THE EXPERIENCE OF ADOLESCENT STUDENTS IN MODERNIST ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS IN WEST SUMATRA, INDONESIA

Lyn Parker
lparker@arts.uwa.edu.au
Asian Studies, M211
School of Social and Cultural Studies
The University of Western Australia

The global growth of Islamic education is an important part of the worldwide process of Islamisation or Islamic renewal (tajdid). Media images of young students in madrasa, rocking over their Qur’an as they “mindlessly” learn to recite it, combine with respectable intelligence reports of the involvement of Islamic boarding schools in acts of violent terrorism (e.g. ICG 2006 and 2007) to give Islamic schooling a bad name in the West. However, it is important to understand the diversity and the growing popularity of Islamic schooling. In Indonesia, Islamic education has become an increasingly popular choice for Indonesian parents over the last decade or more (Diknas 2006; Jackson and Parker 2008: 4-5).

In Indonesia, scholarly accounts of Islamic education have focused on pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) in Java, and on pesantren where a traditionalist version of Islam was reproduced (e.g. Dhofier 1999). However, in West Sumatra, where I have

---

1 This paper was presented to the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Melbourne 1-3 July 2008. It has been peer reviewed via a double blind referee process and appears on the Conference Proceedings Website by the permission of the author, who retains copyright. This paper may be downloaded for fair use under the Copyright Act (1954), its later amendments and other relevant legislation.
been working, many Islamic schools teach a modernist version of Islam. The beautiful equatorial highlands of West Sumatra are the heartland of the Minangkabau ethnic group. The Minangkabau are famous as the largest matrilineal society in the world. Their matrilineality is the more intriguing because they are also fervent, modernist Muslims. The two dominant, and inter-twined themes of the history of the Minangkabau are modernity and education.² In the twentieth century, Islamic modernism, “which believed in the compatibility of religion with the modern world, provided a religious basis for social change” (Abdullah 1971: 228) through Islamic schools. In the Minangkabau version of modernity, Islamic education was arguably the most important vehicle of social change. The education of girls, not only in Islam but also in secular, Western-style knowledge, was at the forefront of this movement, e.g. the first Muslim girls’ school in the then-Netherlands East Indies, Diniyah Putri in Padang Panjang, was established in 1921 (and is still going strong) (Whalley 1993).

During four stints of anthropological fieldwork in West Sumatra between 2004 and 2008, I was able to observe modernist Islamic education in practice in West Sumatra.³ In this paper I concentrate on the student experience of living and studying in Islamic boarding schools and pit this against the social science literature on adolescence. This literature generally constructs the period of adolescence as a problem time, characterised by inner turmoil, conflict and rebellion, particularly with parents and

² “Education is the best-studied aspect of Minangkabau history.” (Hadler 2000). This is highly unusual for Indonesia as a whole – e.g. Bjork notes “A dearth of empirical studies of teaching and learning in Indonesian schools… Not a single ethnography of an Indonesian school has previously been published.” (2005: 3-4). I suspect the literature on Minangkabau is unique in this regard.

³ The fieldwork in 2004 was funded by a University of Western Australia Research Grant. Thereafter fieldwork was part of a larger, ARC-funded Discovery Project on “Ambivalent Adolescents in Indonesia”. Fieldwork was conducted under the auspices of LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia) and, in 2008, RISTEK. I would like to acknowledge the kind support of the late Prof. Dr. Abdul Aziz Saleh of Universitas Andalas, and Dr. Yekti Manuaba of LIPI, for their sponsorship, and to Victoria Randa Ayu for excellent field research assistance.
authority figures. The schools, with the consent and support of students’ families and community, can be said to constitute a substitute family that manages the teen years with a great deal of structure, religious conviction and a motivational Islamic fervour. The result, I argue, is that the students, the santri, do not generally experience adolescence as a time of turmoil and conflict.

In this paper I will first outline the Islamic school sector in Indonesia, then set out briefly the Western social-science theoretical framework for the study of adolescence. The body of the paper is about the life experience of teenaged students in Islamic boarding schools in West Sumatra, and I will conclude by explicitly setting the life experience of Islamic school students against the theory on adolescence.

