

Kuttab in Indonesia: Its Existence and Development during the Reform Era

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Abstract

The re-emergence of the Kuttab is an interesting phenomenon to study in Indonesia. This institution continues to bloom after its last traces in 1952 in Riau. In 2012, the Kuttab Al-Fatih was established and developed in 23 cities. Other kuttabs began to emerge in different Indonesian regions. Therefore, this study attempts to show the existence and development of kuttab in the reform era in Indonesia. Data were collected using a Systematic Literature Review. The results showed that the re-emergence of post-reform kuttab caused a shock effect. This is because the curriculum developed was different from that of Islamic educational institutions. Furthermore, it is necessary to recognize government policy towards kuttab in Indonesia since it has no legal umbrella, hence, a solution is needed to seat this institution. First, the Ministry of Religion/Kemdikbudristek has to make regulations that contain kuttab nomenclature. Second, it is necessary to separate pesantren and kuttab. Third, the kuttab needs to be accommodated, fostered, adopted and supervised. Fourth, this institution is regarded as a formal pathway and is at the SD/MI level. The kuttab has two class systems including the initial I, II, III and the qanuni I, II, III, IV with ages 5-12 years. The kuttab diploma needs to be equivalent to a formal SD/MI education and not only PKBM, MSU, or Package A.

Keywords: Kuttab, dynamics, Islamic educational institutions, reform

Introduction

Historically, Kuttab¹ is an educational institution that emerged at the beginning of Islamic civilization. It once existed in the Arabian Peninsula during the pre-Islamic period but the community had no educational orientation.² Education began before Prophet Muhammad received revelations from Allah SWT.³ Furthermore, Daar al-Arqam was used as a forum to teach Allah's revelation when the Prophet was still living in Mecca. Kuttab emerged as the main forum for children to learn the Qur'an during the Medina period.⁴ In the next era, it will become a prototype of the formal education system.

The re-emergence of the Kuttab is an interesting phenomenon to study and this institution represents classical Islamic education. In 2012, the kuttab Al-Fatih which was pioneered by Budi Azhari⁵ was established and developed in 23 cities. Other kuttabs began to emerge in different Indonesian regions. Although, there is no official data from the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) regarding the existence of kuttab but this education system is quite loved by the people. Aji Sofanuddin from the Ministry of Religion's Bimas emphasized that the Kuttab continues to trend.⁶ The study showed that the existence of several kuttabs brings about operational permits for community learning activities (PKBM) with elementary-level equivalence education under the Ministry of Education and Religion respectively. This shows that the licensing and

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¹ Kuttab derived from the word *kataba-yaktubu-kitaaban*, which means to write. Kuttab is usually defined as a place for learning to write or a place for writing activities to take place to learn something. Kuttab can also be interpreted as a basic educational institution that teaches reading and writing procedures for children and adolescents. See Ramayulis (2011), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam: Napaktilas Perubahan Konsep, Filsafat, dan Metodologi Pendidikan Islam dari Era Nabi SAW sampai Ulama Nusantara*, 1st Edition, Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, p. 78. The same understanding was also expressed by Zainal Aqib who stated that kuttab was described as a place to learn to read and write for children. Zainal Aqib (2014), *Manajemen Lembaga Pendidikan Islam*, Sarana Tutorial Nurani Sejahtera Zainal Aqib, p. 80.

² In the pre-Islamic era, Kuttab was also used as a place for teaching the Torah and the Bible aimed at spreading Judaism and Christianity to the Magi and Pagan Arabs. Hasan Asari (1984), *Meningkap Zaman Keemasan Islam*, Bandung: Mizan, pp. 17-18

³ Khairul Azhar Meerangani (2019), "Peranan Ulama dalam Penyebaran Ajaran Islam di Pulau Besar, Melaka," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 65-74.

⁴ Emna Laisa (2020), "Kuttab Sebagai Pusat Ilmu Pengetahuan Pendidikan Islam," *Rabbani: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 94-112

⁵ Budi Azhari was the founder of kuttab al-Fatih in Indonesia.

⁶ Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), "Kuttab al-Fatih: New Phenomenon of Islamic Education Model in Indonesia," *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 1964-1975.

regulations governing these educational institutions have not been neatly arranged by the government. Kuttab is different from other Islamic educational institutions because its establishment includes high student brawls,⁷ moral degradation,⁸ learning that emphasizes etiquette,⁹ and faith before the Qur'an, morality before knowledge, as well as knowledge before action.¹⁰ It is advantageous in the fields of Islamic religious education (PAI), the Qur'an, and al-Iman. This classification of lessons is enough to make the kuttabs stand out and exist in the Indonesian Muslim community.

The study by Batubara & Ariani,¹¹ Muspiroh,¹² Muzayyanah,¹³ and Sofanudin emphasized a lot about the history, kuttab education system, and curriculum implementation.¹⁴ In the context of Islamic education, its post-reform is not widely discussed. There is no official data from the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture regarding the existence of kuttab.¹⁵ This educational institution failed to have a legal umbrella in Indonesia.

Therefore, this study attempts to show the existence of kuttab after the reformation in Indonesia. There are several questions that will be elaborated on in the next segment: *first*, how is the existence of the post-reform of kuttab?, *second*, why did the Kuttab educational model begin to flourish and reappear after the reform?, *third*, what are the characteristics of kuttab in Indonesia?, and *fourth*, what is the description of the government's policy toward the existence of Kuttab in Indonesia?

Research methods

A systematic literature review method that follows standard rules was used to identify and synthesize all relevant studies.¹⁶ This method is different from Literature Review (LR) due to the word 'systematic' that was attached to it.¹⁷ Systematic means that the review has a set of standards that summarize every necessary detail. Furthermore, a literature review using the procedure suggested by Cooper (1988) was carried out to address this study's problem. This procedure helps to (a) formulate problems, (b) collect data, (c) evaluate data feasibility, (d) analyze and interpret relevant data, as well as (e) organize and present results.

