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## A Model of Santri's Resistance to Kiai in the Speed-Reading Method of Kitab Kuning in Islamic Education Institutions in Madura and Selangor

Achmad Muhlis<sup>1\*</sup>, Mohammad Ali Al-Humaidy<sup>2\*</sup>, Ach Baiquni<sup>3\*</sup>, Zuliza Mohd Kusrin<sup>4\*</sup>

### Abstract

*This research aims to evaluate the Kitab Kuning (a traditional set of Islamic texts) implemented in several pesantren, both in Indonesia and Malaysia, is necessary to preserve the spreading of religious knowledge without being detached from its cultural roots. It can be achieved by adopting and adapting modern teaching methods and techniques while still incorporating the values of pesantren, such as obedience and exemplary behavior. However, this system has led to a new variant of Santri's resistance. This study focuses on Santri's resistance to Kiai in implementing Kitab Kuning's speed-reading method at Islamic education institutions in Madura, Indonesia, and Selangor, Malaysia. The research method employed is qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. The study has identified several forms of Santri's resistance, such as reluctance to have physical contact with teachers. Non-violent resistance is also observed in their refusal to pay fees both inside and outside the classroom, as well as during the learning process. Most of these acts of resistance are non-verbal and can also be seen in the form of defaced books or writings.*

**Keywords:** method of learning Kitab Kuning; resistance; Islamic culture

### Introduction

The implementation of the speed-reading method in learning Kitab Kuning in several pesantren has created a new form of resistance from Santri. It has become inevitable for pesantren to implement the speed-reading method to preserve the spreading of Islamic teachings without leaving its roots; in other words, pesantren need to adapt to and adopt innovative and modern learning methods and yet maintain their long-held values and principles, namely obedience and exemplary, so the collaboration of former and the latter is crucial (Martha Hendrati et al. 2024).

Some pesantren in Indonesia and Malaysia have developed the speed-reading method for learning Kitab Kuning. Some examples include (1) the Amsilati method developed by pesantren in Kudus of Central Java, Indonesia, which is adopted by Pesantren al-Nahdah

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<sup>1\*</sup>Corresponding Author Achmad Muhlis, Email: [achmad.muhlis@iainmadura.ac.id](mailto:achmad.muhlis@iainmadura.ac.id)

Lecturer Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura (IAIN Madura), Jl. Raya Panglegur No.Km. 4, Barat, Ceguk, Kec. Tlanakan, Kabupaten Pamekasan, Jawa Timur 69371, Indonesia

<sup>2\*</sup>Author Mohammad Ali Al-Humaidy: Email: [malhum@iainmadura.ac.id](mailto:malhum@iainmadura.ac.id)

Lecturer Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura (IAIN Madura), Jl. Raya Panglegur No.Km. 4, Barat, Ceguk, Kec. Tlanakan, Kabupaten Pamekasan, Jawa Timur 69371, Indonesia

<sup>3\*</sup>Author Ach Baiquni: Email: [achbaiquni@iainmadura.ac.id](mailto:achbaiquni@iainmadura.ac.id)

Lecturer Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura (IAIN Madura), Jl. Raya Panglegur No.Km. 4, Barat, Ceguk, Kec. Tlanakan, Kabupaten Pamekasan, Jawa Timur 69371, Indonesia

<sup>4\*</sup>Author Zulzila Mohd Kusrin: Email: [zuli@ukm.edu.my](mailto:zuli@ukm.edu.my)

Lecturer Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) Malaysia, Lingkungan Ilmu, 43600 Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia

Selangor, Malaysia, (2) the Al-Miftah lil Ulum method developed by pesantren in Pasuruan of East Java, Indonesia, (3) the Nubdah al-bayan developed by pesantren in Pamekasan of East Java, Indonesia, which is adopted by pesantren in Selangor, Malaysia, (4) the Al-Iktisyaf method developed by pesantren in Pamekasan of East Java, Indonesia, and (5) the Al-Fatih method developed by pesantren in Sumenep of East Java, Indonesia (J E Prasetio et al. 2024; Sabihaini et al. 2023). However, the implementation of these speed-reading methods has led to resistance by Santri, hidden in compliance with the sanctions for Santri, who failed to meet the learning targets.

