

The Response From *Pesantren* Recognition in The Configuration of The National Education System

¹Bassam Abul A'la, ²Moh. Rifqi Rahman

¹Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, Indonesia

²STAI Al Azhar Menganti, Gresik, Indonesia

Correspondence: bassamalpunjuli@gmail.com

Abstract. The journey of *pesantren* to become an educational institution recognized by, and being part of, the configuration of national education is long and winding. This study aimed to analyze the impact of *pesantren* recognition and response for it. The method in this study used qualitative methods with a historical approach. Data collected through document analysis and analyzed by content analysis. Regarding the research results are, first, the impact of policies that emerged from soekarno's time to Joko Widodo's time, they are; The *pesantren* diploma was not recognized by the Indonesian government after independence until the issuance of the *pesantren* law. *Pesantren* need to establish a new general institution in order to gain the legitimacy of the diploma. Second, *Pesantren* responds to national education policies in two forms. First, by establishing public institutions according to the national education framework under the Ministry of Religious Affairs or the Ministry of Education (formal). Second, incorporate the general curriculum into the *pesantren* curriculum periodically and evaluate the curriculum to always be in accordance with the needs and challenges of education (*mu'adalah*). Finally, the government's policy of issuing the *pesantren* law has very significant implications for financial assistance.

Keywords: Pesantren; Policy of education Education system Introduction

Religious education in Indonesia has been running and developing dynamically and has received special attention from the government. In Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007, number 1, paragraph 2 explains that Religious Education has the aim of preparing students to be able to carry out the role of students, which includes the role of mastering knowledge about religious teachings and can also act as experts in religious science and practice their religious teachings.¹ Still, in the same regulation, religious education institutions or units are divided into five:

¹ Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007" (2007).

*pesantren, pasraman, pesantian, pabbajja samanera, and shuyuan.*² So that religious education regulated by the Indonesian government includes five officially recognized religions. The next discussion will thoroughly review the recognition of one of the Islamic religious educational institutions, namely *pesantren*, in the configuration of the National Education policy system.

Pesantren is one of the Islamic religious education institutions that is indigenous to Indonesia.³ According to Madjid, from a historical point of view, *pesantren* is not only synonymous with Islamic values and meanings, but also loaded with the meaning of Indonesian authenticity.⁴ Recognition of the existence of Islamic boarding schools by the government as educational institutions is stated in the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003 and Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007 and Law No. 18 of 2019.⁵ Recognition of *pesantren* does seem very slow, because approximately in the 58 years after Indonesia became independent, new laws or government regulations regarding *pesantren* has emerged. Furthermore, although *pesantren* is the original model of Indonesian education, the existence of *pesantren* was marginalized. It discriminated against in the national education policy system until the passage of the *pesantren* law in 2019.⁶

According to Dye, public policy is everything the government decides to do.⁷ A policy will not become a public policy if the government does not accept, determine and implement the policy. Then, government agencies make a public policy in three different characteristics, first, the government certifies against the policy, second, the government policy involves all components of society, and finally, the government

² *Pesantren / Islamic boarding school* is a community-based Islamic religious education institution with an integrated level of *diniyah* / education juxtaposed with other types of education. *Pasraman* is one of the Hindu religious educational institutions at the level of formal education and non-formal pathways. *Pesantian* is also one of the Hindu religious educational institutions on the non-formal educational path that refers to religious literature and Vedic scriptures. *Pabbajja camera* is one of the Buddhist religious educational institutions at the non-formal level of education. *Shuyuan* is a Khonghucu religious education unit organized on all educational paths and levels referring to the *Si Shu Wu Jing*.

³ Yedi Purwanto and Chairil N Siregar, "Pesantren Dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan Indonesia," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 15, no. 1 (2017): 234.

⁴ Nurcholiz Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 17.

⁵ Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003" (2003); Presiden Republik Indonesia, Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007; Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang No 18 Tahun 2019" (2019).

⁶ Ömer Faruk Abide and Yücel Gelisli, "Identification of In-Service Teacher Education Policies in Turkey and Investigation of Their Reflections on Practices," *Educational Policy Analysis and Strategic Research* 16, no. 2 (2021): 120–38.

⁷ R Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 14th ed. (Unite State: Pearson Education, 2013), 3.

monopolizes coercion against society.⁸ In this regard, public policy greatly affects policy objects' existence. Likewise with the existence of *pesantren* in Indonesia.

The community generally organizes *pesantren* education as a manifestation of education from, by, and for the community. According to Woodward, Schools or educational institutions are a product of social and political policy.⁹ *Pesantren* in Indonesia are one of the social products and have not been supported by political policies. Social products due to the emergence of *pesantren* began from the kyai's house dedicated to the transmission of classical Islamic science which includes the Quran, Hadith, fiqh, Arabic language, and Sufism, or better known as the yellow book.¹⁰ Then, History records that the struggle of *pesantren* to survive independently is an escape of the government's attention to *pesantren*. In addition to requiring substance, the law also requires access in the form of fair procedures or mechanisms so that those who are not recognized can fight for their rights through available channels.¹¹ While configuration means arrangement. Then, the national education system is a fundamental component of education that is interrelated in an integrated manner to achieve the goals of national education.¹²

In this study, researchers revealed two questions, How is the Indonesian government's education policy towards Islamic boarding school educational institutions? And what is the response of *pesantren* as a product of a community to government policies. Furthermore, this research will also look at the amount of contribution in the form of education funds from the government for Islamic boarding schools starting from 1945-2022.

