

FROM ARABISM TO INCLUSIVISM: REORIENTATION OF AL-IRSYAD'S EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS IN EAST JAVA, 1919-1984

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Abstract

This article aims to provide a description and analysis of the changes in the style of education of Al-Irsyad organization in East Java from 1919 to 1984. The style of Arabism that is closely related to Al-Irsyad is gradually fading. This study uses historical research methods with the primary sources used being official organization documents and direct witnesses. The results of this study indicate that Al-Irsyad education in East Java had a shifting in style, from bolder Arabism to tending to be normative and inclusive. This shifting was caused by the formalization of the government's education curriculum, the needs of the times, and demands for adjustment to the local indigenous people. One of the main consequences of this shift was the decline in the number of educators and scholars from Al-Irsyad's education.

Keywords: Arabism; inclusivism; Islamic education; Al-Irsyad.

INTRODUCTION

The Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Association (later called Al-Irsyad) has existed in East Java since 1919. This existence was marked by the opening of the fifth branch of Al-Irsyad in Surabaya on January 21, 1919. The opening of Al-Irsyad branches including in Surabaya, is always marked by the opening of schools. Al-Irsyad School in Surabaya was first led by Abul Fadhel Alanshary, the brother of Ahmad Surkati, founder of Al-Irsyad. The names who have led Al-Irsyad Surabaya school include Abdullah Salim Alatas, Muhammad al-Mursyidi from Egypt, Abdulqadir al-Muhanna from Egypt, and Umar Hubeis. Once in Surabaya, Al-Irsyad Branch in East Java which was opened was Banyuwangi in 1926 and Bondowoso in 1928 (Badjerei, 1999).

Education organized by Al-Irsyad including in East Java has a pattern of Arabism which is relatively dominant. Arabism was marked by the location of the school placement and the curriculum taught. Furthermore, Kesheh assessed that the presence of Al-Irsyad with his school, confirmed and strengthened the identity of the Hadrami in his territory. The presence of Al-Irsyad school is said to play a very crucial role in constructing Hadrami's identity in Indonesia (Kesheh, 2007). Al-Irsyad School which is in the middle of the Arab village also encourages the concentration or collection of Hadrami children in a certain region.

Regarding the curriculum taught, Arabism is characterized by the language of instruction used, the subjects taught, as well as the reference books used. The teachers at Al-Irsyad school are also related to the dominance of the existing community. The teachers of Al-Irsyad school in the early period of its establishment, the majority came from the Hadrami circles of Indonesia and were brought from Egypt, Tunisia, Turkey, Sudan, or Mecca (Mahfudz, et al, 1981; Junus, 1996).

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The language of instruction of Al-Irsyad school learning is Arabic. Learning religious sciences as well as general sciences such as sports and mathematics, taught using Arabic. As for Malay as a local language at that time, it was only used when Malay learning took place. Students are prohibited from using languages other than Arabic while in school, especially during the learning process. The ban was marked by reprimands and even punishments given by teachers (Suaidy, [2008](#); Interviewed with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 tahun, 2021).

The orientation of Arabism in Al-Irsyad schools was also followed by the influence of the thoughts of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Ridha. Senior students of Al-Irsyad school were taught the qur'anic interpretation by 'Abduh, namely the interpretation of *al-Manar* and *Risalah at-Tawhid* (Junus, [1996](#)). The text in *Sikep* and *Toedjoean Al-Irsyad* also directly quotes 'Abduh's opinion on education. In the text, 'Abduh states that it is mandatory for every Muslim child to learn three sciences, namely *tawhid*, *fiqh*, and Islamic history. This orientation to 'Abduh seems to influence the policy of sending Al-Irsyad school graduates to Cairo.

These tendencies occurred only in the first half of Al-Irsyad's education. The strong Arabism in the implementation of the organization's education is only valid until the Republic of Indonesia is established and issued policies related to the implementation of national education. The first curriculum created by the Government of Indonesia is *Rentjana Pembelajaran 1947* (Hidayat, et al, [2017](#)).

The policy that was then imposed on all institutions in Indonesia also had an impact on Al-Irsyad. The policy forced Al-Irsyad's school to change its curriculum. If previously all aspects of the curriculum such as subjects, teaching books, and the level system were fully prepared by the Al-Irsyad management, then Al-Irsyad schools were required to use government rules as the basic curriculum of learning.

