SEGREGATION AT PONDOK PESANTRENS IN KOTA BANJARMASIN, SOUTH KALIMANTAN

Inna Muthmainnah
UIN Antasari Banjarmasin
imuthmain@yahoo.co.uk

ABSTRACT
The two reasons of this study were the scanty prior studies concerning segregation at pondok pesantren and the fact that during my dissertation research I found that different pondok pesantrens applied segregation differently. The previous studies suggested that a leader employed segregation in accordance with the type of his educational background. By contrast, in this study I argued that the segregation implemented was the opposite type of their previous education as a sort of reflection. The objectives of the study were to explore the leaders’ views at pondok pesantrens in Kota Banjarmasin on segregation; to discover the arguments of the leaders’ views; and to describe the segregation implemented. This study employed a qualitative case study by employing interview, observation, and documentation methods to triangulate the data which was analyzed through content analysis. The leaders, the ustadzs, the ustadzahs, and the santris at three pondok pesantrens were involved in this study. This study found that the leaders were in different views; two viewed that the santris should be segregated while the other viewed the opposite. The argument of first view was the Qur’anic verses and hadith. The implementation was in the line with the leaders’ views. The two leaders in the first view segregated their santris; the first segregated the santri completely in all aspects of teaching and learning process, while the other segregated in teaching and learning process in class only. The leader in the second view did not segregate his santris, except in the activity of Zuhur prayer for the lack of space.

Keywords: leader, segregation, pondok pesantren
INTRODUCTION

Pondok pesantren has been an informal institution of education in Indonesia.\(^1\) It has been the focus of a numerous number of studies. Scholars have discussed pondok pesantren from various angles. Dhofier, for example, states that there are five elements of pondok pesantren, namely kyai (leader/headmaster), santri (student), mesjid (mosque), pondok (dormitory), and kitab kuning (yellow book).\(^2\) Furthermore, some other scholars did the research on kyai, and kitab kuning,\(^3\) while some other scholars discuss other issues in pondok pesantren, such as curriculum and jihòd.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 55 tahun 2007 tentang pendidikan agama dan pendidikan keagamaan, (Jakarta: Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyah dan Pondok Pesantren, Dirjen Pendidikan Islam, Departemen Agama RI, 2008)

\(^2\) Zamakhshariy Dhofier, Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982)

\(^3\) Martin van Bruinessen, “Kitab kuning: Books in Arabic script used in the pesantren milieu,” Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 146 (1990), 226-269; Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab kuning, pesantren dan tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995)

One interesting picture of studying at pondok pesantren is segregation between male and female santris whether in class during the process of teaching and learning and/or during their daily life in dormitories. Islamic scholars are in different views concerning this issue. For example, Al-Qabisi (935-1012) proposed to segregate male from female students in order to avoid negative behavior.\(^5\) This issue is often criticized by scholars, such as Kyai Mukhtar Syafaat (the kyai at Pondok Pesantren Darussalam, Blok Agung, Banyuwangi, East Java).\(^6\)

Another work was done by Sayed Mahathir dan Yulianto P. Prihatmaj. They designed a sort of hijab virtually in a library located at a pondok pesantren. The hijab was called mashrabiyya (or material perlubangan).\(^7\) K. Kharirah in her thesis in 2010 entitled *The women’s movement in Indonesia’s pesantren: Negotiating Islam, Culture, and Modernity*, heavily discussed women’s movement at pondok pesantren in Indonesia.\(^8\) Recently Eka Srimulyani published her work entitled *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces*, published by Amsterdam University Press in 2012 and \(^9\) In her work, Srimulyani discussed mostly the rule of women at pondok pesantren. Again, the issue of segregation was not the focus of Kharirah’s and Srimulyani’s studies. However, it is difficult to mention a work/research focusing on this issue in specific. The issue is discussed as a part of the whole discussion on pondok pesantren or Islamic education in Indonesia.

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6 Dhofer, *Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai*


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In the context of South Kalimantan, different researches have been done.\textsuperscript{10} Unfortunately, mostly those researches focus on the curriculum and kitab kuning at pondok pesantren, while the research on the issue of segregation is still scanty. In conclusion, the research focusing on segregation at pondok pesantren was scanty. This is the empirical reason why this study should be done.

Another reason of doing this research is that during my dissertation research, I found that different pondok pesantrens applied the segregation between male and female santris differently. One pondok pesantren separated the class for male and female santris during their process of teaching and learning, but in some events they met, for example in a meeting to discuss the organization. Another pondok pesantren separated between male and female santris in all matters, the process of teaching and learning as well as their daily life. This fact left a question, namely why those pondok pesantrens applied the segregation differently.