Methodology

Data Collection

Data were collected to identify the dynamics, existence, and characteristics of Indonesian kuttab in the empirical studies including quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, and literature reviews published from 2012 to 2022. The keywords consist of "kuttab in Indonesia," "dynamics of kuttab," "characteristics of Indonesian Kuttab," "Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia," as well as "recognition of Islamic educational institutions." In this study, the databases or datasets include Google Scholar, Crossref, and Scopus.

Data Analysis and Evaluation

Based on the procedure above, a total of 11, 12, 15, and 6 out of the available 188 articles focused on issues related to the dynamics and existence of Kuttab, its emergence and characteristics, as well as government policies towards kuttab in Indonesia. The remaining studies were excluded because they failed to address the three main questions.

⁷ Hayadin Hayadin (2020), "Advocating Minority Religious Student Rights in Schools," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 136-144.

⁸ Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), "Kuttab al-Fatih," pp. 1964-1975.

⁹ M. Feri Firmansyah (2019), "Kurikulum Pendidikan Indonesia: Antara Adab dan Intelektual," *Progresiva: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 55-68.

¹⁰ Rosnidar Mansor and Suppiah Nichiappan (2017), "The Implementation of Role of Kuttab Al-Fatih (KAF) Philosophy in Islamic Character Education," *Educational Psychology*, Vol. 48, pp. 16-27.

¹¹ Hamdan Husein Batubara and Dessy Noor Ariani (2016), "Kuttab sebagai Potret Pendidikan Dasar Periode Klasik," *Muallimuna: Jurnal Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 98-111.

¹² Novianti Muspiroh (2019), "Kuttab Sebagai Pendidikan Dasar Islam dan Peletak Dasar Literasi," *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 169-192.

¹³ Umi Muzayyanah (2020), "Sistem Pendidikan Kuttab Al Jazary Sebagai Representasi Pendidikan Islam Klasik," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 186-203.

¹⁴ Aji Sofanudin, Ahwan Fanani and Rahmawati Prihastuty (2021), "Islamic Education and Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: A Case Study of Kuttab Al-Fatih Purwokerto," *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 113-128.

¹⁵ Aji Sofanudin, Ahwan Fanani and Rahmawati Prihastuty (2021), "Islamic Education and Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia," pp. 113-128.

¹⁶ Jennie Popay et al. (2006), "Guidance on the conduct of narrative synthesis in systematic reviews," *A Product from the ESRC Methods Program Version*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 92.

¹⁷ Mark Petticrew and Helen Roberts (2006), *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

A method described by Cooper¹⁸ is appropriate to guide the systematic review and there are limits to the specified keywords and databases. Therefore, this study failed to include sources not available through search criteria and databases. Table 1 provides citations from sources included in the results section.

Table 1: Reference Sources Related to Research Questions

Focus	Source
Existence of Kuttab in Indonesia	Adibah (2021), ¹⁹ Yudi Latif (2007), ²⁰ Toto Suharto, ²¹ Steenbrink, ²² Aji Sofanudin (2019a), ²³ Aji Sofanudin (2019b), ²⁴ Aji Sofanudin (2019d), ²⁵ Dhofier, ²⁶ Zuhairini, ²⁷ Subhan, ²⁸ Affandi ²⁹
Characteristics of Kuttab in Indonesia	Emna Laisa, ³⁰ Galan Nurrahman, ³¹ Imas Damayanti, ³² Muzayanah, ³³ Zulmuqim, ³⁴ Muspiroh, ³⁵ Mahfud Ifendi, ³⁶ Hidayat, ³⁷ Aji Sofanudin, ³⁸ Muhtar, ³⁹ Fathurrahman ⁴⁰
The phenomenon of post-reform kuttab in Indonesia	Saugi, ⁴¹ Aisyah, ⁴² Rahmani, ⁴³ Batubara, ⁴⁴ Abdel Ghani, ⁴⁵ Laisa, ⁴⁶ Sofanudin, ⁴⁷ Yaman, ⁴⁸

¹⁸ Harris M. Cooper (1988), "Organizing Knowledge Syntheses: A Taxonomy of Literature Reviews," *Knowledge in Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 104-126.

¹⁹ Ida Zahara Adibah (2021), "Dinamika Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia Pada Masa Orde Baru (1966-1998)," *INSPIRASI: Jurnal Kajian dan Penelitian Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 110-126.

²⁰ Yudi Latif and Idi Subandy Ibrahim (2007), *Dialektika Islam: Tafsir Sosiologis atas Sekularisasi dan Islamisasi di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

²¹ Toto Suharto (2012), *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat; Relasi Negara dan Masyarakat dalam Pendidikan*. LKIS: Yogyakarta, p. 24

²² Karel A. Steenbrink (1986), *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Moderen*, Jakarta: Dharma Aksara Perkasa.

²³ Aji Sofanudin (2019), "Best Practice Implementation Curriculum at Insan Mulia Nature School (SAIM) Surabaya," *Jurnal SMART: Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 15-27.

²⁴ Aji Sofanudin (2019), "Curriculum Typology of Islamic Religion Education in Integrated Islamic School (SIT)," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama Dan Keagamaan*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 42-56.

²⁵ Aji Sofanudin (2019), "Kuttab Supervised or Adopted," Policy Brief Balai Litbang Agama Semarang.

²⁶ B. Marjani Alwi (2013), "Pondok pesantren: ciri khas, perkembangan, dan Sistem Pendidikannya," *Lentera Pendidikan: Jurnal Ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 205-219.

²⁷ Zuhairini (2015), *History of Islamic Education*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara

²⁸ Arief Subhan (2012), *Indonesian Islamic Education Institute of the 20th Century: The Struggle Between Modernization and Identity*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.