Several previous studies have stated that *pesantren* respond to government policies dynamically. For example, Burga et.al research which states that there are three elements of the dynamism of *pesantren* in responding to government policies, namely: institutional

⁸ Dye, 17.

⁹ Kathleen E Woodward, "Indonesian Schools: Shaping the Future of Islam and Democracy in a Democratic Muslim Country," *Journal of International Education and Leadership* 5, no. 1 (2015): 1.

¹⁰ Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, vol. 1 (United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 2007), 175.

¹¹ Rian Adhivira Prabowo, "Politik Rekognisi Axel Honneth: Relevansinya Terhadap Jaminan Kesetaraan Dalam Hukum Di Indonesia," *JlIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 4, no. 2 (September 9, 2019): 4, <https://doi.org/10.14710/JlIP.V4I2.5379>.

¹² Ebru Eren, "Education Policies in the Context of Political Communication in Turkey," *European Journal of Educational Research* 10, no. 1 (January 15, 2021): 227-40, <https://doi.org/10.12973/eu-jer.10.1.227>.

transformation, curriculum blending and application of a culturally based inclusive paradigm.¹³ Similarly, Kosim also mentioned in his research that *pesantren* respond to government policies every time new regulations appear. *Pesantren* now with the existence of the *pesantren* law, it seems that the government's policy is getting more positive.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Mustakim divided the government's recognition of *pesantren* into five periods where in all periods the *pesantren* showed its existence.¹⁵ This study identifies the government's recognition of *pesantren* and how *pesantren* respond to it and the amount of assistance that the government has provided to *pesantren* educational institutions.

The method in this study is descriptive qualitative that uses a historical approach¹⁶ to identify government policies towards Islamic boarding schools, *pesantren* responses and assistance funds provided by the government starting from 1945-2022. Data collection uses the official government website which contains regulations and policies for Islamic boarding schools, as well as the amount of funds and assistance provided by the government to *pesantren* in the form of archives, news and documents. After that, the researcher uses data content analysis techniques.¹⁷ The samples used in this study were two large huts, namely the Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo Islamic boarding school which represents the modern Islamic boarding school and the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school which represents the *Salafiyah* Islamic boarding school.

Results and Discussion

National Education Policy towards *Pesantren*

The government considers that the teaching and learning process in *pesantren* does not meet the standards that have been set because the education system of Islamic boarding schools is more dominated by religious content, uses a curriculum that is not yet standardized, has a non-uniform structure, and uses management that the government

¹³ Muhammad Alqadri Burga et al., "Accommodating The National Education Policy In Pondok Pesantren Ddi Mangkoso: Study Period Of 1989-2018," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 5, no. 1 (September 15, 2019): 82, https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v5i1.862.

¹⁴ Moh Kosim, "Pesantren On The Frame Of Government Policies," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 221-41, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.724>.

¹⁵ Muh. Mustakim, "Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia," *Transformasi: Jurnal Kepemimpinan Dan Pendidikan Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): 27-41.

¹⁶ Sugiyono, *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif dan kombinasi (mixed methods)* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2018).

¹⁷ Sugiyono.

cannot control.¹⁸ It seems that the government is implementing double standards. On the one hand, *pesantren* is considered by the government as an institution that must be fostered and developed because it has a strategic enough role to participate in revolutionizing society to support stable economic development. However, on the other hand, *pesantren*'s existence is far from the national education system. Because even how the education system of *pesantren* is considered not to have standard standards. Moreover, stakeholders have a vested interest in making policies. Therefore, the State's policy towards *pesantren* can be mapped into six eras:

First, soekarno's era. The Indonesian government's policy was through the recommendation of the Central Indonesian National Committee Workers' Agency (BPKNIP) in 1945. The policy stipulates that *madrasahs* and *pesantren*, essentially a source of education and intelligence of the common people who have been entrenched and rooted in Indonesian society in general, should get real attention and assistance in the form of guidance and material assistance from the government. Then the Teaching Investigating Committee's recommendation on July 2, 1946, directed that *pesantren* and *madrasahs* should be heightened in quality.¹⁹ In this policy, *pesantren* still did not receive recognition as an educational institution equivalent to general education, it is still very clear the dichotomy between religious and general education at that time. The state budget funds at the ministry of religious affairs also have no expenditure on *pesantren*. However, *pesantren* still received recognition from some people even though the government did not recognize the diploma of *pesantren* graduates.²⁰

Second, the Soeharto era. Law No. 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education system article 11 explains that the type of education that includes the school education pathway consists of general education, vocational education, special education, official education, religious education, academic education and professional education.²¹ In this law, and also PP No. 73 of 1991,²² The position of the *pesantren* is not explicitly stated. So that the *pesantren* diploma is still not recognized, if you want to get a diploma, *pesantren* graduates must take the equation exam. Three

¹⁸ Ahmad Ali Riyadi, "Respon Pesantren Terhadap Perubahan Sosio-Politik Di Indonesia (1970-2000)," n.d., 6.

¹⁹ Woodward, "Indonesian Schools: Shaping the Future of Islam and Democracy in a Democratic Muslim Country," 10.

²⁰ Mustakim, "Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia," 31.

²¹ Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang No 2 Tahun 1989," Pub. L. No. 2 (1989).

²² Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Pemerintah No 73 Tahun 1991" (1991).

years after that, Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 1994 was issued concerning the implementation of compulsory education in basic education in number 7 point c,²³ which states that *pesantren* can interrupt the basic education program in itself. *Pesantren* can organize package programs A, B, and C equivalent to elementary, middle, and high schools, respectively. This is an alternative and at the same time a breakthrough for students to get a diploma.²⁴ At a minimum in this case, the relationship between the government and *pesantren* towards a centralized monolithic integration.