There has not been much research on Santri's resistance against Kiai, and most studies on learners' resistance against teachers are in public schools, not pesantren. There is no research discussing Santri's resistance to Kiai in the speed-reading method of learning Kitab Kuning. As such, our study refers to previous studies on the general topic of students' resistance to teachers and Santri's resistance to Kiai. We found three trends in the previous studies on resistance against learning. First, studies that focus on Santri's resistance against pesantren's rules and Kiai's fatwa; too strict rules or rigid fatwa are the ones leading to resistance (Shabbir et al. 2023; Asyik et al. 2023). Second, studies that focus on how to reduce students' resistance to teachers suggest that teachers must understand students' condition. Third, studies reveal that students' resistance is fueled by teachers being too disciplined or students hating the learning processes. These findings and trends show no research topics on resistance related to the use of the speed-reading method in learning Kitab Kuning (Indra Prasetyo et al. 2023; Eko Prasetio et al. 2023). This study completes some studies on Santri's resistance to Kiai. The objective of the study is to reveal the models and forms of Santri's resistance related to the implementation of speed-reading in learning Kitab Kuning in pesantren in Madura, Indonesia, and Selangor, Malaysia.

The study employed a constructivist paradigm with a qualitative approach, and the study falls into phenomenology. Social science in the constructivist paradigm is a systematic analysis of the reality of social meaning obtained through direct and specific observation of social activities in life in a normal and natural way (Hendrati et al. 2023; Nuswantara et al. 2023). Researchers can naturally examine the reality of social behavior in creating and understanding their social environment (Asyik et al. 2022; I Prasetyo et al. 2022). Then, to collect data in this study, we interviewed Santri reading Kitab Kuning using speed-reading at pesantren in Selangor and Madura.

## **Discussion**

### **Santri's Resistance Against Kiai**

There are no studies that specifically examine Santri's resistance to Kiai, but the term "resistance" can be referred to as the resistance of students to their teachers within the setting of educational institutions (Tjaraka, Hidayat, and Rusdiyanto 2022; Kalbuana et al. 2022). Santri's resistance refers to their unwillingness to join learning activities at pesantren or schools; their refusal may take the forms of rejection, defiance, disobedience, and impoliteness to Kiai. McLaren defines resistance as an opposing action or dissent that attempts to challenge the legitimacy, power, and culture at schools (Sudaryanto et al. 2022; Utari, Sudaryanto, et al. 2021). Resistance occurs between students and teachers because students feel dissatisfied with the status quo of the school, giving rise to efforts to eliminate the culture that exists in the school and actively opposing what they experience.