Outline of Islamic Schooling

The main institutions of Islamic education in Indonesia are pesantren, which I will gloss as Islamic boarding schools, and madrasah, Islamic day schools. Pesantren and madrasah are different from what I will call general schools. General schools cater to the majority of students at all levels, and are under the control of the Department of National Education. All madrasah or Islamic day schools, whether public or private, are administered by the Department of Religion. About 12 percent of senior high school students (Diknas 2007: Table 2) attend madrasah. All madrasah are required

4 “[T]urmoil and rebellion are seen as the hallmarks of adolescence in Western society” (Basit 1997:7).

5 At senior high school level, which is the level of schooling I concentrate on in this paper, general schools include so-called “academic” schools (Sekolah Menengah Atas, SMA) and vocational schools (Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan, SMK), both public and private. This percentage does not explicitly include students (santri) attending pesantren, though some santri may be included because some pesantren send their live-in students to madrasah. The Department of Religion estimates that around 1.76 million students live in pesantren and there are a further 1.7 million santri who attend pesantren but do not live there (Departemen Agama 2005: 7). Because age- and class-grading is not always the same in pesantren as in other schools, it is not possible to show the percentage of any particular age cohort that attends pesantren, but to give some idea, the total number of students in SMA, SMK and MA
to use the national curriculum provided by the Department of National Education for general (non-religious) subjects, which make up 70% of subject matter taught in madrasah, plus they have an additional curriculum of religious studies provided by the Department of Religion. The use of the national curriculum in madrasah means that madrasah are considered equivalent to general schools administered by the Department of National Education, and students from madrasah can enter general universities. Because the madrasah curriculum closely resembles that of general schools, in many ways madrasah are more ‘like’ general schools than they are like pesantren.

In contrast, government control over pesantren is still very limited, even though there is a section within the Department of Religion which is responsible for pesantren affairs. Pesantren are not required to use the national curriculum. The head or board of the pesantren decides the curriculum. Of course, some pesantren do teach the national curriculum and their formal classes are indistinguishable from those in madrasah; others use more traditional pedagogical methods (e.g. see Dhofier 1999: 10-13). Because pesantren are boarding schools and because they remain fully independent institutions, they are distinct from madrasah. In this paper I use the term ‘Islamic school’ to refer to both madrasah and pesantren, unless otherwise indicated.

(Madrasah Aliyah) at senior high school level in 2005/06 was six and one-half million (Diknas 2007: Table 2). Further, in the teaching year 2004/05, pesantren accounted for 6.59 percent of the gross participation rates for students aged between 7 and 18 (Departemen Agama, 2005: 113, Table 5).

In 1976, a decision of the Minister of Religion required madrasah to devote 30 percent of the curriculum to religious studies and the remaining 70 percent to non-religious subjects such as science, mathematics, social studies, languages, art and Pancasila education. Bringing the curriculum of madrasah into line with the national curriculum was a key step in enabling madrasah students to transfer to secular schools and enter universities (Zuhdi 2006: 419; Thomas 1988: 903).

For this reason, educationists in Indonesia conventionally use the term ‘Islamic schools’ to refer to madrasah only, thus distinguishing between madrasah as Islamic schools and pesantren as a uniquely Indonesian Islamic educational institution.
Madrasah schooling in Indonesia is conventionally divided into three stages that are the same as primary school, junior high and senior high. Some pesantren are also organised in this way, but others are organised according to competency in the study of the traditional Islamic texts known collectively as Kitab Kuning (see van Bruinessen 1994). The schools that I am going to talk about are khalafiyah or moderen – modern – pesantren, and these pesantren provide an education in general and Islamic subjects within an Islamic educational environment. Modern pesantren make up about one-third of all pesantren in Indonesia, and in West Sumatra, they dominate.

Theoretical Framework on Adolescence

As far as I know, the first proponent of the idea of adolescence as a period of storm and stress, or sturm und drang, was Hall, in his major work of the psychology of young people 1904. He was also the first to use the term “Adolescence” (1916 [1904]). In psychology, the emphasis has been on adolescence as a stage in child development; it is marked by identity crisis (Erikson 1968). While probably all societies recognise the shift from non-reproductive children to reproductive adults, there is a commonly held belief among sociologists, and among some anthropologists, that adolescence only appeared with modern society, with its extended period of formal education and the industrial basis of the economy.