Arabism in Al-Irsyad's school faded slowly. The language of instruction of learning, textbooks, the composition of teachers, to the influence of 'Abduh's thoughts are reduced in Al-Irsyad school. The pattern of the community is changing to be more inclusive. Al-Irsyad School in Surabaya for example. In the 1970s, most teachers were indigenous. Very different from before the country of Indonesia became independent, all teachers of Al-Irsyad Surabaya school came from the Hadrami circle and were imports from the Middle East (Mahfudz, et al, [1981](#)).

Research on Al-Irsyad devoted to the aspect of education is not much, especially those that try to analyze the changes. Research conducted by Arifin for example, on the history of the implementation of Al-Irsyad education in Tegal. The results of the study are more written diachronically and descriptively.

The long history of Al-Irsyad indicates that even in the education sector, the organization, which is majority Arab, is trying to adjust to local conditions and developments. Search for the identity of the Hadrami group pared down by de Jonge (de Jonge, [2019](#)) also seems to be the case in Al-Irsyad's education. The institution that was originally condensed will be civility, slowly becoming inclusive. This article aims to examine the changes that occurred in Al-Irsyad schools in East Java, especially from 1919 to 1986, namely the Al-Irsyad school period experienced two different phases from each

other. These changes will also be examined the causes and impacts that occur, resulting in a complete analysis.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is the result of field research as well as library research conducted using historical research methods with a diachronic and synchronized approach at once. Abdurrahman mentioned that historical methods are used to investigate a problem in the past (historical moment) which will then be critically assessed and submit a synthesis of the results achieved (Abdurrahman, [2011](#)). Against the changes in educational patterns in Al-Irsyad in East Java, the sociological approach will be used as a knife of analysis. This approach serves to analyze the role of Al-Irsyad administrators as elements that play a role in determining the characteristics, orientation, and purpose of organizing their education. So, in this case, the analysis will not only be highlighted the curriculum alone but will also lead to factors that affect it, including the management and the policies it makes.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Changing the Learning Curriculum

In the formative period (1919-1947), the learning curriculum in Al-Irsyad schools, including in East Java, was created by Al-Irsyad administrators. Based on the central curriculum, Al-Irsyad school divides its level of education into four parts, namely Madrasah Awwaliyyah which has a three-year tier, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah which has a four-year level, Madrasah Tajhiziyah which has a two-year level, and Madrasah Mu'allimin which has a four-year tier (Affandi, [1999](#)).

At the Madrasah Awwaliyyah is taught Qur'anic conversation, Arabic (*muhadathah*) and Arabic reading (*mutala'ah*), *qiraah* (reading), drawing, counting, *nashid* (singing), Indonesian, history, morals, and sports. At the Madrasah Ibtidaiyah level, taught the Qur'an, fiqh, *nahwu*, *mutala'ah*, *imla'* (Arabic diction) and some additional lessons such as history, geography, Indonesian, health, earth sciences, numeracy, drawing, and sports.

At the Madrasah Tajhiziyah, taught religious lessons, Arabic, Indonesian, English, Islamic history, Indonesian history, earth sciences, life sciences, natural sciences, drawing, algebra, and sports. At the madrasah level, Mu'allimin was taught Islamic religious lessons, Arabic, mental or community sciences, education, philosophy, economics, algebra, chemistry, health, earth sciences, general history, Indonesian, English, speech, and sports. For those who want to deepen the science of Islam, the class of *Takhassus* was established (Junus, [1996](#)).

In practice, the maintenance in the territory is not always the same as the central rules despite the many similarities. Al-Irsyad Surabaya divides into two schools, namely for women and for men. For women, there is one class that is six years old. As for men, there are two classes. The first is the three-year-old *Voorklassen*. The second is *Lagerklassen* which is intended for *Voorklassen* graduates. The travel time of this advanced class is for six years. In the school curriculum in Jakarta, there is no

description of class distinction between men and women. While in Surabaya, the division has been going on for a long time. The reason Al-Irsyad Surabaya distinguishes *male leerplan* (teaching plan) from women is because of the differences in the needs of each (Redaksi, 1936).