²⁹ M. Arief Affandi (2020), "Kuttab dan Institusi Pendidikan Islam Pra-Lahirnya Sistem Madrasah," *TAUJIH: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 40-60.

³⁰ Emna Laisa (2020), "Kuttab Sebagai Pusat Ilmu Pengetahuan Pendidikan Islam," pp. 94-112.

³¹ Galan Nurrahman Sandy (2021), "Menemukan Akar Pendidikan Kuttab di Nusantara," *Kuttab Al-Fatih*, accessed on 29 May 2022, <https://www.kuttabalfatih.com/menemukan-akar-pendidikan-kuttab-di-nusantara/>.

³² Imas Damayanti (2020), "Sistem Pendidikan Kuttab Mulai Marak di Indonesia?," *Republika*, accessed on 12 May 2022, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/qkmbir320/sistem-pendidikan-kuttab-mulai-marak-di-indonesia>.

³³ Umi Muzayanah (2020), "Sistem Pendidikan Kuttab Al Jazary," pp. 186-203.

³⁴ Zulmuqim Zulmuqim (2021), "Pendidikan Islam Masa Rasulullah dan Eksistensi Kuttab serta Masjid dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Islam," *Jurnal Kawakib*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 130-137.

³⁵ Novianti Muspiroh (2019), "Kuttab Sebagai Pendidikan Dasar Islam dan Peletak Dasar Literasi," pp. 169-192.

³⁶ Mahfud Ifendi (2021), "Kuttab Dalam Lintasan Sejarah: Dari Masa Pembinaan Hingga Kejayaan Pendidikan Islam (570 M-1258 M)," *AT-TA'DIB: Jurnal Ilmiah Prodi Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 27-38.

³⁷ Fahri Hidayat (2018), "Pertumbuhan Ideologi Pendidikan di Era Reformasi (Kajian Terhadap Ideologi Pendidikan di Kuttab Al Fatih Purwokerto)," *LITERASI: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 85-98.

³⁸ Aji Sofanudin (2021), "Kuttab Itu Pesantren?," *Tribun Jateng*, Wednesday, 5 May 2021.

³⁹ Fathurrahman Muhtar (2021), "Comparative Study of Kuttab Islamic Education System and Madrasah Ibtidayah Education System," *SYAMIL: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 1-19.

⁴⁰ Fathurrahman Fathurrahman (2017), "Eksistensi Kuttab Dan Masjid Sebagai Institusi Pendidikan Pada Masa Pertumbuhan Islam," *KREATIF: Jurnal Studi Pemikiran Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 56-74.

⁴¹ Wildan Saugi (2020), "Implementation of Curriculum Kuttab Al-Fatih on Children at an Early Age," *Jurnal Obsesi: Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 70-84.

⁴² Nurul Aisyah, Taopik Rahman and Dindin Abdul Muiz Lidinillah (2021), "Kurikulum Kuttab Untuk Usia 5 Sampai 6 Tahun di Kuttab Al-Fatih Cileunyi Bandung," *Jurnal Paud Agapedia*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 141-151.

⁴³ Musfa Rahmani et al. (2020), "Mengenal Lembaga Pendidikan Dasar Kuttab Periode Klasik," *Al-Ulum: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 8-17.

⁴⁴ Hamdan Husein Batubara and Dessy Noor Ariani (2016), "Kuttab sebagai Potret Pendidikan Dasar Periode Klasik," pp. 98-111.

⁴⁵ Abdel-Ghani, M. and Mahmoud, M (2013), "Spectroscopic Investigation on Paint Layers of Sabil-Kuttab Umm' Abbas Ceiling, Mohammed Ali Era in Cairo, Egypt: Identification of Unusual Pigment and Medium," *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Conservation Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 95-105.

⁴⁶ Emna Laisa (2020), "Kuttab Sebagai Pusat Ilmu Pengetahuan Pendidikan Islam," pp. 94-112.

⁴⁷ Aji Sofanudin (2021), "Kuttab Itu Pesantren?."

⁴⁸ Basyir Yaman and Fades Br. Gultom (2017), "Islamic Education System: Implementation of Curriculum Kuttab Al-Fatih Semarang," *International Journal of Educational and Pedagogical Sciences*, Vol. 11, No. 12, pp. 2792-2798.

Focus	Source
Recognition of government policies towards kuttab in Indonesia	Sudrajat, ⁴⁹ Riyadi, ⁵⁰ Salahuddin, ⁵¹ Mansor, ⁵² Chaer, ⁵³ Rosidah ⁵⁴ Hasanah ⁵⁵ , Novianti ⁵⁶ , Ida ⁵⁷ , Hasanah ⁵⁸ , Sofanudin, ⁵⁹ Muh. Mustakim ⁶⁰

Results and Discussion

The Phenomenon of the Emergence of Kuttab in the Reform Era

The reform era which opened the faucet of freedom had implications for the development of Islamic education in Indonesia. In this new era, all thoughts and ideas from the “undercurrent” tend to obtain momentum. Several types of community organizations (ormas) emerged based on pragmatic interests and religious ideology. After the reformation, other religious organizations except for the Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) emerged with their respective ideology.

This era describes the true identity of the Indonesian Muslim community, indicating that social changes come more from people with low authority.⁶¹ After the reformation, there is a process of Islamization from the grassroots because this community moved to become more and more religious. This is indicated by the trend of wearing the hijab which has increased compared to the previous period. Currently, the hijab is a common garment worn by government agencies or Muslim women at school and in the market. This phenomenon is certainly in contrast to the New Order era, where the government used to prohibit the hijab because it was a religious symbol. In this era, Islamic educational institutions are rapidly developing in Indonesia.