Adolescence is treated by all the disciplines – anthropology, psychology, sociology, and youth studies – as a transition period between childhood and adulthood, and as the period when children are transformed from non-reproductive beings to adult reproductive beings. Anthropology has generally viewed adolescence as a training-ground for adulthood, and thus for the reproduction of society. Typically, young people are depicted as the “objects of adult activity” (Wulff 1995: 1), through the analytical tools of education, socialisation or “human development”. These studies see adolescence from the perspective of adulthood, with adolescents subject to training and socialization for adult social roles (Schlegel and Barry 1991: 3); young people are treated as though they are “incomplete” (Wulff 1995: 11), not yet civilised, and “on
the way to adulthood” (Wulff 1995: 3) via pre-defined *rites-de-passage*. Sociologists and anthropologists thus often study adolescence as a period of preparation for the social roles and statuses assumed after marriage.

Concepts such as *sturm und drang* (storm and stress), identity crisis, youth rebellion, and “youth culture as resistance” have all been deployed by Western social science to characterise adolescence (e.g. Erikson 1968; Hall 1916 [1904]; Hall & Jefferson 1978; Hebdige 1979; McRobbie 1991; Pipher 1994; Schwarz 1972; Willis 1977). What is striking to me, as an anthropologist, is how completely the literature on youth is dominated not only by studies of youth in the West, but also by problem, male youth. The university library has shelf after shelf of books on deviant youth, problem youth, teenage pregnancy and teenage mothers, drugs and youth, teenage rebellion, youth crime, youth as misfits – but all are about young people as “problems” in “the West”.

However, there is considerable evidence, even from the West, that adolescence does not have to involve rebellion, vulnerability, “storm and stress” and radical separation from childhood and family relationships (Basit 1997: 7-8; Coleman & Hendry 1999). Perhaps it is instructive that those scholars who have challenged this paradigm are often those working with religious/ethnic minorities in the West or those focussing on non-Western cultures – in the case of Basit, with British Muslim girls. Further, Kipnis notes, “writings about student subcultures and antischool countercultures are much more common for wealthy English-speaking nations than elsewhere” (Kipnis 2001). I examine the adolescence experienced by Minangkabau santri in Islamic schools in West Sumatra to see if they experience adolescence as a time of storm and stress.

**The Santri Experience**

I was working in a town in the highlands of West Sumatra and visited about ten Islamic schools in the region, interviewing students and teachers, and observing life in and around the schools, in the course of participant observation about adolescents. The dominant impression for me was the fervour of the modernist Islamic discourse that emanated from these schools.
Here is what one boarding school student said about her school:

This school has the objective of creating the raw material, or a young generation of Muslims who have mastered religious education, who can be used for spreading the word to the Muslim ummat (community). How we can invite [the members of that community] to goodness? Later we will be more active in the social environment, teaching about Islam ourselves.

…Our ideals are to become a dai (someone who proselytizes) or a pendakwah (missionary) of Islam to the Islamic community, or to teach Islam. ..Though to grasp (meraih) that, there are many paths. There are those who will go on to Egypt, to Al-Azhar University, there are those who will go to Jakarta – many of them. But the goal is to become a missionary.

Islamic boarding schools provide students with a busy schedule of activities. This is explained by a female student:

Our activities at this school are very dense, we are ‘full-time’ [English term used]. We get up at 4 o’clock in the morning, after azan prayers, there are subuh (dawn) prayers. After that we have to follow the schedule in the dorms, e.g. study groups, then it continues at school in the classroom, then at 1.30 we go home [to the dormitory], after that the tutor takes us for afternoon school before and after ashar prayers, finishing at 5.30. Between ashar prayers and magrib (about sunset) we can bathe or whatever. After magrib there is a dorm program that we have to follow, like studying, or discussion, and that ends at 9pm. Apart from that, my hobbies are reading and listening to music, mainly Islamic songs. If you’re asking about outside school activities, there aren’t any because every day all day is taken up with school.

The students live the entire time in a group. Lessons are usually taught to mixed-gender classes during normal school hours; the dormitories are single-gender, and many activities out-of-class-hours are confined to a single gender. The schools encourage group learning, and deliberately pair older students with younger students, establish study groups and teams that cross age-groups. The communal nature of life in a pesantren is rich, inescapable and demanding:
Here we don’t study by ourselves, we are educated to study in groups, so if there is a lesson that’s difficult we can consult with our friends and give-and-take … but what’s difficult here with friends, for me myself, is that I still can’t adapt to the personalities of my friends. I still don’t know much about the personalities of my friends. So sometimes we feel hurt (sakit hati), we have a difference of understanding (selisih paham), but, God willing, we will be able to adapt ourselves here.