Furthermore, the term \textit{kyai} is widely used to refer to a person/a group of people who lead and is in charge of a pondok pesantren. \textit{Kyai} is commonly used in Java while in other places, such as in Lombok and South Kalimantan, the term \textit{tuan guru} is more commonly employed, even the term \textit{guru} is also usually used. However, the term \textit{guru} is also applied to name a person who teaches either at a pondok pesantren, that is commonly offer informal education, or at a

formal school. Relating to the issue of segregation at pondok pesantren, it is assumed that its implementation is in accordance with the leader’s guidance. However, during my preliminary research, various terms were employed to refer to a person/group of people who was/were in charge of a pondok pesantren. For this reason, the term leader is employed in this study to refer to a person/group of people who has an authority in making a decision at a pondok pesantren.

In Kota Banjarmasin as the location of this study, there are 8 (eight) pondok pesantrens as reported by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) at the Education Management Information System (EMIS) in 2011/2012. However, when I asked the permission from MORA at Kota Banjarmasin to conduct the research, the staff who was in charge of the pondok pesantren told that recently one pondok pesantren was added to the list.\textsuperscript{11} Therefore, there were eight pondok pesantrens in Kota Banjarmasin.

In this research three pondok pesantrens were chosen to represent three types of pondok pesantrens,\textsuperscript{12} namely salafiyah (Pondok Pesantren A), mixed (Pondok Pesantren B), and khalafiyah (Pondok Pesantren C), and also were located at three different kecamatan (districts) in Kota Banjarmasin.

The objectives of the research were:
1. To explore the leaders’ views on the issue of segregation at pondok pesantrens in Kota Banjarmasin;
2. To discover the arguments/backgrounds of the leaders’ views on the issue of segregation at pondok pesantrens;
3. To describe the segregation implemented by the leaders at their pondok pesantrens.

\textsuperscript{11} Staff MORA 2, personal communication, October 5, 2015.
Segregation in Islamic Education

In practical sense, the segregation was applied at schools in America, namely to separate black and white students,\(^\text{13}\) while in a co-educational school, segregation happened, for example, the place where the male and female students put their coats in separated places and the games they played.\(^\text{14}\) In the context of pondok pesantren, this word refers to the separation between male santris from the female ones during the process of teaching and learning and/or daily life at dormitory.

Theoretically, there are two theories to differentiate the roles of male and female. The first is the theory of the nature. According to this theory, the difference of roles between male and female is in accordance with their biological differences. A number of the biological differences differentiate their social roles. The second is the theory of the nurture. In this theory, the difference of social roles between male and female is due to culture. The society determines their social roles.

According to Syamsuddin, historically female is always in lower, even as subordinate, position, compared with male’s position, except in small number of societies that apply matrilineal system. Moreover, in tradition of *fiqh*, female is also in the similar treatment, in the lower position. Fortunately, in the last few decades some Islamic reformists have been aware to treat female as similar as male.\(^\text{15}\)

Dealing with this issue, Umar states that the Qur’an provides a freedom to human beings in determining the social roles between male and female. The Qur’an does not determine their social roles in detail. In other words, human


beings have a choice to discuss and decide their roles, in domestic as well as public spaces.\textsuperscript{16} Relating to this issue, the understanding of Islamic values has an impact on the education, as a part of public space. The first question is that male and female should be or should not be educated. Should female go to school that is outside her home to take her education? Finally, the question is that male and female should be or should not be in the same classroom or segregated.

\textbf{Research Design}

This study was a qualitative case study research for the data collected from observation, interview, and documentation were in narrative words, not in numbers that was in accordance with Creswell, Mertler and Charles,\textsuperscript{4} statement.\textsuperscript{17} In terms of where the data collected, this study was a field research because the data were collected from the participants through observation, interview, and documentation, not collected in a laboratory or in a library. Furthermore, the data were collected in its natural setting without any modification, as proposed by Patton and Slavin.\textsuperscript{18}

The participants of this study were the leaders as the main participants in this research (the chairman of the foundation at Pondok Pesantren A, the headmaster of madrasah tsanawiyah at Pondok Pesantren B, and the chairman of the foundation at Pondok Pesantren C), while administration staff, ustadzs/ustadzah, and santris were the participants to triangulate the data. Three pondok pesantrens in Kota Banjarmasin involved in this study to represent the salafiyah (merely offered the subjects of Islamic studies while also conducted


Inna Muthmainnah

Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar (Wajar Dikdas), namely Paket Belajar B and Paket Belajar C, the mixed/combined (offered the curriculum from MNE and MOR), and the khalafiyah (modern) one (merely offered the curriculum from MOR and MNE, or the one designed by the pondok pesantren itself).