The data on assistance for *pesantren* from the Soeharto administration, which shows that there is very significant inequality between formal schools and Islamic boarding schools, is as follows:²⁵

State Budget Year	Forms of Help	Cost Amount
1986-1987	1. Upgrade 240 teacher of <i>pesantren</i> 2. Book 30,000 to 237 <i>pesantren</i> 3. Building rehabilitation assistance for 60 <i>pesantren</i> 4. Aids assistance for 52 <i>pesantren</i>	Rp. 41.900.000
1987-1988	1. Upgrade 240 teacher of <i>pesantren</i> 2. Books 8,771 to 146 <i>pesantren</i> 3. Building rehabilitation assistance for 3 <i>pesantren</i> 4. Aids help for 13 <i>pesantren</i>	Rp. 47.723.233
1988-1989	Not attached	Rp. 17.785.000
1989-1990	Not attached	Rp. 26.380.000
1990-1991	1. Upgrade 240 teachers of <i>pesantren</i> 2. Book help for 19 <i>pesantren</i> 3. The assistance of 27 units props 4. Building rehabilitation assistance for 20 <i>pesantren</i> 5. Job training assistance for 780 <i>santri</i> .	Rp. 35.130.800
1991-1992	1. Help 5,053 copies of the book for Pondok <i>pesantren</i> 2. Upgrading 150 coaches pondok <i>pesantren</i>	Rp. 51.923.000
1992-1993	Not attached	Rp. 67.301.800
1993-1994	Not attached	Rp. 88.398.268
1994-1995	Not attached	Rp. 99.420.000
1995-1996	Not attached	Rp. 160.129.000

²³ Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Instruksi Presiden No 1 Tahun 1994" (1994).

²⁴ Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, *Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Continuity and Conflict*, *Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Continuity and Conflict*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137313416>.

²⁵ Kementerian Keuangan, "UU APBN Dan Nota Keuangan 1990-1999," Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia, accessed November 30, 2021, <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/informasi-publik/uu-apbn-dan-nota-keuangan/uu-apbn-dan-nota-keuangan-1990-1999/>.

Third, Gus Dur's contribution as president of the students brought a breath of fresh air by equating pesantren with public schools or madrasahs. Law No. 25 of 2000 Chapter IV concerning the program of fostering religious, social institutions followed by joint regulations of the Minister of National Education and Minister of Religious Affairs No. 1 / U / KB / 2000 and Number MA / 86/2000 concerning Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools as a 9-Year Basic Education Compulsory Education Pattern is proof of Gus Dur's struggle as a government to recognize Islamic boarding schools. So Islamic boarding schools have begun to be recognized by the government as educational institutions equivalent to schools. However, Islamic boarding schools are still not included in the national education system. Although there is already a policy as mentioned, the implementation of the policy is still in doubt by public education institutions and universities. They did not receive diplomas of pesantren graduates on the pretext of seeking safety, because the dissemination of the policy has not been evenly distributed to all public education institutions.²⁶ In this era, religious education received a budget of 846 billion rupiah or 1.2% of the general education budget, this indicates that the provision of assistance and funding to Islamic boarding schools is still far from general education.

Fourth, the era of Megawati. The emergence of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, in this law the existence

²⁶ Mustakim, "Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia," 32. Furthermore, the Joint Agreement between the Minister of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia and the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia concerning Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools as a Pattern of Compulsory Education for Nine Years Basic Education Number 1 / U / KB / 2000 and Number MA / 86/2000 article 3 paragraph (2) states that: "Students who study at pesantren (santri) have the same opportunity to continue their schooling (studying) to a higher level, both similar educational institutions with religious characteristics (vertical), as well as general education institutions (diagonal), with certain conditions regulated by the relevant minister". The decree was signed on Thursday, the thirtieth of March in the year of two thousand by the Minister of National Education, Yahya A. Muhaimin and the Minister of Religion, Tolchah Hasan and known by the Coordinating Minister of Kesra Taskin Basri Hasanuddin, contains 6 articles. For details, read the Technical Guidelines for implementing the 9-Year Basic Education Compulsory Education Program at the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School, Jakarta: Directorate of Diniyah Education and Pontren Directorate General of Dik Is Depag RI, 2006. The SKB of the Two Ministers 2000 above was described by the Director General of Islamic Religious Institutional Development of the Ministry of Religion and the Director General of Primary and Secondary Education of the Ministry of National Education with its decisions Number E/83/2000 and Number 166/c/Kep/Ds/2000 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools as a Pattern of Compulsory Education for Basic Education. The last mentioned decree contains 6 (six) chapters and 10 (ten) chapters. For details, read the Technical Guidelines for implementing the Compulsory Education Program.

of pesantren is specifically contained in section IX concerning Religious Education, especially article 30 of the first paragraph. Number 3 states that national education aims to develop the potential of students to become human beings who have faith and piety in God, have a noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens. In the General Explanation of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, it is emphasized that the first strategy in implementing the renewal of the national education system is the implementation of religious education and noble morals.²⁷ Furthermore, the government's recognition of Islamic boarding schools continues to progress with evidence of the emergence of many government regulations after the existence of this law.