Ahmad Muhlis divides resistance into several types, including rejection, denial, strikes, and demonstrations against teachers. Meanwhile, at least five student compliance attitudes are depicted politically through existing ethnographic studies. Evertson and friends mention the following (Januar Eko Prasetyo et al. 2021; Aliyyah, Siswomihardjo, et al. 2021). First, students in Indonesia are described as ducks who are always obedient in their group. Second, students are depicted as blank white papers that can be freely defined and shaped by the teachers and policies in the school system (Indrawati et al. 2021; Budi Endarto et al. 2021). Third, although students come from various different backgrounds, they are seen as equal so it will be easy to create uniformity. Fourth, student control is strictly carried out by monitoring body movement and growth, starting from the rows of tables and chairs in the classroom, which are mechanically designed based on predetermined rules, to the use of shoes, hair care, and perfume (I. Prasetyo, Aliyyah, Rusdiyanto, Utari, et al. 2021; Utari, Iswoyo, et al. 2021). Fifth, students are monitored through registration and attendance lists, which are carried out several times in one school day. This is according to Kostis Kornetis and is supported by the views of Maryann Dickar and Eric Tochalis. These all aim at presenting the legitimacy of the teacher's authority towards students in the classroom (Abadi et al. 2021; B. Endarto et al. 2021). Meanwhile, James C Scott divides resistance models into two: open and closed. Open resistance is carried out in an organized, systematic, and principled manner; for example, demonstrations, open rebellion, and so on. Meanwhile, closed resistance is imposed on objects of resistance, such as gossip, slander, and so on (I Prasetyo, Aliyyah, Rusdiyanto, Kalbuana, et al. 2021; Aliyyah, Prasetyo, et al. 2021). These two types become research references in other studies even though the researchers use other terms (Rusdiyanto et al. 2021; Kalbuana, Suryati, et al. 2021). Then another theory mentions that teachers are positioned as the one-knows-it-all. So, we can describe several forms of resistance, such as structured and unstructured, and several types of resistance, such as verbal, written, emotional, and others.

### **Kiai as Exemplary Figures for Santri in the Culture of Pesantren**

Zamakhsyari Dhofir mentions several requirements for an Islamic educational institution to fall under the category of pesantren, including the existence of Kiai or Ustadz (teachers), Santri (students learning and staying at pesantren), mosques, and Kitab learning. This means that Kiai and Ustadz are crucial for pesantren; they must be present to guide learning and, above all, become exemplary figures for Santri. Kiai helps shape Santri's attitudes and akhlaq or ethics through exemplary behaviors as a family leader and pesantren's leader (Kalbuana, Prasetyo, et al. 2021; I. Prasetyo, Aliyyah, Rusdiyanto, Nartasari, et al. 2021). Kiai shows a sincere and decent attitude yet is disciplined and educated to represent the values of mudaris, murabbi, maulim, and muadib; these all make Kiai a charismatic figure who influences the people around him and the community so he can be an exemplary leader for them (I. Prasetyo, Endarti, Endarto, Aliyyah, et al. 2021; I. Prasetyo, Aliyyah, Rusdiyanto, Chamariah, et al. 2021). Kiai is the role model for Santri; everything at pesantren is decided based on Kiai's agreement and authority.

Kiai as a figure responsible for guiding and educating Santri has three primary authorities. The first is the traditional authority, based on the traditions and beliefs among members of society (Susanto et al. 2021; Luwihono et al. 2021). The next is charismatic authority, which is based on mystical power and religious values. The last is regional-legal authority, which is based on community members' trust in the rules that form the basis of leaders' behavior. These three authorities are exercised by a Kiai or his confidant, called Ustadz, in implementing the speed-reading method of learning Kitab Kuning.

In implementing the authority, Kiai must adhere to some theories, as mentioned by Imam Al-Ghazali. First, Kiai must love their Santri the way they love their own children. Second, Kiai must put the Prophet Muhammad as their role model and always follow the examples and standards set by the Prophet Muhammad in a way that they educate their Santri without expecting anything in return (Rusdiyanto, Karman, et al. 2020; Prabowo et al. 2020). Third, it is highly advisable that Kiai do not provide any honorable predicate to Santri before they complete their education. Fourth, Kiai must forbid Santri from any bad attitudes. Sixth, Kiai must deliver the lesson based on the intelligence levels of their Santri. Seventh, Kiai must provide a general explanation when facing low achievers. Eighth, Kiai, as a role model, must walk the talk (Rusdiyanto, Agustia, et al. 2020; Rusdiyanto, Hidayat, et al. 2020). Sayyid Qutb and Wahbah Zuhaili mention that teachers must be gentle and patient in educating the students, as stated in QS. Ali-Imran Verse 159: this will help reduce the resistance Santri has to Kiai.