Among the four strategies proposed by Merriam, the data of this study was analyzed through content analysis and inductive way. The data collected from the various participants using different methods of data collection were recorded in a database. The next step was to analyze the contents, namely the contents of the documents, observations, and interviews. This step was to find out the similarities, the differences, and the trends of the contents of the data collected from documentation, interviews, and observations obtained from different participants.

According to Fraenkel and Wallen, in a qualitative study, the issue of validity and reliability is not relevant compared to the requirement of a qualitative research. Therefore, instead of using the terms that were commonly used in quantitative research, this study should apply other requirements that were more in line with the nature of a qualitative study. Furthermore, according to Lincoln and Guba and Krefting, instead of using internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity that are commonly used in a quantitative study, a qualitative researcher employs credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These are to meet the criteria of trustworthiness in a study, namely truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality.

Leaders’ Views and Their Arguments/Background on Segregation

The leaders at the pondok pesantren had different views concerning the segregation. The leader of Pondok Pesantren A viewed that male and female santris must be separated. He learnt from his experience of study that it was better to separate male santris from female ones. He told that he started his study at a

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public primary school, continued to a public Islamic junior high school, a public Islamic senior high school, and a state Islamic institute for Islamic studies. When his father initiated to establish a pondok pesantren and asked his opinion concerning what kind of pondok pesantren to establish, he suggested segregating male santris from female ones. According to him, co-educational system encouraged the lack of restrictions that was not good among the santris. For this reason, he also suggested to the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) to separate male and female students/santris, especially at Islamic schools, as he stated in the following exception.

Interviewee: Kebebasan untuk para pelajar yang tidak sepadan yang tidak pantas, makanya itu ulun23 pun juga masih berusaha menginformasikan ke Kementerian Agama kalo bisa sekolah yang bernafaskan Islam
Interviewer: Heem
Interviewer: Inggih24
Interviewee: Itu dipisah, Fakultas perkuliahan itu dipisah
Interviewer: Kalo di IAIN itu kan sudah dipisah tu pak, di sini lakian di sana biinian tapi masih satu kelas
Interviewee: Nah itu kan masih satu kelas
Interviewer: Inggih
Interviewee: Maksud ulun ini bukan satu kelas
Interviewer: Dipisah sama sekali?
Interviewee: Dipisah sama sekali

Furthermore, the chairman of Pondok Pesantren A quoted a hadith (Mohammadan tradition) stating that if there were a man and a woman in a same place, the third was evil (syaiathan). Even though there was no clear verse in the Qur’an or a hadith that encouraged separating male and female santris in educational context, a number of ulamas promoted segregation in education, the chairman explained, even he stressed that it was his own opinion. He also viewed that male and female should be separated in the market, a male doctor should examine male patient only and a female doctor should examine female patient.

23 Ulun means saya, a polite word to refer to a singular first person in Banjarese language.
24 Inggih means iya, a polite word in Banjarese language.
Similarly, the santris were segregated because the foundation regulated in that way, according to the headmaster of Madrasah Tsanawiyah at Pondok Pesantren B. This regulation was to avoid negative effect, as the headmaster stated, “Gini Bu, kita memang dari pesantren harus terpisah, Bu. Harus menghindarkan hal-hal yang tidak diinginkan. Istilah bahasa “Laataqobuzzina” itu di situ, Bu”; even previously the male and female santris started their classes in different times; male santris started a half hour earlier than female santris did. Recently, they had a lack of number of ustadzs and ustadzahs, they changed the regulation; male and female santris studied in the same time, but the classes were segregated.25

Another view that was different from the previous ones was expressed by the chairman of the foundation at Pondok Pesantren C. According to him, male and female santris should not be segregated, but combined. There were two reasons of doing this. The first was concerning the facilities. Sometimes, the number of male santris to be put in one class was not enough, so was the number of female santris, while the number of classes and financial support were not enough. Even though recently the number of santris was increasing, but still there would be a problem if they were segregated.26

According to the chairman of Pondok Pesantren C, they did not segregate the santris to minimize negative attitudes among the santris. The female santris, for example, did not need to cheat outside the pondok pesantren in order to meet the male santris for they could do so in their pondok pesantren. In order words, combining the santris at pondok pesantren was a way to get them used in encountering their opposite sex. However, the chairman of Pondok Pesantren C agreed segregating male and female santris in different dormitories locating in faraway places, like what was applied by a pondok pesantren in Banjarbaru, another regency in South Kalimantan.