According to Steebrink, educational institutions increased starting from pesantren, madrasas, and Islamic schools in Indonesia.⁶² There are several Islamic boarding schools including Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools, Khalaf Islamic Boarding Schools, Science Islamic Boarding Schools, Entrepreneurial Islamic Boarding Schools, Life Skills Boarding Schools, and Tahfidz Islamic Boarding Schools. Also, there are model, pesantren-based, research-based, independent, partnership, and vocational madrasas.⁶³ There are several institutional schools including Muhammadiyah, Ma’arif, Al-Azhar, Integrated Islamic, Religious Nature, and others.⁶⁴

Historically, Pesantren is recorded as the first Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. Dhofier explained that the Tegalsari Islamic Boarding School and the Tebuireng in 1870 and 1899 are regarded as the oldest. The Adabiyah Madrasah in 1909 is also considered the oldest educational institution.⁶⁵ In 1924, there was a Dutch Islamic school called His Met de Al-Qur’an that was marginalized by al-Qur’an

⁴⁹ Sudrajat (2021), “Implementasi Pendidikan Iman Dan Qur’an Masa Pandemi Covid-19 Di Kuttab Ibnu Abbas Surakarta Tahun 2020/202,” Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

⁵⁰ Arie Rakhmat Riyadi (2019), “Pedagogic Fundamental Structure of Kuttab Al-Fatih as a Model of Islamic Prophetic Based Elementary Education,” 5th International Conference on Education and Technology (ICET 2019), Atlantis Press, pp. 501-504

⁵¹ Rahmad Salahuddin (2021), “The Implementation of Curriculum at Kuttab Al-Fatih Surabaya,” Proceedings of the International Consortium of Education and Culture Research Studies, p. 9.

⁵² Rosnidar Mansor and Suppiah Nichiappan (2017), “The Implementation of Role of Kuttab Al-Fatih (KAF) Philosophy in Islamic Character Education,” pp. 16-27.

⁵³ Moh Torieul Chaer (2015), “Kuttab; Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Klasik,” *AL-MURABBI: Jurnal Studi Kependidikan dan Keislaman*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 23-31.

⁵⁴ Wildatur Rosidah (2020), “Desain Kurikulum Pendidikan Islam Model Kuttab (Studi di Kuttab Al-Fatih Malang),” Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.

⁵⁵ Huswaton Hasanah and Ahmad Qodim Suseno (2021), “Revitalisasi Pendidikan Kuttab di Indonesia (Studi Kasus Kuttab al-Fatih),” Prosiding Konstelasi Ilmiah Mahasiswa Unissula (KIMU) Klaster Humaniora, pp. 223-256.

⁵⁶ Ida Novianti (2018), “Reorientasi Model Pendidikan Islam Klasik di Indonesia: Study Terhadap Kuttab Al-Fatih,” *Lontar Mediatama*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 33-65.

⁵⁷ Ida Novianti (2015), “Reorientasi Model Pendidikan Islam Klasik Di Indonesia (Studi Terhadap Kuttab Al-Fatih),” Tesis IAIN Purwokerto.

⁵⁸ Huswaton Hasanah and Ahmad Qodim Suseno (2021), “Revitalisasi Pendidikan Kuttab di Indonesia (Studi Kasus Kuttab al-Fatih),” pp. 223-256.

⁵⁹ Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), “Kuttab al-Fatih: New Phenomenon of Islamic Education Model in Indonesia,” p. 1964-1975.

⁶⁰ Muh. Mustakim (2019), “Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia,” *TRANSFORMASI: Jurnal Kepemimpinan dan Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 58-72.

⁶¹ Yudi Latif and Idi Subandy Ibrahim (2007), *Dialektika Islam: Tafsir Sosiologis atas Sekularisasi dan Islamisasi di Indonesia*.

⁶² Karel A. Steenbrink (1986), *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Moderen*.

⁶³ Aji Sofanudin (2019), “Best Practice Implementation Curriculum at Insan Mulia Nature School (SAIM) Surabaya,” pp. 15-27.

⁶⁴ Aji Sofanudin (2019), “Best Practice Implementation Curriculum at Insan Mulia Nature School (SAIM) Surabaya,” pp. 15-27.

⁶⁵ Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1990), “Traditional Islamic Education in the Malay Archipelago: Its Contribution to the Integration of the Malay World,” *Indonesia Circle*, Vol. 19, No. 53, pp. 19-34.

lessons.⁶⁶ The Integrated Islamic School (SIT) and the Integrated Islamic School Network (JSIT) emerged in 1993 and 2003 respectively. This Integrated Islamic School is categorized into SIT under JSIT, SIT Aswaja, and nationalist SIT.⁶⁷ Also, the Nusantara Alam School Network (JSAN) and an educational institution called Kuttab re-emerged in 2011 and 2012 respectively.⁶⁸

The current kuttab trend is indeed different from the kuttab in Siak Riau. The kuttab found in Siak was under the kingdom of the Sultanate of Riau, but very different from the kuttab which is now a trend which was found by Balitbang, which is a kuttab managed by certain groups because they were dissatisfied with the national curriculum then making names of kuttab which refer to glory past such as Harun al-Rashid, Al-Fatih, Al-Jazary, Ibn Abbas, etc. They want to create a qur'ani and moral generation by carrying out the al-Qur'an and al-Iman curriculum.⁶⁹

The Existence of Kuttab in Indonesia

Islamic education emerged when Islam was present and develop in Indonesia. In the early days, the process of socializing and strengthening this particular education was expressed in the form of informal which is a classic-traditional model. This model is effective since Islam has a strategic position and influences political power. The religion can construct a state in the form of dynasties or kingdoms which were previously called Hindu and Buddhist in Indonesia.

According to historical records, non-formal Islamic educational institutions such as *kuttab* or *maktab* were first developed before the formal ones. These two terms are from *kataba*, indicating to write or a place to learn to write.⁷⁰ A lot of figures state that kuttab and maktab have the same meaning, while others believe they are different.⁷¹ In the pre-Islamic period, kuttab⁷² existed in the Arabian peninsula but the community are not educational oriented.⁷³ Kuttab is regarded as the main place for children to learn the Qur'an.⁷⁴

The Kuttab Al-Fatih which was spearheaded by Budi Azhari⁷⁵ was established and developed in 23 Indonesian cities. Other kuttabs began to emerge in different regions. The following data was collected based on literature and website searches during the reform era.