Although the rules of education are not the same, the content of the lessons taught is not much different, and school travel time is no different. Duration from Awwaliyyah to Tajhiziyah is the same as from *Voorklassen* to *Lagerklassen level*, which is 9 (nine) years. Al-Irsyad School Surabaya teaches religious sciences such as the Qur'an, *fiqh*, *faraid* (inheritance science), *aqidah*, education, and *ushul*. For language teaching, Arabic, Malay, and Dutch are taught. Also taught *mutala'ah*, *balaghah*, *mahfuzat* (words of wisdom), *nahwu*, and *sharaf*. General sciences are taught such as geography, history, numeracy, general knowledge, pedagogy, sports, and scouting. Both sciences are taught to female students except for *ushul*, *faraid*, *balaghah*, and Dutch. But all-girls schools get additional lessons such as cooking science, hand skills, household care science, and drawing (Redaksi, 1936).

The conditions in Banyuwangi are different from Surabaya. The educational curriculum at Al-Irsyad Banyuwangi school refers to the curriculum of Al-Irsyad Jakarta school, except for *the* Takhassus program. There was no data found that explained that there was a Takhassus program at al-Irshad Banyuwangi school. Awwaliyyah to Mu'allimin levels are available at Al-Irshad Banyuwangi school. Among the alumni of Mu'allimin Al-Irshad Banyuwangi school are Abdurrahman Zubaidi, Ali bin Awad Abdat, Muhammad Basalamah, Abdullah Basalamah and Irfan (Falhum, 1992).

As for Bondowoso, Al-Irshad school seems to only open the level of education up to Tajhiziyah. Muhammad Bazmul revealed that the travel time to study al-Irshad school at that time was approximately 10 years. In his senile condition, he recalled that the school level he had attended was Ibtidaiyah. Departing from the assumption that Awwaliyyah has a 3 year, Ibtidaiyah 4 years, and Tajhiziyah 2 years, as well as Bazmul's memory that has been low, it is possible that the total travel time of Al-Irshad Banyuwangi school is 9 years (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years, 2021).

The subjects remembered by Bazmul while studying at Al-Irshad also have similarities with the curriculum of Al-Irshad Jakarta school recorded by Junus. Among them are the Qur'an, hadith, *fiqh*, *nahwu*, *nashid*, earth sciences, health sciences, and mathematics. Similarities are also found in Arabic textbooks that use *Qiraah ar-Rashidah*. Both in Bondowoso, Banyuwangi, and in Jakarta, Arabic language teaching uses the Egyptian book.

The use of Arabic as the language of instruction simultaneously occurred in Al-Irshad schools, including in East Java. In the learning process, it is not allowed to use any other language besides Arabic (Suaidy, 2008). The obligation to speak Arabic has been applied since the 1st grade of Awwaliyyah. Teaching natural sciences to calculating science (mathematics) also uses Arabic in its delivery in class (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021). Malay (Indonesia) is only used during Malay language learning which only lasts 4 hours of lessons in one week.

The distinctive features of the Al-Irshad school, including the learning of Arabic which is called "a service that Al-Irshad deserves to be proud of" (Hoofdbestuur, [1938](#)) only lasted until Indonesia gained its independence. When the Government of Indonesia issued a national curriculum policy through the 1947 Learning Charter (Hidayat, et al, [2017](#)), Al-Irshad schools in East Java also followed this policy. Nationally, the Mukhtar Al-Irshad in Surabaya in 1954 took the decision to change the study program in all Al-Irshad schools and adapt to the study programs in public schools by maintaining religious lessons (Hubeis, [2008](#)).

Al-Irshad School Surabaya is under the Ministry of Education and Culture. The published curriculum is all applied both in terms of the number of subjects and the hours of study and added with Islamic studies and Arabic as much as 36%. With the addition of these lessons, the teaching time of Al-Irshad school in a day is longer than that of other schools (Mafudz, et al, [1981](#)).

Al-Irshad Banyuwangi School is also the same. They are also under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture. The management of Al-Irshad Banyuwangi chaired by Faradj bin Ali Lahmadi held a meeting on August 27, 1949. The meeting resulted in a decision that Al-Irshad schools be under the government using regional language subjects. Like what happened in Surabaya, Al-Irshad Banyuwangi school continued to add Islamic studies and Arabic, a subject that was not taught in other schools that were also under the auspices of the government (Falhum, [1992](#)).

The difference is precisely the case in Bondowoso. Al-Irshad's school curriculum mixes the curriculum issued by the Department of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Religion, and the curriculum created by the Al-Irshad Board of Education and Teaching. The subjects taught are not much different from those applied in Surabaya and Banyuwangi, namely Indonesian, Arabic, English, *Aqidah-Akhlak*, Al-Qur'an, Earth Sciences, Life Sciences, hadith, and *tarikh* (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021).

