the majority population, to effectively meet the religious education needs of their citizens.

IV. CONCLUSION

Pesantren is a traditional Islamic educational institution that has developed in Indonesia since pre-independence, although there are various opinions regarding its early emergence. One of the characteristics of a boarding school is reflected in its elements, which consist of *kiai*, *santri*, mosque, *pondok* (dormitory), and the study of *kitab kuning*. In its journey, Islamic boarding schools have different responses to modernization, giving birth to *salaf* (traditional) and *khalaf* (modern) boarding school models. The results show that the success and acceptance of the government's education policies are significantly influenced by the quality of the government's relationship with the dominant religious community. In addition, it can be understood that politics and education have a connection and entanglement. Education has an interest in and depends on state recognition, and the state has an interest in education to develop the potential of its citizens. The government plays a vital role in designing instruction in a country, including in religious education. Without government intervention, it is unlikely that education, including religious education, can exist and function effectively. However, it should be noted that this study is limited to the policy space of Islamic boarding schools as one of the Islamic education institutions in Indonesia. Further research is needed to further explore the policy-making process and other factors that can affect the existence of Islamic religious education in Indonesia.

V. REFERENCES

- [1] Abdurrahman. (2020). Sejarah Pesantren Di Indonesia: Sebuah Pelacakan Genealogis. *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmiah INTAJ*, 4(1), 84–105. <https://doi.org/10.35897/intaj.v4i1.388>
- [2] Aidulsyah, F. (2023). The rise of urban Salafism in Indonesia: The social-media and pop culture of new Indonesian Islamic youth. *Asian Journal of Social Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajss.2023.07.003>
- [3] Arief, M., & Assya'bani, R. (2022). Eksistensi Manajemen Pesantren di Era Digital. *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 16(6), 2548–2567. <https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v16i6.1541>
- [4] Arjiarna, B. A., Hasan, Y., & Dhita, A. N. (2020). Perkembangan Pesantren di Indonesia. *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Kajian Sejarah*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.31540/sindang.v3i1.748>
- [5] Badrudin, Purwanto, Y., & Siregar, C. N. (2018). Pesantren dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan Indonesia. *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 15(1), 233–272. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v15i1.522>
- [6] Cahyo, E. N., & Muqorobin, A. (2019). Strategi Pengembangan Wakaf Berkelanjutan Sektor Pertanian Pada Yayasan Pemeliharaan dan Perluasan Wakaf Pondok Modern (YPPWPM) Gontor Ponorogo. *Falah: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, 4(2), 35. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jes.v4i2.9872>
- [7] Chotimah, C., Natsir, A., & Siddiq, S. (2023). Manajemen Kebudayaan Pesantren