When the chairman of Pondok Pesantren C was asked about the reason of combining their santris in the same place, he argued that his experience taught him that segregating the santris made them trying to find a way to meet their counterparts outside pondok pesantren. In his view, combining the santris in the

25 Interview with the headmaster of Madrasah Tsanawiyah of Pondok Pesantren B on November 14, 2015 at the office of Pondok Pesantren B.
26 Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren C on November 16, 2015 at the office of Pondok Pesantren C.
same class had minimized cheating among the santris. However, the chairman did not deny that there was a case of his santris making affairs (pacaran). The santris then were excluded from the pondok pesantren. Moreover, there was no intervention from the higher institution concerning the policy of not segregating the santris at Pondok Pesantren C. When the chairman of this pondok pesantren told the institution, the board of the institution did not make any statement to show their agreement or disagreement.

Reviewing this the issue at pondok pesantren, it is concluded that the leaders held different views. The leaders at Pondok Pesantren A and B agreed on the one side of view, male and female santris must be segregated. On the other side, the leader at Pondok Pesantren C hold the view that male and female santris should be placed in the same class and taught by the same ustadz/ustadzahs.

Regarding the reason of the view, the leader of the first side quoted a verse of the Qur’an, “Don’t go near to fornication/adultery” (Q. S. al-Isra’: 32) and a hadith stating that it was forbidden for a man and women being together in one place because the third would be evil. When the participants were required to elaborate the hadith and the verse in the terms of interpretation, they simply stated that based on the verse and the hadith, segregating male and female santris was to avoid negative behavior. It is important to note that the rest of the hadith is “without a mahram”.

Another interesting point in this discussion was that all of the leaders employed or did not employ segregation based on their reflection on their previous educational experience. The headmaster of madrasah tsanawiyah at Pondok Pesantren B stated that their pondok pesantren applied segregation because they studied at their previous pondok pesantren in that way, segregating male and female santris. However, the other two learnt from their previous educational background, but what they believed in the time being was the opposite from what they experienced. The chairman of Pondok Pesantren A, who studied at an elementary, Islamic junior high, and Islamic senior high school, and an Islamic institute where male and female students sat side by side in the same class, learnt that was not good. As the result, he believed that male and female santris must be segregated. On the other side, the chairman of Pondok Pesantren C who studied at pondok pesantren segregating its santris learnt that it is better if the santris sit in the same class and were taught by the same ustadzs/ustadzahs. In other words, educational background was the mirror for the leaders to think which kind of education they should apply.
Implementation of the Segregation at Pondok Pesantrens

At Pondok Pesantren A, male and female santris were separated in all matters. Female santris and an ustazah agreed with this statement. They stated that they did not meet male santris, because their pondok pesantren was a religious school. If the pondok pesantren knew that one of their santris broke this rule, they would punish the santri. They asked the parents to come to the pondok pesantren and explained what their son/daughter did, and the consequence, even if the parents agreed, they arranged the marriage for the santris. Interestingly, the couple could continue their study at Pondok Pesantren A.\(^\text{27}\)

Besides segregating the classes during the process of teaching and learning, Pondok Pesantrene A also separated the gates for the santris; male santris entered the pondok pesantren through different gate from the gate for the female santris. Moreover, the times the classes started for male and female santris were different. The gate for male santris was closed (and the classes started) at 7:15 while the gate for female santris was closed at 7:55. In the afternoon, the male santris finished their class after praying Zuhur at about 12:30, while the female santris had a break to pray zuhur then continued their study until about 13:00. Therefore, the male and female santris did not come and leave the pondok pesantren in the same time. The chairman explained that segregation system that was applied at the pondok pesantren was stated in the document.\(^\text{28}\)

Female santris were entering the gate for female santris at Pondok Pesantren while the gate for male santris was closed.

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\(^{27}\) Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren A, the santris of class 3 Tsanawiyah, and Ustadzah A on November 16, 2015 in the Class 3 Tsanawiyah.