We here are all very close, everyone is intimate (akrab). Allah has given us three years, from class one to three, to be really very tight, close-knit, intimate. Our feelings for our friends are very tight. The proof will be later, when the time comes for us to be separated in class three, we will be very sad. So everyone is a close friend, a special friend. It will be very sad later when we have to separate, but our hearts will stay as one.

Indeed, one consistent emotion that my interviews with santri in Islamic boarding schools elicited was the expression of sadness and homesickness, or longing and loneliness (rindu). Students of both genders described how homesick they were at the beginning of their time at boarding school – some being still children when they left home for life in the boarding school. However, invariably, they found that they overcame their loneliness and sense of dislocation by being immersed in a group of students who were all in the same boat. After that, they started to anticipate the loneliness they would feel once they left school!

Given that the emotion of rindu was so consistently expressed by young people, I was astonished to discover that many students in boarding schools came from families that were within commuting distance. I talked about this with several parents who had sent their children to boarding schools, and all were adamant that they really wanted their children to be exposed to and immersed in this ‘total environment’. Yes, they too

---

8 In a very interesting comparative study of language and emotion in Java and West Sumatra, Heider identified rindu as a particularly rich emotional term for the Minangkabau (Heider 1991).
expressed emotions of *rindu*, but said that they were willing to make this sacrifice in order that their children would be wholly immersed in an Islamic moral world, untainted by the trashy immorality of the mass media and globalisation.

Schools vary in the services provided for students: in some schools the students have to cook for themselves; many schools establish work groups that are rostered for doing the housework and cooking or other jobs like shopping. Schools usually have a mess for communal eating. It is common for students to fast two days a week. Washing and ironing are usually left to the individual students, and clearly it gets away from them sometimes! The schools vary in their sleeping arrangements. One school has a three-storey dormitory for girls; each floor has a long common room where the students pray, chat, do their ironing and have some group activities like tutorials and discussions; then leading off the common room are small bedrooms, usually with four or six students in bunks. The students have a shelf or two for photos and books and knick-knacks, and a cupboard for their clothes. Other schools have no individual space for students – students in some schools just put foam mattresses down each night and stack them up in a pile each morning. There are always cupboards provided for students’ belongings and clothes; security from petty theft is sometimes a problem.

Western commentators are usually rather shocked at the primitive living conditions in *pesantren*. In Java, the Spartan way of life was historically a product of the poverty of the community that supported *pesantren*; in West Sumatra, poverty is not so prevalent, though most students do not come from middle-class or privileged backgrounds. Rather, there is a feeling that a simple lifestyle is part of the discipline and character-building that life in a *pesantren* is aiming to instill in its students. In fact “*disiplin*” is one of the key words in student and teacher discourse. For instance, in standard interview questions I asked students and teachers about the qualities of the ideal teacher, or of a good school, and invariably they answered that a good school instilled “discipline” in the students. Students and teachers alike emphasise the value of the strict discipline that life in the dormitory imposes. This “discipline” applies to all areas of life: time management skills, punctuality, being focused in lessons and homework, getting up early in the morning or the discipline of life management (keeping up-to-date with the washing, for instance).
Another key term in teacher discourse, though it did not feature in student discourse, was “*mandiri*”, which translates as being independent, able to stand on one’s feet, and self-sufficient. I had trouble seeing how the discipline imposed from outside the self, by the boarding schools, enabled students to become *mandiri*, because I saw it as an imposition that students might want to rebel against. I asked one girl if there were a contradiction between discipline imposed from outside and discipline from within. She answered,

To me, there is no contradiction, but rather they should be one path. We must discipline ourselves, for instance getting up to bathe early in the morning, but this is an everyday discipline that we must develop for ourselves from the rules propounded by school – so self-discipline and discipline from school must become one.

I want now to move to those aspects of life that might, in other contexts, be considered definitive of adolescence: the emergence of sexuality, social life outside the family, interest in popular culture and first boyfriend or girlfriend experiences. In West Sumatra, the air is thick with a Muslim Puritan morality. Teenaged students in Islamic schools are the most vociferous proponents of this discourse that condemns premarital sex, fashionably immodest dress, drugs and a range of behaviours encapsulated in the term “free socialising” (*pergaulan bebas*). In this discourse, the use of drugs (*narkoba*), and, to a lesser extent, alcohol, are seen as a problem of male youth, while issues of dress, mobility and sexual morality are a problem associated with female young people.