Fifth, the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Government Regulation (PP) No. 55 of 2007 appeared to implement Law (UU) No. 20 of 2003 Article 12 paragraph 4, Article 30 paragraph 5, Article 37 paragraph 3. This PP contains 6 chapters, 51 chapters and 169 verses.²⁸ Specifically, this regulation explains the position and existence of pesantren. In the PP, pesantren is still not referred to as formal education or equalized education. The policy passed by the government through the PP contains political controversy because the ruler's interests at that time wanted to get sympathy from the pesantren and the extended family of the pesantren so that the regulation was issued.²⁹

Government assistance in the form of renovating bathrooms and building flats for 500 Islamic boarding schools that cost Rp7.7 billion was given at the end of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's term.³⁰ Not only that, the student operation assistance fund specifically for Islamic boarding school students has also begun to be disbursed.³¹ It has implications for strengthening Islamic boarding schools to carry out the teaching and learning process. Although not massively and

²⁷ Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003.

²⁸ Presiden Republik Indonesia, Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007.

²⁹ Muhammad Abdulloh, "Dampak Politik Kebijakan Peraturan Pemerintah Terhadap Eksistensi Pesantren (Kajian Masalah Dan Mafsadat PP Nomor 55 Tahun 2007)," *Al Murabbi: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 5, no. 1 (2019): 92.

³⁰ Antara, "500 Pondok Pesantren Peroleh Bantuan Rumah Susun - ANTARA News," *antaranews.com*, 2014, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/443868/500-pondok-pesantren-peroleh-bantuan-rumah-susun>.

³¹ Berita Satu, "Sepanjang 2005 -2013, Pemerintah Kucurkan Dana BOS Rp 243,28 Triliun," *beritasatu.com*, 2014, <https://www.beritasatu.com/archive/178736/sepanjang-2005-2013-pemerintah-kucurkan-dana-bos-rp-24328-triliun>.

overwhelmingly, the provision of funds by the government can be interpreted as the government's attention to *pesantren* as Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia.

Sixth, the era of Joko Widodo. Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs (PMA) No. 13 of 2014 concerning *pesantren* appeared to implement the provisions of article 9 paragraph 3, article 13 paragraph 5 and article 19 paragraph 2 PP No. 55 of 2007. In the PMA, *pesantren* education consists of two types: *pesantren* and *diniyah*. It also mentioned the elements of *pesantren*, definitions of *kyai*, *santri*, mosque, *mualimin*, curriculum, financing, supervision. *Pesantren* as an education provider includes; Formal *diniyah* education, non-formal *diniyah* education, general education, general education with Islamic characteristics, vocational education, *muadalah*, higher education and other program education.³²

Furthermore, *Pesantren* makes a very large contribution in nation building and has received equalization recognition from overseas educational institutions.³³ Therefore, the Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 18 of 2014 is present in recognizing the equalization of educational units *mu'adalah* in *pesantren* with formal education units within the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Education units *mu'adalah* in *pesantren* which are in the future referred to as educational units *mu'adalah* is an Islamic religious education unit organized by and located in the *pesantren* environment by developing a curriculum according to the peculiarities of *pesantren* based on the yellow book or Islamic *dirasah* with a tiered and structured *mu'allimin* education pattern that can be equated with the primary and secondary education levels within the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In the PMA, the *mu'allimin* education pattern is mentioned as an integrative *pesantren* education system by combining Islamic religious science and general science. It is comprehensive by combining intra, extra and co-curricular.³⁴

Still in the same era, the government passed Law No. 18 of 2019 concerning Islamic boarding schools. This is one of the legitimacy of the government towards *pesantren* education. This law is a guarantee of the implementation of *pesantren* in the function of education, the function of proselytizing and the function of community empowerment as well as a rule to provide recognition, affirmation and facilitation based on the

³² Kementerian Agama, "Peraturan Menteri Agama No 13 Tahun 2014" (2014).

³³ Siti Nur Hidayah, "Pesantren for Middle-Class Muslims in Indonesia (between Religious Commodification and Pious Neoliberalism)," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 238, <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJS.V9I1.7641>.

³⁴ Kementerian Agama, "Peraturan Menteri Agama No 18 Tahun 2014" (2014).

traditions and customs of *pesantren*.³⁵ The law is the legal basis for recognition of the role of Islamic boarding schools in forming, establishing, building, and maintaining the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, traditions, values and norms, variants and activities, the professionalism of educators and education personnel, as well as quality assurance processes and methodologies. The Law on *pesantren* is also the legal basis for affirmations on ensuring equality in the quality level of graduates, ease of access for graduates, and the independence of the implementation of *Pesantren*, as well as the legal basis for the Central Government and Regional Governments to provide facilitation in the development of *Pesantren*.

To support the optimization of funding for Islamic boarding schools, the government issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 82 of 2021. The Presidential Regulation emphasizes that the funding of *pesantren* is not only funded by the central government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, but local governments are also a source of funding for *pesantren*.³⁶ This indicates the government's seriousness to provide facilities and funds to *pesantren*, and local governments will no longer hesitate to allocate funds for *pesantren*.³⁷ So that education funds can be easily distributed to Islamic boarding schools. *Pesantren* has received more assistance than in previous years. All parties should supervise and consider this so that the *pesantren* law that provides recognition and funding remains in accordance with what is expected.

The Impact of Education Policy on *Pesantren*

During the Soekarno-era *pesantren* policy, *pesantren* graduates could not occupy strategic posts in the government. *Pesantren* do not receive treatment and attention from the government, even though there is a policy that needs to pay attention to *pesantren*. This has led to the slow development and growth of *pesantren*. Although it has received the status quo in the 1945 Constitution and received recognition from the

³⁵ Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang No 18 Tahun 2019; Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the *Pesantren* Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 402, <https://doi.org/10.1086/503882>.