The Madurese and pesantren acknowledge three figures that must be highly appreciated, known as Eppa' Bhabhu Guruh Ratoh, consisting of the parents (Bapak), the teachers (Guru), and the leaders or the government (Ratu). In this article, we focus on the teachers (Juanamasta et al. 2019). The word "teachers" here does not simply refer to the people teaching at schools, but more for those followed and appreciated by the community, including Kiai. For the Madurese, Kiai is considered more than just people who teach religious values; indeed, Kiai is seen as a role model, an example of how people should live their lives. Hefni pictures Kiai for the Madurese as Raja, or a King, while Ridwan Ahmad Syukri states that Kiai is a symbol that elevates one's social status because Kiai ranks second after one's parents to be honored. The Madurese positions Kiai as a person whose orders and statements must be followed. Santri must follow the principle of *sami'na wa atha'na*, meaning "I know and I obey", when it comes to honoring Kiai and gaining the blessing of God (Allah SWT) in their pursuit of knowledge.

### **The Forms of Santri's Resistance to Kiai in the Speed-Reading Method of Kitab Kuning**

We interviewed the teachers (Ustadz) and Santri to reveal the forms of Santri's resistance to Kiai in the speed-reading method of Kitab Kuning in some Islamic educational institutions in Madura and Selangor. The following are some excerpts from the interviews.

"I often say inappropriate words, belittle and demean Ustadz. I even ever challenged Ustadz to a fight because I thought I was punished excessively, going beyond the limits, such as being hit with a "panjelin". This happened because, at that time, I did not understand that it was also part of the resistance against Ustadz. It all resulted in my knowledge not being useful because I did not get blessings from Ustadz. Soon as I realized that I was wrong, I asked for apology. After that, I put myself completely to practice *sami'na wa atha'na*, "I know and I obey". (Santri 1)

The first informant revealed that he often uttered inappropriate words and demeaned Ustadz. This shows that there is a form of structured resistance done directly. Meanwhile, the following informant expressed something different from the first informant.

I often get angry when I think Ustadz is unfair to fellow students during "ngaso'agi", by choosing only certain Santri. There were times when I thought that Ustadz was not punishing fairly. Some of us got harsher treatment. I have also challenged Ustadz when I thought that the punishment I had was too much, beyond normal limits. I was hit with "panjelin" repeatedly on the feet and calves until "sampe' mes mes". (Santri 2)

This informant revealed that he often uttered inappropriate words and demeaned Ustadz. This shows that there is a form of structured resistance carried out directly. Some students feel

uneasy about taking inappropriate actions against their Ustadz, but they think it must be done because the punishment is sometimes disproportionate, exceeding the normal limits for physical sanctions.

I witness many Santri's actions that are not nice to see or words that are not good to hear, as if they are uneducated. Sometimes, they keep silent when being asked. They can be "nyarodeng", "mesem sinis", or "roneroh tengkanah Ustadz", but for me, these actions are normal, perhaps because they do not even understand that what they do will impact their study. Every now and then, I keep reminding them. I feel sorry for the "badass" students who dare to talk bad to their Ustadz." (Ustadz 1)

### **Resistance also Occurs when Santri Feels they get too many Assignments**

"I often conduct inappropriate actions towards Ustadz during class hours and even outside class. I do that because Ustadz considers us all to have the same ability in learning. How come? We are all different, but Ustadz does not seem to understand that and gives us the same target in memorizing materials, which is no less than 6 pages a day! 'Serah se kellar?, mon guleh ta' kellar karna ta'penter, nikah kitab gundul dalemamah", mi' pas ta'caremmetah gulah ka ustadz.' Although I do not want apesowan, I keep cursing in my heart, saying 'korang ajer, ta'beres'. I do not dare to say anything because doing so will only cause me more trouble or punishment." (Santri 3)

Habits in their families, especially new Santri, also become the main trigger for resistance. Verbal resistance, through speaking, seems to be part of several pesantren in Madura. However, Santri are sometimes not aware that their behavior is inappropriate; for example, rude jokes between Santri and Ustadz are often heard. As time goes by, however, Santri understands that they must not do such things and then control themselves to behave and speak better to Ustadz.

