

Caring the Silenced Voices from an Islamic Boarding School- Pesantren: Stories of Volunteer Teachers and Policy Implications

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Caring the Silenced Voices from an Islamic Boarding School-Pesantren: Stories of Volunteer Teachers and Policy Implications

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this qualitative inquiry, within the attractions of teaching theoretical framework, was to find out what had attracted voluntary and young English teachers to teaching English in one pesantren (an Islamic boarding school) in Jambi Province, Indonesia. The method that we used was qualitative in the case study approach. The demographic profiles and semi-structured detailed interviews were used to collect the data with twelve volunteer participants. All interview data were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and thoroughly analysed to find differences and similarities among participants associated with the emphasis of the inquiry. The main results revealed that the participants' hidden and explicit attractors to teach English voluntarily was driven by a strong mixing of the (1) interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction, (2) social service attractors, (3) the furtherance attractors, (4) non material benefit attractors: expectations of no payment, and (5) time attractors: compatible work schedules. Based on the results of this inquiry, providing college scholarships for students from rural or remote areas who are motivated to be become future pesantren teachers and serve their home areas is promising to deal with lack of teachers.

Keywords: Attractors, Boarding Schools, Pesantren, Voluntary English Teachers.

Introduction

One of the key elements that might keep pesantrens (an Islamic boarding school) alive is the presence of teachers who remain there regardless of low or no salary and unfortunate facility (Nilan, 2007). As Lortie (1975) said that regardless of where they are located, what subjects they teach, and what they receive, teachers are always supposed to help their students to develop their social, intellectual, and personal potentials to the higher level. However, though pesantrens are typically disadvantaged, many pesantrens have actively participated to develop Indonesian human resources, particularly in rural, remote, and poor areas. This is an interesting fact. The questions are: What pushes people actively to involve in education, particularly teaching in pesantrens? What types of recruitment resources (motives or attractors) that attract people to go into teaching in pesantrens? Lortie (1975) clearly said that any job or occupation should maintain recruitment resources consisting of the properties which assist an occupation in competing for manpower and talent.

A quantity of previous reports have revealed that people desiring to be a teacher fall into altruistic, intrinsic, and extrinsic motives or attractors (e.g., Muazza, Mukminin, Aina, Rosmiati, & Ariyanti, 2016; Mukminin, Rohayati, Putra, Habibi, & Aina, 2017; Mukminin, Kamil, Muazza, & Haryanto, 2017). Additionally, Lortie (1975) found in his study that there were five attractors to teaching such as interpersonal, service, continuation, material benefit, and time compatibility.

Understanding hidden and explicit attractors to teaching, particularly teaching English voluntarily at pesantrens is

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essential as irrespective of their strong contributions to the Indonesia education, pesantrens still have lack of English teachers although it is known that teachers take part a crucial part in advancing the future of the country (Lortie, 1975; Mukminin et al., 2017) and teachers' contribution to improve social and economic lives of any country is unquestionable. Furthermore, understanding hidden and explicit attractors to teaching English in pesantrens is important as not many pesantrens have access to have English teachers. More importantly, while several previous research has examined attractors to teaching in public schools in developed and developing countries; it is rather disappointing that no many inquiry attempts have been devoted to attractors to teaching in Indonesian pesantrens (Islamic boarding schools) as the major Muslim country in the world. This research focused on looking at the hidden and explicit attractors to teaching of voluntary English teachers at the research site where a group of voluntary English teachers were involved in teaching English at the research site. These voluntary and young English teachers were very unique in terms of their dedication and contribution to teaching English to young learners at the research site. Although they taught the students without having any salary or payment, they kept doing their responsibilities to help their students to learn English. Looking at their dedication and contribution to teaching English to young learners, we were very interested in doing research to document what the hidden and explicit attractors attracted them to do such a remarkable work.

The purpose of this qualitative inquiry, within the attractions of teaching theoretical framework, was to find out what had attracted voluntary and young English teachers to teaching English in one pesantren (an Islamic boarding school) in Jambi, Indonesia. To reach the purpose of the inquiry, the following general question guided the inquiry: What have driven or attracted voluntary and young English teachers to teaching English in pesantren?