³⁶ Presiden Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Presiden No 82 Tahun 2021" (2021).

³⁷ Tempo, "Ada Perpres Pendanaan *Pesantren*, Pemda Wajib Alokasikan Dana Untuk Ponpes?," Nasional Tempo.co, 2021, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1506806/ada-perpres-pendanaan-pesantren-pemda-wajib-alokasikan-dana-untuk-ponpes/full&view=ok>.

BPKNIP, still, the government's commitment to advancing *pesantren* has not been seen.³⁸

During the Soeharto-era *pesantren* policy, *pesantren* was a type of out-of-school or no-formal education. Policies on the National Education System are still discriminatory in shaping education policies. *Pesantren* are discriminated against on non-formal channels so they are not accommodated in the policy. This means that until 1989, *pesantren* had not been part of the national education system.³⁹ The policy towards *pesantren* as Islamic educational institutions is nothing more than a symbolic-verbal statement that only excites Muslims, but has not been able to empower them. When the government views *pesantren* as not a priority for education, it does not make policies that can empower the institution.⁴⁰ The policy on Islamic boarding schools in Law No. 2 of 1989 and Government Regulation No. 73 of 1991 shows that the government has not made *pesantren* an educational priority, so they are not accommodated in Law No. 2 of 1989.

Law No. 20 of 2003 In general, it can be stated that the substance of Government policies in the field of education still places the school system as a core component of the national education system, while *pesantren* become a complementary and complementary part. It can also be stated that, with the existence of the law, the existence of *pesantren* should be accommodated in the law so that it becomes part of the national education system. The impact in the community of *pesantren* institutions is growing in numbers. However, the quality is low, because it has not received concrete support from the government through the formulation and implementation of educational policies that empower *pesantren*.

Law No. 18 of 2019 concerning Islamic boarding schools significantly impacts the development and existence of *pesantren* as an Islamic educational institution. Among the impacts of the policy, first, the category *pesantren*. Referring to the law, *pesantren* are divided into three categories; *pesantren* that organized education in the form of yellow book studies, *pesantren* that organized education in the form of Islamic *dirasah* with a *mu'allimin* education pattern, and *pesantren* that organized education in other forms that are integrated with general education. In this case, *pesantren* must have five main components: *Kiai*, *santri*,

³⁸ Purwanto and Siregar, "Pesantren Dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan Indonesia," 246.

³⁹ Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia," 399.

⁴⁰ Purwanto and Siregar, "Pesantren Dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan Indonesia," 249.

building, mosques, and the study of the yellow book or *dirasah Islamiyyah*.⁴¹

Second, *pesantren* as part of the implementation of national education. *Pesantren* has the authority to organize formal and non-formal education from the lowest level to higher education.⁴² The curriculum used is the *pesantren* curriculum and the general education curriculum. In the context of recognition, *pesantren* graduates can continue the next level higher, whether similar or not similar, and are entitled to the same job opportunities. This means that the *pesantren* diploma is legal and recognized by the Indonesian government, so no one should have any more problems with the *pesantren* diploma.

Recognition of boarding schools in this law provides facilitation impacts. The government provides facilities to *pesantren* such as student scholarship programs,⁴³ providing school operational assistance funds (BOS) for students, granting permission to establish *ma'had 'aly* (higher education). As evidence, the Directorate of Diniyah Education and *pesantren* (PD Pontren) of the Directorate General of Islamic Education of the Ministry of Religion opened a request for assistance for *pesantren* in the form of; first, covid-19 mitigation assistance in *Pesantren*. Second, assistance in Increasing the Digitization of *pesantren*.⁴⁴

Third, quality assurance of *pesantren*. The ratification of the *pesantren* law provides one new majlis for *pesantren*, namely: *majlis masyayikh*. It is like the National Board for Standardization of Education for *pesantren*.⁴⁵ This assembly is a forum for *kyai* to formulate curriculum framework standards as a reference *pesantren* in the learning process. Meanwhile, the Community Council is an institution formed by *Pesantren* which is in charge of implementing an internal quality assurance system for *pesantren* Education. For example, a community council (*dewan majlis*) has been formed in West Java. The West Java Provincial Government has established this council as a concrete step of the

⁴¹ Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang No 18 Tahun 2019.

⁴² Presiden Republik Indonesia.

⁴³ Kementerian Keuangan, "Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan," *lpdf.kemenkeu.go.id*, 2021, <https://www.lpdf.kemenkeu.go.id/in/page/santri2021>.

⁴⁴ Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyah dan Pondok Pesantren, "Pengajuan Bantuan Pesantren Dibuka Hingga 4 Oktober 2021," Kementerian Agama RI, 2021, <https://www.kemenag.go.id/read/pengajuan-bantuan-pesantren-dibuka-hingga-4-oktober-2021-nvpqy>.