There were times when my friends and I called Ustadz se ngala' karebbeh dibi because Ustadz gave us so many tasks in such a very limited time. It is just too much to handle. Like mission impossible. Ustadz even says things like se lemes dating, se penttet deteng, se koros, se bauh, and others. I often made that kind of joke when I was new here. But then it stopped as time went by because Ustadz always reminds us to behave well, speak well, and keep our ethics and attitudes, especially to our teachers or Ustadz." (Santri 4)

Good attitudes are a necessity for educators, especially those living in pesantren, because they are role models; Ustadz must be exemplary, just like the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This is also the reason for resistance because many Santri often feel that their Ustadz do not respect them as the same fellow creatures created by Allah SWT.

Ustadz's creativity in teaching and learning processes also becomes another point for Santri to obey or resist them, as mentioned by the following informant.

We have all those kinds of Ustadz, the killer, the mean, the sensitive ones. We even have the ones that call us with inappropriate nickname, like Dul and Mat. When we have classes with the latter, we will be joking, saying things like huh tadz dul deteng, tadz mat-tadz mat. We carelessly call them Dul and Mat, as they call us. I protest when Ustadz calls me like that because pas sengkah, deddih ta'perna, terro moleyah maloloh. Ustadz with no creativity in teaching will cara ngajerre kasar, sembrono, denbeden." (Santri 5)

Santri's prior education, as well as social, cultural, and economic background, will influence their actions at pesantren. The character pesantren aims to build for Santri may be inversely proportional to the orientation and willingness of parents, as described below:

I have been teaching for a long time, and I kind of feel offended when Santri looks down bedeh santreh alaben, ta'endek e atur, cengkal, melleng, never achieves their targets, always complains duh napah tadz, duh kaemma'ah je' kyai la benyyak, je' wat gawat. They do not understand that attitudes are the key to pursuing knowledge and learning. Santri must tunduk, atatakramah, ta'alabenan, ta' nget neng nget ka ustadz, ta' kasar ka ustadz" (Ustadz 2).

Other Ustadz also mentions that he keeps being patient and committed to teaching Kitab Kuning in Madura because he, and his fellow teachers, understand that they are the representatives of Kiai in being role models for Santri. They know they must control themselves and avoid any bad actions even when Santri provokes them, as stated below.

Many of our Santri like to ridicule their Ustadz, orally and in writing. They can say things like mon gun depadeh santrennah, je' wet magawet, mon depadeh ta' alim ta' agaya kyai, padeh disanah je' ta makottah, and others. I was once sent an anonymous letter with all bad words in it, ca' nguca'eh, apesowan. I responded to that calmly. Well, sometimes, I even choose not to respond to all those things. Why? Because I know that they do not know that what I do has purposes; it is all based on Kyai's orders or commands. Latorot, din la taoh pasti ambu dibi', pasti minta saporah, karna mon santreh padeh tako' ilmunah ta' manfaat." (Ustadz 3)

#### **It has been Common for Ustadz to get Intimidated or Threatened, as Mentioned below**

"The intimidation and threats have happened. Santreh ngancam ustadddeh, ngerem tolisan se ta'jellas pengirimah. It sounds serious. They write things like je'bensaroben abenta, pangasteteh, embe'en oreng dimmah tadz. They even say it directly, ekabele'eh ka eppa', pojur e pondok be'en tadz. Well, all bad and inappropriate words for Santri to say. It is commonly done by new Santri because they are new to our traditions, here at pesantren. They are not used to those, including not understanding polite way of speaking Madurese language." (Ustadz 4)

It is quite common to hear Santri speaks in high tones; however, Ustadz must be patient and wise in facing such actions. Usatzd are suggested to not quickly judge the actions as a form of resistance because Santri may not understand the rule well. Thus, Ustadz are always taught to think positively, show good behavior in treating Santri, and to speak politely and calmly.