Table 2: List of Kuttabs in Indonesia

No	Kuttab's name	No	Kuttab's name
1	Kuttab Al-Fatih Depok	28	Kuttab Al-Fatih Banda Aceh
2	Kuttab Al-Fatih Cibinong	29	Kuttab Al-Fatih Bandung
3	Kuttab Al-Fatih Beji	30	Kuttab Al-Fatih Purwakarta
4	Kuttab Al-Fatih Sawangan	31	Kuttab Darussunnah Purwakarta
5	Kuttab Al-Fatih Jakarta Timur	32	Kuttab As-Sakinah Riau
6	Kuttab Al-Fatih Bogor	33	Kuttab Al-Ayyubi Kendal
7	Kuttab Al-Fatih Bekasi	34	Kuttab Harun al-Rasyid Surakarta

⁶⁶ Azyumardi Azra (2013), "The Ahl Al-Sunnah wa Al-Jamaah in Southeast Asia: The Literature of Malay-Indonesian Ulama and Reforms," *Heritage of Nusantara International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, Vo. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

⁶⁷ Aji Sofanudin (2019), "Best Practice Implementation Curriculum at Insan Mulia Nature School (SAIM) Surabaya," pp. 15-27.

⁶⁸ Aji Sofanudin (2019), "Kuttab Supervised or Adopted".

⁶⁹ Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), "Kuttab al-Fatih: New Phenomenon of Islamic Education Model in Indonesia," pp. 1964-1975.

⁷⁰ Emna Laisa (2020), "Kuttab Sebagai Pusat Ilmu Pengetahuan Pendidikan Islam," pp. 94-112.

⁷¹ George Makdisi states that kuttab is different from maktab. According to him, maktab is a level of education before kuttab, this can be seen from learning in Nisapur, that at the age of five, Abd al-Ghafir al-Farisi studied the Koran and religious knowledge at the maktab. Then at the age of ten, he went on to kuttab to study literature. Furthermore, he also explained that maktab was the first elementary school that taught khat, calligraphy, the Koran, creed, and poetry. See George Makdisi (1981), *The Rise of Colleges*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, p. 19. Muniuruddin Ahmed argues that maktab is a place of learning, while kuttab is a term for students in maktab. See Hanun Asrahah (1999), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta: Logos, pp. 47-48. Abdullah Fajar argues that maktab is a term for classical times, while kuttab is for modern times. Check, Abdullah Fajar (1996), *Peradaban dan Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, p. 16.

⁷² In this case, it is necessary to distinguish between the kuttab which teaches reading and writing, and the kuttab which teaches the Qur'an. The type of reading and writing kuttab has existed since pre-Islamic times, while the kuttab that teaches the Qur'an was only discovered after the existence of Islamic symbols. However, the kuttab that taught the Qur'an was not found at the beginning of Islam because at that time there were still few people who memorized the Qur'an and it was a rare thing. See Ahmad Syalabi (1973), *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, Muhtar Yahya (trans.), Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p. 40. However, after Islam became more widespread, learning materials were not only limited to reading and writing but were added to the ability to read the Qur'an in tajwid. See Imron Fauzi (2012), *Manajemen Pendidikan Ala Rasulullah*, Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, p. 137.

⁷³ The pre-Islamic Kuttab was also used as a place for teaching the Torah and the Bible aimed at spreading Judaism and Christianity to the Magi and Pagan Arabs. See Hasan Asari (1984), *Menyingkap Zaman Keemasan Islam*, Bandung: Mizan, pp. 17-18

⁷⁴ Par Marc Plancke (1970), "Le Kuttab En 'Ifriqiya Du Viie Au Xiie Siècle. Contribution A L'histoire De L'enseignement Élémentaire En Tunisie," *Peadagogica Historica*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 225-242.

⁷⁵ Budi Azhari adalah perintis kuttab al-Fatih di Indonesia.

No	Kuttab's name	No	Kuttab's name
8	Kuttab Al-Fatih Tangerang Selatan	35	Kuttab Isykarima Karanganyar
9	Kuttab Al-Fatih Tangerang Kota	36	Kuttab Ibnu Abbas Klaten
10	Kuttab Al-Fatih Yogyakarta	37	Kuttab Ibnu Abbas Surakarta
11	Kuttab Al-Fatih Semarang	38	Kuttab Al-Jazary Surakarta
12	Kuttab Al-Fatih Tegal	39	Kuttab Haramain Surakarta
13	Kuttab Al-Fatih Purwokerto	40	Kuttab Rumah Qur'an Malang
14	Kuttab Al-Fatih Sidoarjo	41	Kuttab Permata Qur'an Kartasura
15	Kuttab Al-Fatih Gresik	42	Kuttab Al-Falah Lampung
16	Kuttab Al-Fatih Jember	43	Kuttab Sahabat Qur'an Depok
17	Kuttab Al-Fatih Malang	44	Kuttab Al-Firdaus Aceh
18	Kuttab Al-Fatih Jombang	45	Kuttab Al-Ikhlas Sukabumi
19	Kuttab Al-Fatih Probolinggo	46	Kuttab Salman Al-Farisi Karanganyar
20	Kuttab Al-Fatih Kediri	47	Kuttab Nurussalam Ciamis
21	Kuttab Al-Fatih Surabaya	48	Kuttab Tahfizh Abqori Bekasi
22	Kuttab Al-Fatih Makasar	49	Kuttab Al-Kautsar Pangkalan Brandan-Langkat, Sumatra Utara
23	Kuttab Al-Fatih Balikpapan	50	Kuttab Salimul Aqidah Cimahi
24	Kuttab Al-Fatih Lampung Pagar alam	51	Kuttab Al-Khalifah Jakarta
25	Kuttab Al-Fatih Lampung Kemiling	52	Kuttab Ababil Banjarmasin
26	Kuttab Al-Fatih Padang	53	Kuttab Aqilah Balikpapan
27	Kuttab Al-Fatih Pekanbaru	54	Kuttab Imam Malik Makasar