⁴⁵ Nadia Fairuzza Azzahra, *Dampak Undang-Undang Pesantren Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Indonesia – Sebuah Proyeksi* (Jakarta: Center for Indoensian Policy Studies, 2020), 5.

pesantren law. Apart from being a quality assurance, this majlis has a role in building communication between *pesantren* and the government.⁴⁶

Data on the Directorate of *Diniyah* Education and *pesantren* shows that *mu'adalah* education and *ma'had aly*⁴⁷ there is still not much quantity. *Pesantren* with the model of establishing public education institutions and maintaining the traditionality of *pesantren* still occupies the most position. This may be due to a long time lag in the recognition of *pesantren* by the Indonesian government. So to start one more step of change requires professional time and energy.⁴⁸

Pesantren's Response to Education Policy

According to Azra, due to the emergence of various policies and modernization currents of *pesantren* since the new order period, *pesantren* now have four types of education options. First, Education based on *tafaqquh fi al di>n*, second, Madrasah-based education, third, public school-based education and finally skill-based *pesantren*.⁴⁹

The motto held by the *pesantren* said *al-mu>faz{ah 'ala al qadi>m al shalih} wa al akhdz bi al jadi>d al as}lah}* become the principle of *pesantren*'s response to government policies.⁵⁰ *Pesantren* responds to education policies during the old and new order by transforming education, namely opening public educational institutions or madrasahs in the *pesantren* complex. *Pesantren* also introduced general subjects into their curriculum, including Dutch, history, geography, and mathematics. In this case, as Azra stated, the *pesantren* rejected the religious assumptions of the reformers.⁵¹ But at the same time *pesantren* modeled the footsteps of the reformers⁵² to be able to survive. That's why *pesantren* adjusts and accommodates those considered useful for

⁴⁶ Madania, "Pemprov Jabar Bentuk Majelis Masyayikh » Madania.Co.Id," Madania.co.id, 2021, <https://madania.co.id/pemprov-jabar-bentuk-majelis-masyayikh/>.

⁴⁷ Pendis Kemenag, "EMIS-PONPES," Kementerian Agama RI, 2021, http://emispendis.kemenag.go.id/emis_dpontren/.

⁴⁸ Azyumardi Azra, "Indonesian Higher Education: From Public Good to Privatization," *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 1, no. 2 (2008): 144, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17516230802094411>.

⁴⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, I (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003), 148.

⁵⁰ Hamruni Hamruni, "The Challenge and The Prospect of *Pesantren* in Historical Review," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 2 (2016): 425, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2016.52.413-429>.

⁵¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan* dalam Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, 4.

⁵² Karen Bryner, "Piety Projects: Islamic Schools for Indonesia's Urban Middle Class" (Columbia University, 2013), 248–50; Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Madrasahs of Indonesia," in *The Madrasa in Asia*, ed. Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin Van Bruinessen, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 269.

students such as tiering systems, clear curricula, and classical systems. Furthermore, *Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri* and *Pesantren Modern Gontor Ponorogo (Gontor)* will be a lens to see how the pesantren's work responds to education policies.

There were at least two events used by *pesantren* to respond to the initial policy of Indonesian Education: revising the curriculum by including general lessons and skills; second, opening up institutions and facilities to benefit public education. *Pesantren Lirboyo* responded in the second way, namely; first, establishing the *Madrasah Diniyah* named *Madrasah Hidayatul Mubtadi'in (MHM)*, *first Madrasah Diniyah al Mahrusiyah* and *Madrasah Diniyah ar Risalah*. Second, MTs and MA HM Tribakti use the Ministry of Religion curriculum. Third, elementary, middle, and high school *Ar Risalah* uses the Ministry of National Education curriculum. The adjustment carried out by the *Pesantren Lirboyo* was a way of responding to the education policy at that time.⁵³ Different but similar, Pondok Modern Gontor⁵⁴ respond to Education policy by incorporating lessons and general skills into the KMI curriculum (*Kulliyat al Mua'allimi>n al Isla>miyyah*). Technical adjustments and curriculum adjustments at Gontor are carried out continuously and revise lessons that are no longer relevant.⁵⁵ This pesantren is "not a problem" for the rejection of diplomas issued to its students. Decades of Gontor's diploma not being recognized domestically, graduates were rejected here and there when they were about to apply for state universities. However, since a long time ago various foreign educational institutions have given appreciation to Gontor alumni.⁵⁶ For Gontor, a big man is a person who teaches in small *surau*, so a diploma not recognized by the government is not an obstacle to becoming a big man.

According to Taufik, the birth of the *pesantren* law in 2019 with all its derivatives brought good news for *pesantren*, teachers and students. After the regulation and recognition of Islamic boarding schools in the Indonesian education system, there is a kind of strength and confidence. Taufik further emphasized that, the good response to the birth of this law was proven by the increasing number of *pesantren* both in formal diniyah funds.⁵⁷ Unlike Taufik, Azzahra revealed that the obligation of pesantren

⁵³ Ali Anwar, *Pembaruan Pendidikan Di Pesntren Lirboyo Kediri*, 2nd ed. (Kediri: Pustaka Belajar dan IAIT Press, 2011), 20.

⁵⁴ Lance Castles, "Notes on the Islamic School at Gontor," *Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (1966): 30.

⁵⁵ Muslim, "Eksistensi Gontor Di Tengah Arus Modernisasi Pendidikan; Sebuah Model Inovasi Kurikulum," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan* 17, no. 2 (2017): 173.

⁵⁶ Muslim, 174.