"Mon paggun de'iyah, awas be'en tadz", "je' reng ustaddah se cengkal, je' maksa'en tadz", I hear this sentence quite often amon Santri who do not want to do what their Ustadz ask them to do. They say it in a high tone. Well, I will say that's normal. Santri, who are not fast learners and who cannot keep up with the learning target, may find pesantren's life and demands hard. They may feel under pressure by the targets surrounding them. They may feel like their mental health is disturbed. In essence, Ustadz must be a role model and a good example for Santri by showing good behavior and attitudes, speaking using good words politely, and providing safety and comfort for Santri. This will help Santri to gain blessings from Allah SWT, so their knowledge will benefit them, help them to realize that what they do is wrong and they regret it, so they become a better person." (Ustadz 5)

We found various forms of resistance in learning Kitab Kuning using the speed-reading method in pesantren across Madura. We identified formal or non-formal resistance and structured and unstructured resistance. In detail, we found verbal, written, physical, and mental resistance. The same thing is experienced by students who live in Malaysia who learn Kitab Kuning using the speed-reading method.

I'm the type of student who often leaves the class late. But when we think we have some tasks that are too hard for us and burden us, we will turn our back to Ustadz and recite shalawat. This is actually mocking Ustadz because he gives us hard assignments to finish. (Santri 6)

The statement shows physical resistance by turning one's back against Ustadz during the teaching and learning process. The following informant shared how he showed resistance structurally and verbally.

Sometimes I just talk to my classmates, kind of whispering, when Ustadz explains the speed-reading method, especially when Ustadz asks to read Kitab Fathul Qorib, you know, the one without harakat. Ustadz demands that we be able to read that as he instructed, and it is 10 AM in the morning, you know, the time when we always feel sleepy. So, I sometimes ask Ustadz to stop because I cannot understand what he is saying. But most of the time, I keep silent because I fear Ustadz will punish me. We say what we want to Ustadz just several times directly.” (Santri 7)

The next informant also mentioned that he showed resistance structurally and emotionally.

The young (junior) Ustadz often punishes us because we cannot recite Kitab well. We say, ‘Ustadz, do not be so strict,’ while laughing, although we actually are pissed off by his action. Ustadz just smiles. We, boys and girls, unite to say what we mean. Well, two males Santri refuse to do so, even though their capabilities are not better than ours; they are the obedient ones. I see myself as sufficient, and my classmates as well. We obey Ustadz and pesantren's management. We also feel that we are the same age as the young (junior) Ustadz in that we try to be open, to say what we want in learning Kitab Kuning.” (Santri 8)

The following statement from Ustadz or Kiai serves as a comparison for the previous statements by Santri in pesantren in Malaysia.

Well, we will never say that they are bad kids, no. Nobody ever hits the Ustadz. Screaming or yelling, yes, is quite common. Our Santri are obedient enough, affected by factors like 1) their number is still low, 2) they have been here for less than a year after the COVID-19 pandemic, and 3) most of them want to be here, but the parents force some to be here. (Ustadz 6)

The data show two models of resistance: structured and unstructured. The forms include oral, physical, emotional, written, verbal, and non-verbal resistance. Some of the data found shows that there are forms of disobedience which are divided into two, namely structured and unstructured, while the types are divided into several parts, such as verbal, physical, emotional, written, verbal and non-verbal.