Social Demands and Values

Al-Irshad's pattern of educational Arabism was strong only in the formative period (1919-1947). In the later period, namely the adaptive period (1947-1984), the Arabism of the Al-Irshad school shifted to inclusivism. Al-Irshad schools are no longer thick with Arabic language teaching. Arabic has shifted to a common lesson from what previously had the status of being the language of instruction. Instead, Indonesian is used as the language of instruction for learning at Al-Irshad schools. The dominance of the Hadrami circles as teachers in Al-Irshad schools has also declined.

The head of Al-Irshad Bondowoso school, Zein Bawazier, stated that the process of adjusting Al-Irshad school to the use of the national curriculum, especially in Bondowoso, is not only so that its status is registered, but also to improve the fate of its graduates. Al-Irshad school graduates must be able to fill public workspaces that were formed after independence such as the professions of doctors and engineers. Graduates of Al-Irshad Bondowoso school, the majority of whom are Hadrami, cannot only continue their parents' trading business, but also need to become community leaders in the private and public sectors (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021).

To achieve this, al-Irshad schools need to teach more Indonesian and be more open with residents. Al-Irshad School can no longer be labeled as an "Arab school", but it needs to be recognized by the community that Al-Irshad school is a school for all circles. Al-Irshad School, with these changes, transformed from a school of religious specialization and Arabic equipped with general knowledge, to a public school equipped with religious knowledge and Arabic.

Although Al-Irshad changed its curriculum significantly, some things were retained. Arabic language learning with Islamic religious science experienced continuity in its development. The existence of the lesson did continue, but it became a paradox in its status in the Al-Irshad school. The decree of the 32nd Muktamar in Bogor in 1979, stipulated that Arabic must be understood by Muslims because it was considered important in international relations. One of al-Irshad's missions set out in the Muktamar was as a pioneer in the spread of Islam and the Arabic language.

On the one hand, these two elements are still maintained in school learning because they are the two main values in Al-Irshad that are constantly maintained ([Statuten](#); Elansary, [1981](#)). On the other hand, the spirit of strengthening these values is not in harmony with the portion given in school. The decision to choose a formal school form as a learning institution shifts these two values as complementary subjects rather than the main lesson. On this latter side, Al-Irshad sought to apply another main value, namely renewal (Hamka, [1961](#); Noer, [1990](#)). Al-Irshad through his school wanted to adapt to the times, both in the aspect of subjects and in the aspect of learning systems and methods.

In this phenomenon, it seems, that Al-Irshad is trying to find an identity in the administration of his school. They are faced with two choices of values, the strengthening of Arabic and Islamic religious science, or adjustments to the development of the times and social conditions (renewal). If it is anchored to the first choice, then the ideal form of an institution is the form of *pesantren* (Nata, [2017](#)). If you choose the second one, then the form of an institution established is a form of formal school *a la* government public schools.

In that context, Al-Irshad chose the path of assimilation. Al-Irshad formed a school format *a la* government public schools by including Islamic and Arabic language lessons. The first value and the second value are melted in one format. The two values, namely religious learning and renewal are accommodated in learning even though it destructs the curriculum and the old tiering. The main values of Al-Irshad education, namely Arabic and Islamic religion as stated in the Statute, are still preserved, and inherited in al-Irshad schools even with various adjustments. In this case, the administrators of Al-Irshad in East Java as actors carry out expected roles as well as actual roles.

Suhardono mentioned that hope is a benchmark (prescription). The benchmark referred to in this case is the norm. The administrators remained in the preconceived norms, namely the primacy of the educational process containing the teaching of Islamic religious science and Arabic. The adjusted role is the implementation of roles that are adapted to certain situations and conditions (Suhardono, [2018](#)). Al-Irshad

administrators in East Java adjusted the formalism of the curriculum applied by the government, as well as professional needs in non-religious fields. They changed al-Irshad's old curriculum which was full of religious knowledge with a government curriculum full of general knowledge. The use of Indonesian was also propagated by reducing the use of Arabic in learning.