Literature Review

The Attractions of Teaching

Recruitment of new teachers is one of the biggest issues in education as they are the key to success in student achievement (Muazza, Mukminin, Aina, Rosmiati, & Ariyanti, 2016; Mukminin, Rohayati, Putra, Habibi, & Aina, 2017; Mukminin, Kamil, Muazza, & Haryanto, 2017). Lortie (1975) conducted a study that cuts to the heart of the teaching profession. He examined the explicit and hidden messages that teachers were bombarded with from the earliest day that they entered the profession. Specific recruitment means must be owned by any professions. For teaching profession, the attractions of teaching describe the attractive characteristics in teaching people who enter the profession. According to Lortie (1975), five attractors to teaching are presented in terms of the interpersonal, the service, the continuation, the material benefit, and time and compatibility resources.

First, the interpersonal resources refer to the reasons for people to enter the teaching profession because it involves working and contacting with people, particularly young people in relation to the spread or diffusion of knowledge and skills (Lortie, 1975). In other words, the interpersonal resources focus on the motives or reasons for people to be a teacher as they want to get involved in helping young generation through sharing their knowledge and skills. The second attractor is related to the resources of services which describe teaching as a respected service of a distinctive moral value (aura of its mission) (Lortie, 1975). For people who are interested in becoming a teacher or in entering teaching profession because they think that it has a moral value as the mission of teaching to a social service for others.

The third attractor is the continuation resource which describes the attachments to education and school, which make people to stay in school by becoming teachers (Lortie, 1975). People who want to be a teacher because they like being involved in educating others in their life. They feel that education and school are part of their life. They want to keep contributing to the educational field through teaching. The fourth is the material benefits resources or attractors. People are attracted to choose a teaching profession because of money, prestige, rewards, salaries, social mobility, and employment security (Lortie, 1975). According to Lortie (1975), in terms of social mobility, teaching is undoubtedly middle-class work and offers higher movement for people who were raised up in lower class families. The last attractor is the time and compatibility. People are attracted to enter the teaching profession for the reason that teaching provides

compatible work schedules and calendars (Lortie, 1975). They think that with compatible work schedules and calendars, they can arrange their other activities such as holidays or family time.

For this current study, these five attractors to teaching consisting of interpersonal, the service, the continuation, the material benefit, and time and compatibility resources were used to guide this study. We used every attractor as our guide in the interview protocol to get the data from the voluntary English teachers at the research site.

Pesantren and The Integration of English Subject

22 Two ministries manage the Indonesian educational system, namely the Religious Affairs Ministry and the National Education and Culture Ministry. Under the Religious Affairs Ministry, one of the educational elements that the ministry manages is Pesantren (Islamic boarding school). The currently typical Indonesian *pesantren* comprises of a *madrasah* (a day school) and boarding school (Srimulyani, 2007). Students in pesantrens are called "santris" who are, according to Buang (2007), commonly memorize the Quran, Arabic classical texts, and the prophet's traditions, and spend their 24 hours a day in their pondok doing religious and daily activities. Additionally, a pesantren is normally understood as a group with a complex, mosque, and boarding facility in that santris and ustazd (teachers) eat, sleep, learn, and generally interact throughout the day (Buang, 2007; Srimulyani, 2007).

Pesantren is usually located in rural or remote areas, which is favoured by young individuals looking for an exhaustive comprehension of the Quran, the sharia, the Arabics, and Islamic practices and history. Santris (students) can move in and move out from pesantren throughout the year as the learning processes are not structured as a development of programs directing to graduation. Some pesantrens are more old-style and emphasize the significance of trailing the elders' wisdom such as their family life and traditions on religion. Others underline the independence of contemporary pupils to think for them and to shed light on scripture and current information in a way that is in harmony with the Islamic traditions. In order for santris to familiarize with the modern circumstances, some pesantrens start to provide their students with more contemporary courses such as mathematics, English, geography, science, and history.

The intergration of modern subjects (e.g., English) in pesantren's religious lessons-based curriculum is also influenced by the fact that English has become one of the compulsory subjects in public schools in Indonesia. However, the integration may be challenging for teachers and students because pesantrens need to provide English materials with Islamic contents. In other words, teaching of English should be administered by incorporating Islamic lessons. This kind of challenge is doubled by the fact that pesantrens are usually located in rural or remote areas that make pesantrens have difficulties to recruit English teachers. Additionally, commonly pesantrens are typically disadvantaged. This situation makes pesantren unable to pay English teachers if they want to recruit English teachers. With regard to such situations in pesantren, through our study and through five attractors to teaching consisting of interpersonal, the service, the continuation, the material benefit, and time and compatibility resources (Lortie, 1975), we want to explore the hidden and explicit attractors to teaching of a group of voluntary English teachers were involved in teaching English in pesantren. For us, these twelve voluntary and young English teachers were very exceptional with regard to their dedication to teaching English in pesantren.