### **Analyzing the Santri's Resistance Models to Kiai in the Speed-Reading Method of Learning Kitab Kuning**

Various forms of resistance exist, camouflaging under the obedience to rules and sanctions that Santri will get when they cannot fulfill the primary learning target; these have become a new model of resistance in pesantren. This deviant behavior begins with Santri analyzing and comparing their present and past learning methods. Santri then feel that their present learning demands too much from them, not aligning with their capabilities and interests; most of them seem to only want to invest little time and effort to their study, while Ustadz give them so many assignments and demands. Santri find it even harder because they only have so little time to socialize with their peers. Bandura and Gewirtz, as cited by Elida Prayitno mention that Santri should carry out actions that are directly proportional to the pesantren's rules, ethics, morals, and norms. In fact, some of them even show pseudo-submission towards Ustadz as an excuse to cover up the resistance.

#### **Reluctance to have Physical Contact**

It happens during hand-shaking moments, where Santri refuses to look at Ustadz. Some Santri even refuse to meet Ustadz and avoid physical encounters. These all represent resistance,

abnormal action that Santri must not do when they even have not met the learning targets. Physical contact like hand-shaking or tabarrukan is crucial. A genuine smile by Ustadz is also needed to show that they care about their Santri and bridge the gap between the two parties. A smile represents that what is said is worth what is in the mind and heart. The reluctance of Santri to have physical contact with Ustadz, even if it is only hand-shaking and hand-kissing or smiling as a form of appreciation and honor, shows that Santri dares to break the positive tradition of pesantren. This rude action is actually detrimental for Santri since it can affect their mental, motivation, and even interest in learning.

This action is unethical, yet Santri sees that as an answer to Ustadz's actions of giving too many assignments and targets, accompanied by unbearable sanctions if they cannot finish the assignments or meet the targets; yet, the rewards for their achievement are seen as too little. Sanctions like pinching, twisting, hitting, and even scribbling on Santri's face using markers only lead to Santri's resistance to Ustadz. However, Ustadz sees that physical punishments are a way to ensure a deterrent effect on Santri so they will not make the same mistakes again; in other words, the punishments are expected to help Santri obedient to the rules and meet the learning targets. In the end, all these efforts are directed to eradicate all bad behavior and attitudes to maintain the excellent traditions and learning target set by pesantren.

The attitudes and actions shown by Ustadz, in this case, are part of the strategy, approach, and efforts to improve the learning quality and provide an example of how to do other social actions that are in line with pesantren's norms and ethics. Apart from that, it is expected that the environment and parents also help encourage and shape Santri's behavior that is in accordance with the norms and morals of pesantren. Values, ethics, and norms are very important to be cultivated in every learning activity both inside and outside pesantren as a guide for living in the future so that Santri become teenagers and individuals with great character, dignity, and maturity. The false obedience or pseudo-submission with excessive apathy shown by Santri is an indicator of their resistance to Ustadz. This pseudo-compliance is shown by Santri being forced to accept the sanctions given by Ustadz for not meeting certain learning targets.

### **Santri No Longer Holds Pesantren's and Madurese's Culture**

The shift in the values and culture of Madura and pesantren represents the shift in the social and cultural conditions of the people of Madura and Selangor, who are identical in their strong adherence to and upholding the values and culture of their religion by prioritizing noble morals in their actions and words. Bhuppa-Bhabbu', Ghuru Rato (Father-Mother, Teacher-Leader) is a philosophy strongly integrated into Madurese society and is widely known in this country. It should be the basis for Santri in carrying out actions related to one of Bhuppa-Bhabbu', Ghuru Rato, following the hierarchy of obedience of Madurese society.

Other actions indicating resistance include sending messages, giving opinions or criticism, or allusion politely using good language, such as "Well, I am not as good as Ustadz in memorizing and understanding Kitab Kuning" or "I am not a fast learner as Ustadz is", and so on. All represent hidden messages of resistance in Santri; they cannot say it directly because they are bound to obedience, conformity, and ethics to honor their Ustadz.