I asked one male student what his parents would think if he had a girlfriend. His answer showed a gendered double standard, that constructs pre-marital sexuality and courtship as the responsibility of the girl, while male involvement was ignored. He answered, “… they wouldn’t have much respect for that girl. Possibly because there would be lots of negative influences from that girlfriend.”

One very bright female student was very clear-cut about all sorts of things, including boyfriends:
According to me, in Islam we are not allowed to have boy- and girl-friends. In Islam there is only marriage. I myself do not want to have a boyfriend, … I keep control of myself. A boyfriend would bring many disadvantages (kemudharatan), many things that aren’t good. So in order to avoid all that, we may not have a boyfriend, and anyway in Islam, boyfriends are strictly forbidden.

[LP: So how will you find your soul-mate (jodoh)?]

One thing is certain concerning a jodoh: there is risk; there is no-one who knows, it is a determination from God. So what is certain is that it is not yet certain that all people who have boy/girlfriends indeed have their jodoh; sometimes they go round together for a year but marriage is not certain with that pacar. This is proof that jodoh is not decided by humankind...

So if a girl says directly, I love you, that, I feel, lowers the power/authority (wibawa) of the girl … If a girl wants to marry she may express that but in a certain way, like the girl says to her parents that she wants to marry, then the parent will search him out. Certainly parents know better who is appropriate for their child. Many people now are just looking for a pacar and use looking for a jodoh as an excuse. But how could it be, a high school kid, could they be ready to marry? That is only an excuse for having a pacar.

On this question of whether Muslim young people are allowed by Islam to have pacar (boy- and girlfriends) there is a range of opinion. For instance, one young couple, whom I started talking to precisely because they were a boy-girl couple, sitting together in the town park, said that they had been a couple since grade five of primary school! She had previously attended a pesantren, but at the time we were chatting she was a student at a madrasah. She and her boyfriend thought that it was OK to be in a girlfriend-boyfriend relationship (berpacaran) – they felt santé (relaxed, at ease) walking around as a couple – as long as one did not go to extremes. Even holding hands was OK, provided that it was not accompanied by lust (hawa nafsu), it had the form of kasih sayang (a type of love: close to affection, with a hint of pity), but if it was more than that, then it was sin.

Perhaps in other places in Indonesia the key question is whether or not young people indulge in pre-marital sex, but among teenagers in Islamic schools in West Sumatra, it
was this question, whether or not Muslim teenagers can have *pacar*, that seemed the litmus test for social conservatism.

*Pesantren* generally forbid students from having *pacar*; in general, *madrasah* are more relaxed, though students understand that it is frowned upon, and one *madrasah* in particular takes a hard line on this. Girls who live in the dormitories of Islamic schools have very little opportunity to have a *pacar*, and many do not want one. Embarking on the boyfriend journey seems a risky business in more ways than one. Many students consider that their main duty while at school is to study and get good marks in exams. Parental and teacherly disapproval, the gossip and sometimes negative reactions of friends, and the feeling that one is jeopardizing success in exams are all powerful reasons to stay safe and choose the right path (*jalan yang baik*). Some are aware of their own sheltered upbringing and do not trust themselves to make a wise choice. They are much more scared of the prospect of their own inexperienced and potentially unwise choice of a stranger than they are of the husband selected by their parents, who are presumed to have their interests at heart. From the perspective of a 17-year-old, an arranged marriage partner is not necessarily terrifying.

Fatima is a day student at a state Islamic school. She is very devout and espouses attitudes towards having a boyfriend that are not uncommon in religious schools:

> According to me, Ma’am, it’s forbidden in law because, from what I studied when I was in Islamic junior high, a relationship of a male with a female without there being a tie [of kinship] is forbidden. That’s *zina* in Islam, a major sin. It can be included as *zina* because looking with an intention that is not good, that is punishable as *zina*. For me, having a boyfriend, i.e. going out as a couple, in Islam if you go out as a male-female couple there is a third who is Satan, Ma’am. That Satan always orders humans to do things that aren’t good. So according to me having a boyfriend is forbidden.

Fatima is referring here to an important Islamic category of sin, *zina*. The antithesis to marriage is sex outside marriage, *zina* (Bouhdiba 1985 [1975]), often translated into English as fornication. Many Minang Muslims take seriously the proscription against ‘approaching’ *zina*, such as verse 34 of the Sura Isra (The Night Journey): ‘And approach not fornication (*zina*); surely it is an indecency and evil as a way.’ This issue
is sometimes taken up in the Muslim novels and the Muslim magazine, *Annida*, that some Minang girls read: an advice columnist, for instance, might describe how carrying on a romance through SMS-texting or letter-writing, or even the exchange of lustful glances, could be considered as ‘approaching zina’. Fatima is also referring implicitly to *muhrim*, the only males with whom an unmarried woman should consort.