Source: Literature and Kuttab Website

A total of 30 branches of Kuttab Al-Fatih that was spread across 23 cities in Indonesia.⁷⁶ They include Makassar, Cibinong, Beji, Sawangan, Yogyakarta, Balikpapan, Sidoarjo, Lampung, Pagar Alam, Lampung Kemiling, Padang, Pekanbaru, Banda Aceh, Gresik, Jember, Malang, Jombang, Probolinggo, Kediri, Semarang, Surabaya, Purwokerto, East Jakarta, Depok, Tangerang city, Purwakarta, Bogor, South Tangerang, Tegal, Pekanbaru, Bekasi, and Bandung.⁷⁷ Other kuttabs began to emerge in different regions. For instance, there are Kuttab al-Fatih Purwokerto, Kuttab al-Fatih Tegal, Kuttab Ibn Abbas Surakarta, Kuttab Harun al-Rasyid Surakarta, Kuttab Ibn Abbas Klaten, Kuttab al-Jazary Surakarta, Kuttab al-Ayyubi Kendal and others in the Central Java.

The data above show that kuttab increased after the reformation era and about 54 of them were collected for this study. This educational institution exists even though the legal umbrella is not yet clear in Indonesia. Several parents send their children to kuttab rather than SD/MI. The curriculum style "faith before the Qur'an" and "adab before science" makes this educational institution high selling power. Several characteristics of kuttab are in the curriculum/material, ustadz, learning methods, and the model of Islamization of knowledge. They are different from maktab because this educational institution also teaches general knowledge. Several foundations, Islamic organizations, and Islamic boarding schools have also established kuttabs. This shows that this educational institution is not a pesantren. In this study, kuttab is kuttab and pesantren is pesantren.⁷⁸

The emergence of kuttab caused a shock effect because the curriculum developed was different from that of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. For instance, Kuttab Al-Fatih introduced the Faith Curriculum and the Qur'an.⁷⁹ The teachers at this institution consist of Al-Qur'an and Al-Iman. Also, Kuttab Al-Jazary introduces al-Qur'an, etiquette, and educational science.⁸⁰ The goal of Kuttab Al-Fatih is to create a noble generation at an early age. Furthermore, the approach used in this institution includes exemplary, habituation, experience, talaqqi, memorization, tasmi, drill, lecture, camp, stories, parables, etc.⁸¹ The development of Kuttab Al-Fatih which has 33 branches is quite rapid because it was founded in 2012. In public schools, the curriculum for religious education is called "Islamic education and

⁷⁶ Kuttab Al-Fatih (n.d.), "Cabang Kuttab Al-Fatih," accessed on 12 May 2020, <https://www.kuttabalfatih.com/portfolio/cabang/>.

⁷⁷ Kuttab Al-Fatih (n.d.), "Cabang Kuttab Al-Fatih."

⁷⁸ Hamidulloh Ibda (2021), "Mendudukkan Kuttab dan Pesantren," accessed on 29 May 2022, <https://maarifnujateng.or.id/2021/05/mendudukkan-kuttab-dan-pesantren/>.

⁷⁹ Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), "Kuttab al-Fatih: New Phenomenon of Islamic Education Model in Indonesia," pp. 1964-1975.

⁸⁰ Umi Muzayanah (2020), "Sistem Pendidikan Kuttab Al Jazary," pp. 186-203.

⁸¹ Setyo Dwi Putranto (2016), "Sistem pendidikan Islam model Kuttab: Studi kasus di Kuttab Al-Fatih Malang," Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim.

ethics.” Organizations have additional characteristics such as Ismuba for Muhammadiyah, Aswaja for NU and there are also tahsin and tahfidz at SIT.

In madrasas, the Ministry of Religion develops four subjects including al-Qur’an hadith, morals of aqidah, history of Islamic culture, and fiqh. Several studies formed Islamic design by adopting Cambridge’s international curriculum.⁸² Recently, the importance of religious moderation is developed through the innovation of the Islamic religious education curriculum.⁸³ The kuttab is available as a representation of classical Islamic education that teaches the science of the Qur’an, *tahfidzul Qur’an*, the science of hadith, the language of civilization, thematic learning, *fiqh*, calistung, *murofaqot*, and skills.

Characteristics of Kuttab in Indonesia

Recently, kuttab is divided into two characteristics, namely: First, it focuses on reading (*qiraah*) and writing (*kitabah*), memorizing the Qur’an, basic religious knowledge, as well as arithmetic in modern educational theory. This type of kuttab is often also called *awwal*. Second, it teaches language and etiquette, the basics of religious sciences, as well as hadith. This type of kuttab is often also called *qonuni*.⁸⁴

Kuttab is an Islamic educational institution that existed at the time of the prophet.⁸⁵ This institution is different from others such as madrasas and Islamic boarding schools. The community’s response to kuttab is positive and this is indicated by the high public interest in registering their children.