In East Java, the formalization of the curriculum forces the education level of Al-Irshad schools to be only at the level of People's Schools or Elementary Schools that have a study time of 6 (six) years. Tajhiziyah and Mu'allimin classes could not be held because they were not contained in the national curriculum that was the handle of al-Irshad school. The changes that have occurred also reduce the portion of old learning. If you use the al-Irshad school curriculum records compiled by Mahmud Junus, for example, at the Ibtidaiyyah grade II level, the share of Islamic religious studies is as much as 61%. Although the higher the class, the more the general lesson is expanded, at the Ibtidaiyyah level of class IV, the portion of Islamic religious studies is still the majority, which is as much as 52% (Junus, 1996). Compare for example the curriculum of Al-Irshad Surabaya school in 1980 which only allocated Islamic and Arabic lessons as much as 36% (Mafudz, et al, 1981).

In a broader impact, the change in the curriculum and all aspects of its educational implementation made Al-Irshad experience a shift in the complexion of its organization in general. The portion of Islamic studies, which was originally a major and later became a minor, made the organization lose its stock of educators and preachers.

The impact of the alteration: The reduction of al-Irshad *ulamas*

The adaptive period (1947-1980) marked by the significance of changes in the educational curriculum, forced Al-Irshad to eliminate the Mu'allimin level. As stated in the curriculum, there is an Al-Irshad school that has a Mu'allimin level, which is a teacher education level. In the curriculum, there are educational sciences, philosophies, and speeches to increase their pedagogical capacity. The book that is used as a reference in pedagogy is the book *Ushul at-Tarbiyyah wa at-Ta'lim* by Ahmad Abduh Khairudin (Junus, 1996).

Al-Irshad schools in general, referred to by Abdullah Elansary as educators of cadres of teachers, *mubalig*, *fuqoha*, and *ulama* (Elansary, 1981). The opinion about Al-Irshad as a teacher printer also does not only come from Al-Irshad's own circles. In the December 2, 1939, issue of Adil magazine quoted by Affandi, Muhammadiyah referred to Al-Irshad as a producer of Muhammadiyah teachers: "Al-Irshad's superiority was his success in producing many famous *ulamas*. Muhammadiyah teachers also graduated from Al-Irshad. Therefore, Muhammadiyah can be said to be in the interest of Al-Irshad" (Affandi, 1991).

The regeneration of teachers in Al-Irshad began in the first generation and was initiated directly by Ahmad Surkati. The head of Al-Irshad Surabaya school is Abul Fadel al-Anshari, Ahmad Surkati's brother. Only then did Abdullah Salim Alatas who was a graduate of Al-Irshad Jakarta school, until then switched to Umar Hubeis who was also a graduate of Al-Irshad Jakarta school (Affandi, 1991; Mahfudz, et al, 1981). When the

Banyuwangi branch of Al-Irshad was established in 1926, the head of the school was the former head of the Al-Irshad Pekalongan school, namely Sultan Ghalib Tebe. Two years later, the Bondowoso branch of Al-Irshad was established and the school was led by a graduate of Al-Irshad Surabaya school, namely Zein Bawazier (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021).

The regeneration of educators and *mubalig* in Al-Irshad lasted until the third generation. In East Java, the second generation produced several successors of Al-Irshad school teachers such as Muhammad Mukhoddam (born in 1942) and Kholid Abri (1934-2011). Both became teachers to the principal of Al-Irshad Surabaya and at the same time became preachers (Interview with Muhammad Kholid Abri, 51 years old, 2021; Interview with Syifa Muhammad Mukhoddam, 45 years old, 2021).

In Bondowoso, the second generation was Zein Bawazier, the famous teacher and preacher of Al-Irshad Bondowoso. He taught from the beginning of the Al-Irshad Bondowoso school in 1928 until the 1970s. The third generation produced by Bawazier such as Muhammad Bazmul, Salim Rajab, Said Hamdun, Ali Ya'qub, Muhammad Maziun, Umar Muallim, Abdul Qohar, Said Turkey, and Salim Said Bahanan. They were the first students of Bawazier in Bondowoso, who later became teachers at the Al-Irshad school. Just like the teachers, apart from being educators, they also work as preachers in Bondowoso (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021; Interview with Adil Salim Rajab, 58 years old, 2021).

In Banyuwangi, the second generation of Al-Irshad included Sultan Tebe, Abdurrahman Bawazir, Umar Bawazier, Ahmad Baktir, Abdullah Baraba, and Abdullah Basalamah. This second generation experienced the meeting and upbringing of Surkati directly in Banyuwangi. The second generation then produced the third generation of Al-Irshad in Banyuwangi such as Abdul Aziz Abdat, Farid Abdat, and Ahmad Deban. The difference between Banyuwangi and the other two branches in Surabaya, the profile of educators is only visible in the first generation and the second generation. The third generation worked more as business people than educators or preachers (Falhum, 1992; Interview with Abdul Aziz Abdat, 84 years old, 2021).