- Pascamodern di Indonesia. *Muslim Heritage*, 8(1), 65–78. <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v8i1.5037>
- [8] Creswell, J. W. (2019). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications.
- [9] Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.
- [10] Emis PD-Pontren. (2023). *Statistik Pondok Pesantren: Tingkat Populasi Pondok Pesantren (2019-2020)*. PD-Pontren. <https://emispendis.kemenag.go.id/pdpontrenv2/Statistik/Pp>
- [11] Fijriah, H., & Ellisa, E. (2022). The Role of “Ngalap Barokah” in Rapid Urban Development: Case Study of Tebuireng, Jombang. *Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 7(2), 233–242. <https://doi.org/10.18860/jia.v7i2.16385>
- [12] Ghofarrozin, A., & Janah, T. N. (2021). Menakar Keberpihakan Negara terhadap Pesantren melalui Pengesahan UU Nomor 18/2019 tentang Pesantren. *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset Dan Kajian Keislaman*, 10(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.35878/islamicreview.v10i1.267>
- [13] Hidayat, T., Rizal, A. S., & Fahrudin. (2018). Peran Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Ta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 7(2), 461–472. <https://doi.org/10.29313/tjpi.v7i2.4117>
- [14] Ikhwan, A., Marzuki, K., Liswandi, L., & Sabila, A. M. (2023). Trimurti Leadership as Central Figure in Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor. *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.35723/ajie.v6i1.312>
- [15] Isbah, M. F. (2020). Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 8(1), 65–106. <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJIS.V8I1.5629>
- [16] Karim, A., Fathurrohman, O., Muhammadun, Saripudin, W., Rahmat, D., & Mansir, F. (2023). Altruistic works, religion, and corruption: Kiai s' leadership to shape anti-corruption values in pesantren. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2238968>
- [17] Kemenag. (2022). *Kitab Kuning dan Tradisi Keilmuan Pesantren*. Kemenag.Go.Id. <https://www.kemenag.go.id/opini/kitab-kuning-dan-tradisi-keilmuan-pesantren-v5u53a>
- [18] Khairani, M., Ali, H., & Rosadi, K. I. (2021). Analisis Perumusan Undang-Undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2019 Tentang Pesantren Sebagai Produk Politik Dan Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam. *JIMT: Jurnal Ilmu Manajemen Terapan*, 3(1), 86–95. <https://doi.org/10.31933/jimt.v3i1>
- [19] Kosim, M., Muqoddam, F., Mubarak, F., & Laila, N. Q. (2023). The Dynamics Of Islamic Education Policies In Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2023.2172930>
- [20] Ma'arif, S. (2019). Reinventing pesantren's moderation culture to build a democratic society in the post-reform Republic of Indonesia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 27(3), 1739–1751. <http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/pjssh/browse/regular-issue?article=JSSH-3760-2018>

- [21] Makruf, J., & Asrori, S. (2022). In the Making of Salafi-Based Islamic Schools in Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 60(1), 227–264. <https://doi.org/10.14421/AJIS.2022.601.227-264>
- [22] Malik, A. (2023). New variants of ultra-conservative Islamic schools in Indonesia: A study on Islamic school endeavor with Islamic group movement. *Power and Education*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/17577438231163042>
- [23] Nuhrodin, & Dhina, M. A. (2021). Information Literacy for Santri in Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren). *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education*, 5(1), 216–226. <https://doi.org/10.35723/ajie.v5i2.191>
- [24] Nurtawab, E., & Wahyudi, D. (2022). Restructuring Traditional Islamic Education in Indonesia: Challenges for Pesantren Institution. *Studia Islamika*, 29(1), 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i1.17414>
- [25] Saiin, A., Armita, P., & Rizki, M. (2020). Section Islamic education Contribution of Pesantren to Prevent Social Conflict. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, 20(1), 89–110. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol20.iss1.art4>
- [26] Setyawan, M. A. (2019). UU Pesantren: Local Genius dan Intervensi Negara terhadap Pesantren. *Manageria: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 4(1), 41–02. <https://doi.org/10.14421/manageria.2019.41-02>
- [27] Susilo, A. A., & Wulansari, R. (2020). Sejarah Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Tamaddun: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sastra Islam*, 20(2), 83–96. <https://doi.org/10.19109/tamaddun.v20i2.6676>
- [28] Wathoni, K. (2020). Pesantren Dalam Politik dan Kebijakan Pendidikan Di Indonesia. *MA'ALIM: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 1(2), 128–140. <https://doi.org/10.21154/maalim.v1i02.2628>
- [29] Zarkasyi, H. F. (2020). Imam Zarkasyi's Modernization of Pesantren in Indonesia (A Case Study of Darussalam Gontor). *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 8(1), 161–200. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5760>
- [30] Zulfikar, A. S., Roesminingsih, M. V., & Soedjarwo. (2023). Policies Implementation By Pesantren Effective Schools To Achieve Excellence In Morality And General Sciences: A Case From Indonesia. *Res Militaris*, 13(1), 191–203. <https://resmilitaris.net/menu-script/index.php/resmilitaris/article/view/966>