Generally, Islamic educational institutions that emerged after the reformation are characterized by their curricula. The slogan “give birth to a golden generation at a young age” was passed down into the institution’s teaching by juxtaposing science and religion. However, the term “confirmation of faith” is used because general knowledge is only meant for additional information. This study’s results showed that there are Kuttab Al-Fatih Purwokerto, Kuttab Al-Fatih Tegal, Kuttab Ibn Abbas Surakarta, Kuttab Harun Al-Rasyid Surakarta, Kuttab Ibn Abbas Klaten, Kuttab Al-Jazary Surakarta, and Kuttab Al-Ayyubi Kendal in Central Java. The following are the characteristics of kuttab in Indonesia.⁸⁶

Table 3: Characteristics of Kuttab in Indonesia

Aspect	Characteristics
Ideological	Conservative-fundamentalist-religious
Curriculum	Al-Qur’an and Al-Iman
Management pattern	Al-Fatih pattern, which consists of kuttab awwal (1-2-3) and kuttab qonuni (1-2-3-4) The pattern of Ibn Abbas, is similar to the levels of kindergarten and elementary school, namely tamhidy and kuttab (1-2-3-4-5-6) Al-Jazary pattern, which refers to the ula-wustho-ulya salafiyah madrasa
Institutional Licensing	Kuttab has an operational license as part of the Community Learning Activity Center (PKBM) under the Education Office. Kuttab has an operational license as an ula level equivalency education under the Ministry of Religion. Kuttab is under another PKBM. Kuttab does not yet have an operational permit.

First, the ideological roots of kuttab. The existence of kuttab mostly refers to Kuttab Al-Fatih which is based in Depok, West Java. This particular educational institution is founded due to the community’s faith. Kuttab Al-Fatih’s idealism is the birth of Muhammad Al-Fatih, the conqueror of Constantinople.

⁸² Aji Sofanudin et al. (2022), “Kuttab al-Fatih: New Phenomenon of Islamic Education Model in Indonesia,” pp. 1964-1975.

⁸³ Yedi Purwanto, Qowaid Qowaid Ridwan Fauzi (2019), “Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Melalui Pendidikan Agama Islam Di Internalizing Moderation Value Through Islamic Religious Education,” *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 110-124.

⁸⁴ Amir Jad Allah Abu Jabalah (1998), *Tarikh al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta’lim fi Sadr al-Islam*, Al-Mu allif, p. 110

⁸⁵ T. Nazel (2010), “Schäden an islamischen Trinkwasserbrunnen—eine Fallstudie durchgeführt am Sabil und Kuttab des Qaytbay in Kairo/Deterioration of Islamic Drinking Fountains—a Case Study on the Sabil-Kuttab of Qaytbay,” Cairo, Egypt, *Restoration of Buildings and Monuments*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 119-128.

⁸⁶ T. Nazel (2010), “Schäden an islamischen,” pp. 119-128.

The full belief of the founder of this institution is (1) giving birth to a generation of khilafah enforcers on the prophetic manhaj, and (2) giving birth to the opening generation of Rome.⁸⁷ Kuttab is an instrument to print a superior generation by copying and pasting educational practices.⁸⁸ According to Hidayat, Kuttab Al-Fatih Purwokerto's ideology includes conservative-fundamentalist-religious.⁸⁹ *Second*, the form of the kuttab curriculum refers to three patterns: (1) the Al-Fatih, consisting of the awwal (1-2-3) and the qonuni (1-2-3-4), (2) the Ibn Abbas which is similar to the levels of kindergarten and elementary school (1-2-3-4-5-6), and (3) the Al-Jazary, referring to the ula-wustho-ulya salafiyah madrasa. The "faith" and "al-Quran" are the curriculum emphasized in this study. Furthermore, the concepts offered include (1) adab before knowledge, (2) knowledge before action, and (3) faith before the Qur'an.⁹⁰

Third, the implications are in the Islamic Education curriculum which offers al-Iman and al-Quran. The majority of the concepts offered include (1) learning that involves parents, (2) not concerned with infrastructure/school buildings, (3) separating the act of playing and learning, (4) prioritizing teachers/ustadz, (5) the existence of team teaching (faith and teachers Qur'an), (6) the "inheritance of value" is greater than the function of "Education," and (7) the standard of financing uses dinars and dirhams. In terms of licensing, most of these concepts are under the Education Office since it contains 100% of the religious curriculum. Kuttab is a basic institution, while higher education is referred to as a madrasa.

Recognition of Government Policy against Kuttab in Indonesia

The existence of an educational institution is greatly influenced by its readiness and ability to survive in all conditions. This shows it has self-actualization with the support of relevant stakeholders at different levels. Therefore, an institution tends to use all its resources and potential to survive and meet basic needs.⁹¹ It requires legitimacy and recognition from the government in educating the lives of the nation's young. Furthermore, an institution needs to get the trust of the community to make it consistent and sustainable in preparing students who are mutafaqih fiddin as well as good citizens.

This tough task demands that Islamic educational institution needs to continue to improve. The institution is also required to develop its potential to educate the lives of the nation's children as well as God's message. Kuttab is one of the Islamic educational institutions that is emerging in the post-reform era.

The majority of the kuttabs have operational licenses at PKBM and senior level under the Ministry of Education and Religion respectively. Meanwhile, part of these institutions are under PKBMs, and others have no operational permits. This phenomenon certainly requires serious attention from the government regarding the legality of the kuttab in Indonesia.

In the context of regulation, kuttab has not been recognized in the national education system in Indonesia. This institution tends not to be categorized as pesantren, madrasahs, or Islamic schools. In the field of non-formal education, kuttab tries to license through PKBM. The learning time at this institution is from 07.00 WIB to 13.00 WIB since it is like a formal school. Institutionally, kuttab contains 100% of the religious curriculum in the form of the Qur'an and al-Iman. This shows the institution needs to be aligned with the basic education of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah.

According to Steenbrink, educational institutions are divided into three, namely Islamic boarding schools, madrasahs, and schools.⁹² Kuttab tends not to be classified as Pesantren, Madrasah, or Schools in the context of the national system. This institution carried out licensing through the Center for Teaching and Learning Activities, in the fields of Non-formal Education, Education, and Culture.⁹³

⁸⁷ Budi Ashari and M. Ilham Sembodo (2012), *Modul Kuttab Satu*, Depok: Yayasan Al-Fatih

⁸⁸ S. H. Muminjonovna (2020), "Abu Mansur al-Tha'libi and His Anthology "Kanz al-Kuttab," *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, Vol. 24, No. 5, pp. 1845-1850.