\(^{28}\) Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren A on November 8, 2015 in the office.
The segregation was also applied at santris’ activities held by the santris. For example, in celebrating an Islamic event, male santris conducted a celebration in different day from female santris. In addition, when the parents attended a meeting female parents sat in different place from male parents; they were separated by a *hijab* and the committee of the event provided a big television to see the ceremony.²⁹

Moreover, male ustadzs and female ustadzahs had separated rooms. For ustadzahs, the room located near to the classes for female santris and the room for the ustadzs located near to the classes for male santris.³⁰ In addition, the ustadzahs taught the female santris and the ustadzs taught the male santris. As the exception, only senior ustadzs were allowed to teach the female santris. The chairman explained that being senior meant being old and knowledgable.³¹ In short, Pondok Pesantren A segregated male and female santris, ustadzs and ustadzahs, and parents in all matters, except the fact that only senior ustadzs taught female santris.

At Pondok Pesantren B during the process of teaching and learning in the morning (offering the curriculum of MORA), male and female santris were segregated. The three first classes were for female and the last three ones were for male, even they used different stairs (they studied in the second floor) for male and female.³²

In the afternoon, the santris at Pondok Pesantren B studied Islamic subjects in kitab kuning, or diniyah takmiliyah. Unlike the process of teaching and learning in the morning, in the afternoon the santris were classified based on their competency in kitab kuning. Therefore, a santri in class 1 at madrasah tsanawiyah in the morning could be placed at class 2 at madrasah awwaliyah in the afternoon. However, segregation between male and female santris was also

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²⁹ Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren A on November 8, 2015 in the office.
³⁰ Observation on November 8, 2015.
³¹ Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren A on November 8, 2015 in the office.
³² Interview with the headmaster of Madrasah Tsanawiyah of Pondok Pesantren B on November 14, 2015 at the office of Pondok Pesantren B.
applied. In addition, only ustadzs taught in the afternoon for there was no competent ustadzah applying to teach kitab kuning at diniyah takmiliah.33

Pondok Pesantren B applied segregation between male and female santris during the process of teaching and learning only. According to the headmaster of Madrasah Tsanawiyah, the male and female santris could meet in the canteen or outside the classroom. The researcher observed that there was no line to separate male and female santris outside the classrooms. They played in the same yard and they went the same canteen/\textit{warung}. However, the researcher found that male santris played different game from female ones did, the male went with his male colleagues, not with female ones.34 In co-curricular activity, like \textit{Pramuka} (scouting), male and female santris were grouped based on their sex as shown in the following photo.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Pramuka (scouting) at Pondok Pesantren B where female santris were sitting and listening to their senior while male santris were collecting garbage.}
\end{figure}

Regarding the Organization of Santris (\textit{Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah/OSIS}), there was one OSIS for Madrasah Tsanawiyah and one for Madrasah Aliyah. Each committee consisted of male and female santris without separation.35 The headmaster of Pondok Pesantren B expressed his hope to have different classrooms for male and female santris in different locations. Due to the

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textsuperscript{33}] Interview with the headmaster of Madrasah Tsanawiyah of Pondok Pesantren B on November 14, 2015 at the office of Pondok Pesantren B.
\item [\textsuperscript{34}] Observation at Pondok Pesantren B on November 14, 2015.
\end{itemize}
lack of financial support, the santris studied in the same location, but in separated classrooms.

Finally, at Pondok Pesantren C the chairman stated that male and female santris were not segregated. Female and male santris studied in the same class, went to the same canteen, played in the same yard. This statement was in accordance with the researcher’s observation.

Male and female santris studied in the same class at Pondok Pesantren C.

In the photo above, male and female santris were not segregated, they studied in the same class. However, the female and male santris sat in separated column. Similar non-segregation was also applied in the yard when the santris did exercise. The male teacher (ustadz) taught them in yard, but female and male santris were grouped in different groups.

Male and female santris were in the yard, doing exercise.

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36 Interview with the chairman of the foundation of Pondok Pesantren C on November 16, 2015 at the office of Pondok Pesantren C.
Inna Muthmainnah

However, in praying Zuhur, male and female santris prayed in separated place. According to the chairman, initially when the number of santris was still small, male and female santris prayed in the same place. When their number increased, they prayed in separated place. Another advantage of this separation was to provide more opportunity for the santris to practice muhadharah. For the muhadharah was conducted in two places with two audiences, more santris could participate in becoming master of ceremony and speaker.

The segregation at this pondok pesantren was applied in placing the teachers. The male teachers were in a separated room from the female ones as showed in the following photo.