Research Methodology

The method that we used in this inquiry was qualitative with a case study tradition to explore the explicit and hidden attractors to teaching of voluntary English teachers in a pesantren where a group of voluntary English teachers were involved in teaching English. We chose the method and case study approach because it would allow us to investigate bounded system (cases) with thorough data collection comprising several bases of evidence (e.g., interview). Creswell (2007) stated that qualitative research was carried out in natural setting without manipulating the data and a type of educational study, which the investigators concentrate on the participants' viewpoints; examine wide-ranging questions and the experiences of participants; and provide rich narrative descriptions. Creswell (2007)

expressed that a qualitative case study tradition focused on the study of an issue exploring through one or extra cases in a bound system, which can be controlled by both time and place. The case (cases) can be an activity, a program, and individuals. In this inquiry, the case was the hidden and explicit attractors to teaching of voluntary English teachers in a pesantren. Specially, this inquiry was conducted to gain more detailed evidence regarding what explicit and hidden attractors attracted them to do such a remarkable work as the case.

The Site of Research and Participants

The site for this study was conducted in a pesantren where a group of voluntary English teachers were involved in teaching English at the research site. Permission was obtained from the head of the pesantren. The names of people who were involved in this study were hidden by using pseudonyms to protect participants' rights. Patton (1990 as cited in Johnson & Christensen, 2008) stated, "purposeful sampling is used to describe the process in develop inclusion criteria to be used in selecting participant of the research and site because individuals cases are selected that provide the information needed to address the purpose of the research" (p. 243). This inquiry used a purposive sampling with a convenience strategy. Creswell (2007) wrote, "Convenience cases, which represent sites or individuals from which researcher can access and easily collect data" (p. 126). In this inquiry, we purposefully recruited all voluntary English teachers and to get access to them, networking with one pesantren was used. The convenience case strategy is helpful for collecting data for achieving the aim of this inquiry as participants represented voluntary English teachers at the research site. They might help us to collect the data related to their hidden and explicit attractors to teaching by sharing their feelings, thoughts, and perspectives. In this study, twelve participants were willing to participate consisting of 2 male and 10 female voluntary English teachers. Their ages were between 22 and 24 years old. Throughout this paper we used these pseudonyms as their identity such as Ms A or Ms B.

Table 1. The Demographic Information of Participants

No.	Name	Gender	Age	Major (BA)	Prior volunteer teaching experience
1.	Ms A	F	23	English Teaching	No
2.	Ms B	F	23	English Teaching	No
3.	Ms C	F	23	English Teaching	Yes
4.	Ms D	F	24	English Teaching	Yes
5.	Ms E	F	23	English Teaching	No
6.	Ms F	F	23	English Teaching	No
7.	Mr G	M	23	English Teaching	No
8.	Ms H	F	23	English Teaching	Yes
9.	Ms I	F	23	English Teaching	No
10.	Mr J	M	22	English Teaching	No
11.	Ms K	F	23	English Teaching	No
12.	Ms L	F	22	English Teaching	Yes

The Collection and Analysis of Data

In this inquiry, our primary data were gathered by using a semi-structured interview, which were carried out individually with each voluntary teacher based on their availability and at a location of the teacher's choice with all participants. Of twelve participants, five participants were not interviewed directly due to their time and distance. But, they were still willing to share their information to join the program by asking us to send a list of questions. We sent the list of the questions and they sent their responses back to us through emails. The five participants were Ms C., Ms K., Ms L, Mr. J., and Mr. G. For the direct interviews, we did interviews four times for each participant from April-December 2015 to January – June 2016. The length of interview was between 15 and 20 minutes for each individual.