⁸⁹ Fahri Hidayat (2018), "Pertumbuhan Ideologi Pendidikan di Era Reformasi," pp. 85-98.

⁹⁰ Aji Sofanudin, Ahwan Fanani and Rahmawati Prihastuty (2021), "Islamic Education and Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia," pp. 113-128.

⁹¹ Muh. Mustakim (2019), "Rekognisi Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Di Indonesia," pp. 58-72.

⁹² Karel A. Steenbrink (1986), *Pesantren, Madrasahs, Schools: Islamic Education in a Modern Period*, Jakarta: LP3ES.

⁹³ Ronald Lukens-Bull (2010), "Madrasah by Any Other Name, Pondok, Pesantren, and Islamic School in Indonesia and Larger Southeast Asian Region," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

Pesantren is clear and regulated by Law no. 18/2019 concerning Islamic Boarding Schools. This law also recognizes that Ma'had Aly is equivalent to a university. Law no. 20/2003 concerning the National Education System, PMA No. 14/2014 concerning the Establishment of Madrasah, PMA No. 60/2015 concerning Changes, PMA No. 90/2013 concerning the Implementation of Madrasah, PMA No. 13/2014 concerning Formal Early Childhood Education, and PP No. 57/2021 on National Education Standards failed to mention/accommodate kuttab.⁹⁴ This basis clarifies the difference between kuttab and pesantren because people are apathetic about regulations. Kuttab which is claimed to have superiority in faith and morals is ironic when it is only parallel to PKBM, MSU, and Package A (Educational equality SD/MI).

Several solutions are needed to seat kuttab. *First*, the Ministry of Religion/Kemdikbudristek has to make regulations that contain its nomenclature. This institution becomes “wild” when it is not bound by education regulations. Also, this answers Aji’s opinion that kuttab is a boarding school without a dormitory/lodge. *Second*, it is necessary to separate pesantren and kuttab because they are like two poles that are difficult to integrate. Hamidullah Ibda indicated that these two terms tend not to “meet” when he carried out the validation test in Tegal at the end of April 2021. Pesantren caregivers urge the kuttab managers to be open, obey regulations, and join as formal education. Meanwhile, the manager becomes apathetic, waiting for the government to “pick up the ball” because the institution is not included in the regulations. Moreover, the kuttab manager visited the Ministry of Religion but was rejected. This inhumane and uncooperative makes them even more apathetic.

Third, kuttab needs to be accommodated, fostered, adopted, and supervised. This institution emerged in the Middle East and represents the legacy of Islamic civilization that requires a “chair” to sit. Kuttab existed before Islam and developed during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, Khulafaur Rashidun, Daulah Bani Umayyah, and Abbasids. Recently, the institutions including Meunasah, Rangkang, Dayah, Dayah Teungku Chik, Jamiah (Aceh), Surau (Minangkabau), Nggon Ngaji (Java), and others are improving more than the indigenous type of education.

Kuttab is classified as a pre-madrasa Islamic educational institution. Additionally, there are *Manazil al-Ulama* (the residence of scholars), *Masjid* and *Jami'*, *Qusur* (low education in the palace), *Hawanit al-Waraqin*, *Al-Salunat al-'Adabiyyah* (literary assembly), *Maktabat* (library), *Al-badiyah*, *Bimaristan*, and *Mustashfayat*. This shows that kuttab needs to be given space since it is the only one that is “sold” in Indonesia.

Fourth, kuttab includes formal channels and is at the SD/MI level. This institution has two class systems, *awwal* I, II, III and *qanuni* I, II, III, IV aged 5-12 years. Kuttab diplomas need to be equivalent to formal education in SD/MI and not only PKBM, MSU, or Package A. The graduates in this institution tend to be confused at the SMP/MTs level because their diplomas are not recognized. Kuttab is more biased while being examined from the perspective of the pesantren, PKBM, MSU, and Package A. This is because the institution is part of the development of education that needs to be embraced, adopted, and monitored. Furthermore, the government is not humanistic towards Islamic educational institutions when they are left unchecked.

Conclusion

In the post-reform era, the reappearance of the kuttab caused a shock effect because the curriculum developed was different from that of Islamic educational institutions. Kuttab teaches religious education since it introduced the al-Iman and the Qur'an. In Indonesia, the majority of these institutions refer to the “ijtihad” made by Kuttab Al-Fatih. There are three patterns of Kuttab management: (1) Al-Fatih consisting of *awwal* (1-2-3) and *qonuni* (1-2-3-4), (2) Ibn Abbas, which is similar to that of TK and SD (1-2-3-4-5-6), and (3) Al-Jazary, which refers to the *ula-wustho-ulya salafiyah* madrasa.

The majority of the kuttabs have operational licenses as PKBM and senior level under the Ministry of Education and Religion since they failed to have a legal umbrella. Meanwhile, part of these institutions are under PKBMs, and others are yet to have operational permits. This shows it is necessary to recognize government policies towards kuttab in Indonesia. A solution is needed to seat the institution. First, the

⁹⁴ Hamidulloh Ibda (2021), “Mendudukan Kuttab dan Pesantren.”

Ministry of Religion/Kemdikbudristek has to make regulations that contain its nomenclature. Second, it is necessary to separate pesantren and kuttab since they are like two poles that are difficult to integrate. Third, the institution needs to be accommodated, fostered, adopted, and supervised. Fourth, kuttab includes formal channels and is at the SD/MI level. This institution has two class systems including awwal I, II, III and qanuni I, II, III, IV aged 5-12 years. Kuttab diplomas need to be equivalent to formal education in SD/MI and not only PKBM, MSU, or Package A.

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