The change of Al-Irshad's educational curriculum, which was originally loaded with Islamic studies and Arabic, into a standard government curriculum, had an impact on the profile of the graduates produced. The graduates of Al-Irshad school ended up being more oriented towards running a business -especially their parents' business- and becoming private or public employees.

The reduced teaching of Arabic and the Islamic religion also seems to have reduced the production of Al-Irshad preachers. Although the teaching of Arabic and Islam in Al-Irshad schools is more than in other public or private schools, the lessons received by these students cannot establish themselves as religious experts.

The reduction of religious education and the spread of Al-Irshad graduates in the field of entrepreneurial business, coupled with the loss of the *Mu'allimin* (teacher education) level, also had an impact on reducing the production of Al-Irshad teachers, especially for Al-Irshad's own schools. Al-Irshad schools in the adaptive period, were mostly filled with teachers from among the natives and not graduates of the Al-Irshad

school. In East Java, the phenomenon occurred in Surabaya, Banyuwangi, and Bondowoso. If in the formative period more teachers came from among the Hadrami and graduates of al-Irshad school, then in the adaptive period more teachers and even principals from among the natives and not graduates of the Al-Irshad school. In Banyuwangi, for example, the principal of his first junior high school was a man named Hariyoso and was then continued by Mughni M. Said. It was only in 2004 that Ali Bakrisuk as a Hadrami and a graduate of Al-Irshad school became the principal of the seventh Al-Irshad Banyuwangi Junior High School (Interview with Iqbal Attamimi, 45 years old, 2021).

The change in educational orientation then became a discussion and anxiety felt by the Irsyadi. They felt that the change in the orientation of Al-Irshad's school from a religious school to a public school resulted in the disconnection of a generation of Al-Irshad scholars. The normality of Al-Irshad's curriculum resulted in a decline in the number of Al-Irshad scholars. The existence obtained by Al-Irshad school by using the national curriculum, it turns out that it has an impact on the absence of Al-Irshad school as a forum for education for prospective ulama.

Observing this phenomenon, at the 30th Mukhtamar Al-Irshad in Bondowoso in 1970, it was decided that the Al-Irshad Islamic Boarding School be established which was in Bondowoso. The mukhtamar in Bondowoso was called the last national meeting of Ahmad Surkati's students and close friends. From East Java, most of those present were from the first and second generations such as Umar Hubeis from Surabaya, Zein Bawazier from Bondowoso, and Sultan Tebe from Banyuwangi. With the decision to establish the Islamic boarding school, it is hoped that it can restore the role of Al-Irshad in producing preachers (Editor, [2016](#)).

One of the main advocates in establishing the Islamic boarding school was Zein Bawazier. In Bazmul's testimony, Bawazier felt that the qualities of the Irsyadi, especially the graduates of al-Irshad school, were minimal in their mastery of Arabic and Islam. The previous al-Irshad graduates were individuals who were proficient and excelled in Arabic and knowledge of the Islamic religion. But since the shift in the orientation of Al-Irshad schools from Islamic schools to public schools, that profile has shifted. Therefore, Bawazier wanted an Al-Irshad educational institution that specifically handled the development of the quality of Arabic and Islamic religion (Interview with Muhammad Bazmul, 97 years old, 2021).

CONCLUSION

Al-Irshad's education in East Java from 1919 to 1986 underwent changes adapted to the formalization of the government curriculum and social demands. The change is based on the value of renewal, adherence to regulations, and expansion of reach. Arabism, which is thick with *aspects* of the curriculum and the community of Al-Irshad schools, has become increasingly eroded. The curriculum of Al-Irshad school in East Java has also become more normative, and the ethnic structure in it is more inclusive. In a broader impact, these changes have influenced the decline in the number of educators-preachers produced through Al-Irshad education. As a recommendation, the changes that have occurred in Al-Irshad's education will certainly become more analyzing

thoroughly if the responses of Al-Irshad residents and the public are known. This is in a broader aspect; it is necessary to know whether the change has an impact on the community as a party involved in the implementation of Al-Irshad education.

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