Nevertheless, these actions do not represent politeness and obedience. They represent statements unethical to be said from students to teachers; the teachers who teach them good morals and exemplary actions in good ways and manner. Although Santri say the statements politely using good language that is not provocative, the statements indeed are manipulative, which carry a deep meaning of resistance and protest to the learning targets set by the teachers



or Ustadz, which do not suit Santri's expectation. It has been widely acknowledged that honoring Ustadz and following their path, including Ustadz being so sincere in teaching, are the ways for Santri to get the blessing in learning at pesantren, including learning Kitab Kuning using the speed-reading method. Although Santri uses non-violent resistance, or it can even be called resistance, which still upholds the ethics, it is still a form of resistance that Santri must not do.

Non-violent resistance also occurs when Santri must recite the memorization targets inside and outside the class. It also happens during the teaching and learning process when Ustadz delivers the lesson when Santri feels that Ustadz accidentally offends their feeling. This can lead to Santri having uneasy feelings about Ustadz, causing them to avoid any contact with Ustadz, to laugh behind Ustadz's back, to give no acknowledgment, to speak in high tones, to ignore the learning targets given by Ustadz, and so on. This is the point when Ustadz finds it hard to shape Santri's character because they become so sensitive to any explanations from Ustadz.

This resistance, according to Helen A. Moore (2007), is a form of insult to the teacher's authority when, in fact, the teacher's actions in the classroom constitute social capital in shaping the identity and character of students. On the other hand, this resistance can also be seen as Santri's desire not to learn and to let go of certain targets that they must achieve within a specific time frame (Abowitz, 2000; McLaren, 1985; Dickar, 2008; Kohl, 1991; Gilmore, 1985). McLaren (1985) mentions that this resistance is meant for opposition, to challenge the legitimacy and the superpower of teachers, and the traditional culture of pesantren. Many forms of resistance that Santri does in pesantren are considered not to make a positive contribution to learning (Kohl, 1991; Willis, 1977). Santri often feels desperate because they neither understand the materials nor can achieve the targets since the targets are too much for them. Resistance is the last resort Santri chooses to force Ustadz to reduce the learning targets.

Shall they understand that resistance will only lead to negative experience, Santri will not do that. Santri considers resistance as a form of defense toward the unfairness shown by Ustadz in setting up learning targets without considering Santri's learning typology, intelligence, and experience (Kohl, 1991; Willis, 1977). Resistance is a phenomenon that can tarnish the positive image of pesantren and harm the sociocultural aspects of Islamic education in Madura and Selangor; the two regions have long been known to uphold Islamic values with a high level of obedience to the principle of Father-Mother Teacher-Leader.

### **Structured and Unstructured Resistance**

Interview results confirmed two forms of resistance; these forms were also manifested in the previous models of resistance explained, such as refusal to have physical contact with Ustadz and Kiai. The two models have not been able to answer the research problems, so we elaborate on the other two forms of resistance, structured and unstructured. Structured resistance is the form of resistance to written rules made by Kiai or pesantren's management related to sanctions or punishments for Santri who cannot meet the learning target (recitation). Unstructured resistance refers to the ones Santri does outside of the written rules, such as slandering Kiai.

### **Conclusion**

Findings confirm several forms of Santri's resistance to Kiai or Ustadz as the representation of Kiai in the speed-reading method of learning Kitab Kuning in pesantren in Madura, Indonesia

and Selangor, Malaysia. This resistance includes (a) the unwillingness of Santri to have physical contact with Ustadz or Kiai, (b) non-resistant violence inside and outside the class, during recitation, and during the teaching and learning process, and (c) structured and unstructured non-verbal resistance. This resistance is a phenomenon that can tarnish the positive image of pesantren and harm the sociocultural aspects of Islamic education in Madura and Selangor. The shift in the values and culture of Madura and pesantren represents the shift in the social and cultural conditions of the people of Madura and Selangor. This study has many limitations that further research is necessary to examine the effect and functions of resistance to learning and education, especially related to the speed-reading method of learning Kitab Kuning in pesantren to test the effectiveness of the method.

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