**LP:** So if having a boyfriend is forbidden, how can you meet someone who could become your soul-mate (*jodoh*)?

**Fatima:** In Islam the ones who marry you off are your parents, Ma’am. It’s best for a bride if she meets her soul-mate exactly at the time she marries…

…For sure my parents will choose what’s best for me… I will agree if I am married off by my parents because it’s not possible for a parent not to want what’s best for their child … And if I am married off then I will feel very happy. I will feel that my parents care for me.

The “everyday discipline”, sequestration and busy routines of boarding schools conspire to keep girls from approaching zina. However, one young woman managed to slip through. Nuri was a student at a famous *pesantren*, a school that her parents and older brother had attended, and at which her aunt taught. Nuri’s brother is in Egypt for his tertiary education – in fact, as she was telling me this story, we were walking together into town, through the gardens and paddies, to an internet café, so that she could email him. I asked Nuri one of my standard questions: What was the happiest day of your life? She answered with the long story of the time she had had to confess to her parents that she had a boyfriend, a fellow-student at the *pesantren*. At the time, she had been a boarder at this famous school, and she had had this clandestine boyfriend for a year before she confessed. The happiest moment of her life was when she had confessed this heinous crime to her parents and they were not angry. Later, after this story came out, I tried her out with my next standard question: What was the saddest day of your life? It was the same day, only a bit earlier in the day. She had tears in her eyes as she remembered her shame and embarrassment at having to confess the boyfriend relationship to her parents. Among other things, she regretted having shamed her family; she also regretted having wronged her future husband by having a boyfriend before him, but she promised her parents she would tell her future husband about this first lover.
Perhaps this does not seem much of a crime to a Westerner, but an indicator of the severity of her wrong-doing in this context is that she only narrowly escaped being expelled from school (due to the pleading of the parents) and instead was downgraded to day student status.

**Conclusion**

If I were to arrange the young people in this town along a continuum ranging from social conservatism and Puritanism at the far right end to Westernised “free socialising” at the other, students of Islamic boarding schools would occupy the far right end. *Pesantren* provide a busy, dense structure to each day; the boarders live *en masse*, intimately interdependent with fellow-students for all human contact, comfort, emotional support and guidance; for the most part they are sequestered from the secular world; the messages about faith, morality and submission to God are both inspiring and relentless. Given the omniscience and density of the ideological atmosphere and the absence of alternative, competing discourses, it is not surprising that students generally do not experience their adolescence as a time of struggle, identity crisis or turmoil. In fact, when asked about their personal problems, most could not think of any – or if they could, it had to do with schoolwork or issues back home, with which they were not involved and about which they felt powerless. It is simply not possible to apply definitions of adolescence in the contemporary West to adolescence as it is experienced by young people in Islamic boarding schools. Adolescence marked by turmoil, conflict and rebellion is not tenable among teenagers in Islamic boarding schools. What is surprising is the odd student who manages to slip through the fence to nibble at the temptations of the greener grass outside the school walls.
References

Abdullah, Taufik

Basit, Tehmina N.

Bjork, Christopher

Bouhdiba, Abdelwahab

van Bruinessen, Martin

Coleman, John C. and Leo B. Hendry

Departemen Agama [Department of Religion]
Dhofier, Zamakhryari

*Diknas [Departmen Pendidikan Nasional, Department of National Education]
2006, Viewed 8 August 2006; no longer accessible online but interested readers can apply to the author.

Diknas [Departmen Pendidikan Nasional, Department of National Education]

Erikson, E.H.

Hadler, Jeffrey Alan

Hall, G. Stanley

Hall, Stuart & Tony Jefferson
Hebdige, Dick

Heider, Karl G.

http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=2959
http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=2959

Jackson, Elisabeth and Lyn Parker

Kipnis, Andrew

McRobbie, Angela
1991 Feminism and Youth Culture, Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Pipher, M.

Schlegel, Alice and Herbert Barry III
Schwartz, G.


Whalley, Lucy Anne

Willis, Paul

Wulff, Helena

Zuhdi, Muhammad