⁵⁷ M. Tata Taufik, "Refleksi Dua Tahun UU Pesantren," *Republika*, 2021, <https://www.republika.id/posts/21118/refleksi-dua-tahun-uu-pesantren>.

to register their institutions as legal entities has not been maximized, or it can be said to be very minimal. According to him, this happened because many *kyai* did not understand the procedure for converting their institutions into legal entities. Including, the lack of sources of funds to finance this is an indicator of the lack of response of *pesantren*.⁵⁸

Pesantren Lirboyo and Gontor today have joined the *pesantren* *mu'adalah*. This shows that *pesantren* do not have to change their identity to follow the National Education policy; such as taking national exams, accreditation, etc. *Pesantren* still maintains the distinctiveness of the educational process, while, the government is the one who should accommodate the needs and encourage the advancement of *pesantren* education. According to Sahin, the diversity of education is precisely to facilitate mutual understanding and needs in relations with each other, thus leading to a global community of learners and coexisting in a just and peaceful manner.⁵⁹ Education does not have to be centralized curriculum, exams and its standards by the government, but, simply by providing support for the advancement of each educational institution.

The 2019 *Pesantren* Law states that the qualifications of managers including *kyai* and education personnel have received their own attention from the government, as evidenced by the establishment of competency standards for *kyai* and educators in Islamic boarding schools as an effort to improve the quality of *pesantren*.⁶⁰ The experience of *Pesantren* Lirboyo showed that the leadership system of *pesantren*, whether collective or individual, positively correlates with management openness. *Pesantren* managed by *kyai* collectively have more transparent management when compared to those managed individually. Second, the management at *Pesantren* Lirboyo which students handle is already running in a modern way because various management functions are carried out in an orderly manner, but the management handled by the caregivers tends to be carried out traditionally.⁶¹ This means that the standard of competence for *kyai* is unquestionable.

⁵⁸ Azzahra, *Dampak Undang-Undang Pesantren Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Indonesia – Sebuah Proyeksi*, 17.

⁵⁹ Abdullah Sahin, "Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education," *Religions* 9, no. 11 (November 1, 2018): 23, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9110335>.

⁶⁰ Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang No 18 Tahun 2019.

⁶¹ Anwar, *Pembaruan Pendidikan Di Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*, 96.

Conclusion

The journey of *pesantren* to become an educational institution recognized by, and part of, the configuration of national education is long and winding. The existence of *pesantren*, even though the government does not recognize it, the strength of the community that puts high trust is a plus for resilience and still exists so far. The government's policy of recognition of *pesantren* after the disaster until now has not actually reduced the trust of the Indonesian people. Even though the *pesantren* is not recognized for its diploma, however, no one doubts the religious quality of *pesantren* graduates. *Pesantren* does take independent steps in all aspects of education, including funding. *Pesantren* from the beginning of its establishment until now has never depended on outsiders including the government.

The impact of policies that emerged from Soekarno's time to Joko Widodo's time, among others; The *pesantren* diploma was not recognized by the Indonesian government after independence until the issuance of the *pesantren* law. *Pesantren* need to establish a new general institution to gain the diploma's legitimacy. *Pesantren salafiyah* and *muallimin* can be equalized after the issuance of the law. *Pesantren* received assistance in facilities, funds and recognition after the emergence of the *pesantren* law. *Pesantren* must carry out quality assurance by establishing *masjlis masyayikh*. The most recent impact of government policies is to include Islamic boarding schools in the configuration of the national education system. *Pesantren* is no longer underestimated (according to the content of the *pesantren* law by ignoring concrete implementation) just because of diploma matters and government recognition. Moreover, the budget for *pesantren* is increasing every year also signifies the government's recognition of *pesantren*.

Pesantren responds to national education policies in two forms. First, by establishing public institutions according to the national education framework under the Ministry of Religious Affairs or the Ministry of Education. Second, incorporate the general curriculum into the *pesantren* curriculum periodically and evaluate the curriculum to always be in accordance with the needs and challenges of education. The experience of *Pesantren Lirboyo* and *Gontor* is an important lesson for the government to pay more attention to and accommodate the needs of *pesantren*. It is an irony if the incident of recognition of *pesantren* diplomas by other States that are not recognized by the State itself repeats itself. There seems to be a skewed assumption about the government's slow response to educational institutions that receive the original Indonesian "*label*". Even if the government's reason for not

recognizing the *pesantren* diploma is because the *pesantren* lags behind the time or is unable to respond to the times, it has not been proven until now.

Bibliography

- Abdulloh, Muhammad. "Dampak Politik Kebijakan Peraturan Pemerintah Terhadap Eksistensi Pesantren (Kajian Maslahat Dan Mafsadat PP Nomor 55 Tahun 2007)." *Al Murabbi: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 5, no. 1 (2019): 92–102.
- Abide, Ömer Faruk, and Yücel Gelisli. "Identification of In-Service Teacher Education Policies in Turkey and Investigation of Their Reflections on Practices." *Educational Policy Analysis and Strategic Research* 16, no. 2 (2021): 120–38.
- Ali Riyadi, Ahmad. "Respon Pesantren Terhadap Perubahan Sosio-Politik Di Indonesia (1970-2000)," n.d.
- Antara. "500 Pondok Pesantren Peroleh Bantuan Rumah Susun - ANTARA News." [antaranews.com](https://www.antaranews.com/berita/443868/500-pondok-pesantren-peroleh-bantuan-rumah-susun), 2014.
- Anwar, Ali. *Pembaruan Pendidikan Di Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*. 2nd ed. Kediri: Pustaka Belajar dan IAIT Press, 2011.
- Azra, Azyumardi. "Indonesian Higher Education: From Public Good to Privatization." *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 1, no. 2 (2008): 139–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17516230802094411>.
- . *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*. I. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003.
- Azzahra, Nadia Fairuzza. *Dampak Undang-Undang Pesantren Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Indonesia – Sebuah Proyeksi*. Jakarta: Center for Indoensian Policy Studies, 2020.
- Berita Satu. "Sepanjang 2005 -2013, Pemerintah Kucurkan Dana BOS Rp 243,28 Triliun." [beritasatu.com](https://www.beritasatu.com/archive/178736/sepanjang-2005-2013-pemerintah-kucurkan-dana-bos-rp-24328-triliun), 2014.
- Bryner, Karen. "Piety Projects: Islamic Schools for Indonesia's Urban Middle Class." Columbia University, 2013.
- Burga, Muhammad Alqadri, Azhar Arsyad, Muljono Damopolii, and A. Marjuni. "Accommodating The National Education Policy In Pondok Pesantren Ddi Mangkoso: Study Period Of 1989-2018." *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 5, no. 1 (September 15, 2019): 82. https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v5i1.862.
- Castles, Lance. "Notes on the Islamic School at Gontor." *Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (1966): 30–45.
- Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyah dan Pondok Pesantren. "Pengajuan Bantuan Pesantren Dibuka Hingga 4 Oktober 2021." Kementerian Agama RI, 2021. <https://www.kemenag.go.id/read/pengajuan-bantuan-pesantren-dibuka-hingga-4-oktober-2021-nvpqy>.