Male and female teachers (ustadzs and ustadzah) were in different rooms. This was the only segregation applied at Pondok Pesantren C.

Recently, Pondok Pesantren C was building a mosque, beside the classes. According to the chairman, male santris would have a special door that was different from the door for female ones.

Through interview and observation how those three pondok pesantren implemented the segregation, it was clear that they were different. Pondok Pesantren A segregated its santris and ustadzs/ustadzahs in all aspect; the class they studied and taught, the gate they entered the pondok pesantren, the room they took a rest during the break time, the organization the santris managed their co-curricular activities, and so on.

At Pondok Pesantren B, male and female santris were segregated; even the stairs they climbed were different. However, they were not separated in other aspects; the room for ustadzs and ustadzahs was the same, the santris played on the same yard, they went to the same warung to have snack and drink. However, a male santri usually played and went with his male friends while a female santri played and went with her female friends.
Finally, Pondok Pesantren C did not segregate its santris. They studied in the same class, were taught by the same ustadz/ustadzah, played in the same yard, went to the same canteen. However, the ustadzahs had their own room that was different from the room for the ustadzs. During praying Zuhur and *muhadharah*, male and female santris were separated for the room was not enough to accommodate all of the santris. Another reason of segregating the santris during these events was to provide more opportunity for the santris to participate. In conclusion, the leaders of the three pondok pesantrens in this study hold different views on the issue of segregation. These various views reflected in their implementation at their pondok pesantrens.

Surprisingly, this conclusion is contradictory with what I found in my previous research. The type of a pondok pesantren was determined by educational background of the founder(s). Usually a graduate from a pondok pesantren salafiyyah would found a pondok pesantren, while a graduate from a modern pondok pesantren would found the same type. Furthermore, two of the three pondok pesantrens in this study applied segregation among their santris. According to Srimulyani, this is a characteristic of a pondok pesantren. She stated, “Social interactions between men and women in a pesantren are also restricted. The spatial segregation between men and women is strictly upheld in the majority of pesantren, although the Indonesian Muslim community in general does not insist on this kind of segregation.”

**Conclusion**

Base of the description earlier, it is concluded that this study found the leaders of pondok pesantrens were in different views concerning segregation; the first two viewed that the santris should be segregated while the third held the opposite view. Regarding the reason of those views, the major reason was educational background in terms that those leaders built their views based on their reflections on their previous education. Interestingly, the leaders at Pondok Pesantren A and Pondok Pesantren C provided their educational experiences as their reasons, but they were on the opposite ways. The leader of Pondok

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37 Inna Muthmainnah, *Designing the Curriculum of Kitab Kuning at Pondok Pesantren Salafiyyah in South Kalimantan*, Dissertation for Doctor Degree at Universiti Utara Malaysia, Kedah, Malaysia, 2014

38 Srimulyani, *Women from traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia*, p.17
Pesantren A reflected and evaluated his educational experiences, then viewed that male and female santris must be segregated. As the consequence, at Pondok Pesantren A male and female santris were segregated in all matters. However, the leader of Pondok Pesantren C reflected and evaluated his educational background, and concluded that the santris should not be segregated as he implemented at Pondok Pesantren C.

Another phenomenon was presented at Pondok Pesantren B. The leader viewed that male and female santris should be segregated as he experienced during his previous education. Therefore, at the pondok pesantren the santris were segregated even though not in all matters. The santris were placed in separated classes during the process of teaching and learning, while in other activities they were together. This was due to the lack of facilities in terms of dormitory.

In short, it is concluded that the leaders of the pondok pesantrens in this study hold different views concerning the segregation between male and female santris. The views were based the leaders’ reflection on their educational backgrounds. Due to the lack of facilities, they implemented at their pondok pesantrens with some constraints.

Based on this study, the researcher proposed the following recommendations:

1. For the other researchers, this study provides some holes to discover, such as Islamic teachings dealing with the issue of segregation. The issue has not been discussed in depth by scholars.

For the institution who makes the decision, such as MORA, this research provides an empirical discussion on the issue of segregation at pondok pesantren, namely the leaders’ views on the segregation, the reasons/ backgrounds, and the implementation at their pondok pesantrens. The result should be considered when they designed a decision, particularly regarding the pondok pesantren and segregation.
Segregation at Pondok Pesantrens in Kota Banjarmasin South Kalimantan

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Segregation at Pondok Pesantren in Kota Banjarmasin South Kalimantan


Inna Muthmainnah