- Dye, R Thomas. *Understanding Public Policy*. 14th ed. Unite State: Pearson Education, 2013.
- Eren, Ebru. "Education Policies in the Context of Political Communication in Turkey." *European Journal of Educational Research* 10, no. 1 (January 15, 2021): 227–40. <https://doi.org/10.12973/eu-jer.10.1.227>.
- Hamruni, Hamruni. "The Challenge and The Prospect of Pesantren in Historical Review." *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 2 (2016): 413. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2016.52.413-429>.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia." In *The Madrasa in Asia*, edited by Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin Van Bruinessen, 1st ed. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- Hefner, Robert W., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*. Vol. 1. United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Hidayah, Siti Nur. "Pesantren for Middle-Class Muslims in Indonesia (between Religious Commodification and Pious Neoliberalism)." *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 209–44. <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJIS.V9I1.7641>.
- Kementerian Agama. Peraturan Menteri Agama No 13 Tahun 2014 (2014).
———. Peraturan Menteri Agama No 18 Tahun 2014 (2014).
- Kementerian Keuangan. "Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan." lpdf.kemenkeu.go.id, 2021. <https://www.lpdf.kemenkeu.go.id/in/page/santri2021>.
- Kementerian Keuangan. "UU APBN Dan Nota Keuangan 1990-1999." Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia. Accessed November 30, 2021. <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/informasi-publik/uu-apbn-dan-nota-keuangan/uu-apbn-dan-nota-keuangan-1990-1999/>.
- Kosim, Moh. "Pesantren On The Frame Of Government Policies." *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 221–41. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.724>.
- Lukens-Bull, Ronald A. *Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Continuity and Conflict*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137313416>.
- Madania. "Pemprov Jabar Bentuk Majelis Masyayikh » Madania.Co.Id." Madania.co.id, 2021. <https://madania.co.id/pemprov-jabar-bentuk-majelis-masyayikh/>.
- Madjid, Nurcholis. *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997.
- Muslim. "Eksistensi Gontor Di Tengah Arus Modernisasi Pendidikan; Sebuah Model Inovasi Kurikulum." *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan* 17, no. 2 (2017): 167–78.
- Mustakim, Muh. "Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia." *Transformasi: Jurnal Kepemimpinan Dan Pendidikan Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): 27–41.

- Pendis Kemenag. "EMIS-PONPES." Kementerian Agama RI, 2021. http://emispendis.kemenag.go.id/emis_pdpontren/.
- Pohl, Florian. "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia." *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 389–409. <https://doi.org/10.1086/503882>.
- Prabowo, Rian Adhivira. "Politik Rekognisi Axel Honneth: Relevansinya Terhadap Jaminan Kesetaraan Dalam Hukum Di Indonesia." *JIIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 4, no. 2 (September 9, 2019): 75–88. <https://doi.org/10.14710/JIIP.V4I2.5379>.
- Presiden Republik Indonesia. Instruksi Presiden No 1 Tahun 1994 (1994).
———. Peraturan Pemerintah No 73 Tahun 1991 (1991).
———. Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 Tahun 2007 (2007).
———. Peraturan Presiden No 82 Tahun 2021 (2021).
———. Undang-Undang No 2 Tahun 1989, Pub. L. No. 2 (1989).
———. Undang-Undang No 18 Tahun 2019 (2019).
———. Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 (2003).
- Purwanto, Yedi, and Chairil N Siregar. "Pesantren Dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan Indonesia." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 15, no. 1 (2017): 233–72.
- Sahin, Abdullah. "Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education." *Religions* 9, no. 11 (November 1, 2018): 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9110335>.
- Sugiyono. *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif dan kombinasi (mixed methods)*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2018.
- Taufik, M. Tata. "Refleksi Dua Tahun UU Pesantren." *Republika*, 2021. <https://www.republika.id/posts/21118/refleksi-dua-tahun-uu-pesantren>.
- Tempo. "Ada Perpres Pendanaan Pesantren, Pemda Wajib Alokasikan Dana Untuk Ponpes?" *Nasional Tempo.co*, 2021. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1506806/ada-perpres-pendanaan-pesantren-pemda-wajib-alokasikan-dana-untuk-ponpes/full&view=ok>.
- Woodward, Kathleen E. "Indonesian Schools: Shaping the Future of Islam and Democracy in a Democratic Muslim Country." *Journal of International Education and Leadership* 5, no. 1 (2015): 1–23.