This happened as not all participants had much time to be interviewed. ¹⁴ Participants' accounts and responses to interview questions were digitally recorded by using a digital voice recorder. Each participant was offered an choice to respond to questions either in English or in Indonesian. All of them answered in Indonesian. In the course of the interview, we commenced asking each participant to discuss their motives or attractors to be voluntary teachers. For instance, they were asked, "Tell us the kinds of motives that influence you to be a voluntary teacher at the research site? We also asked participants more particular questions associated with our inquiry, including their interpersonal, service, continuation, material benefit, and time and compatibility attractors. Furthermore, to strengthen our interview data, a demographic background questionnaire was used to obtain information related to gender, age, and others. ³

For the data analysis, we faced many challenges such as time to transcribe every individual's talks. ³ The demographic data were analyzed descriptively and the interviews were transcribed and analyzed on a case by case basis. All the transcript data ¹⁸ among voluntary teacher were scrutinized and evaluated to seek out likenesses and dissimilarities. As is typical in a qualitative study, data collection and data analysis do not happen in a serial manner; rather data collection and data analysis influence each other. The first phase that we made was to perform what Miles and Huberman (1994) called "within case analysis." Once we finished interviewing the first teacher, we directly transcribed verbatim and carefully analysed all interview data into interpersonal attractors, social service attractors, continuation attractors, Non material benefit attractors]/ expectations of no payment, and time and compatibility attractors as my coding processes. This procedure was done for all participants. We read every transcript of each voluntary English teacher line-by-line individually, denoted significant chunks of responses, put the chunks into themes that had been created. For example, Ms A (pseudonym) was the first participant that we interviewed. After we transcribed her interview data, we analyzed the data, and put her relevant chunks of statements into interpersonal attractors, social service attractors, continuation attractors, non-material benefit attractors] expectations of no payment, and time and compatibility attractors that we had created. In terms of interpersonal attractors, Ms A said, "the Pesantren where I work is not a famous one. When the first time, I came there, I experienced new things such as highly motivated kids..."

Next, after we analyzed each voluntary English teacher's data, we placed the data into the themes of each voluntary English teacher, then we conducted like what Miles and Huberman (1994) called "cross-case analysis." We compared all data across twelve participants to look for the frequency of responses among each voluntary English teacher for every common or general theme and for every specific theme (e.g. interpersonal attractors, social service attractors). Additionally, we conducted a "cross-case analysis" to eliminate similar data (e.g., one participant expressed the same responses several times).

Research Ethics

To keep the participants' rights, the name of each voluntary English teacher was disguised by using pseudonyms (e.g., Ms A). Also each voluntary English teacher's decision to participate in this inquiry was totally volunteer since they would be supplied with an informed agreement form. In qualitative inquiry, the trustworthiness features consist of authenticity and credibility. To establish the "trustworthiness," we completed the following procedures. First, we conducted the long interviews minutes depending on the questions and the condition. We transcribed the interview and after transcribing the data, all the transcripts were checked by our research members. Afterwards, we gave it back to the participants that had been interviewed to make sure the originality as a system of checks and balances on data interpretation.

Findings

This qualitative study, within the attractions of teaching theoretical framework, intended to find out what had attracted voluntary and young English teachers to teaching English in one pesantren. We were guided by one major question in this study: What have driven or attracted voluntary and young English teachers to teaching English in

pesantren? Based on the analyses of texts, five major themes emerged consisting of (1) interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction, (2) social service attractors, (3) the furtherance attractors, (4) non material benefit attractors: expectations of no payment, and (5) time attractors: compatible work schedules. These themes were followed by the samples of accounts made by the participants.

Interpersonal attractors: Volunteering for personal satisfaction

The data in this study were gathered and linked across participants to identify trends within and across the twelve volunteer English teachers. One of the consistent matters that emerged among the participants was related to the interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction. A picture of attractors emerged from the sample of the participants suggested that their decision-making to teach English voluntarily at the research site was related to working with young people in pesantren in relation to the spread or diffusion of knowledge and skills (Lortie, 1975). In this study, the interpersonal attractors were one of the influential attractors for the participants' decision to teach English voluntarily at the pesantren. Volunteer English teacher 17 in this inquiry specifically recounted that they wanted to participate in teaching English at the pesantren because they wanted to work with children in order to share and spread their knowledge and skills to students at the research site. For example,

...if you ask me about the reason for doing this voluntary work, I would say that I am sincere to share my knowledge in order to help students [santris at pesantren]. If I have time, we would be happy to help them... (Ms E)

...I am very interested in teaching them [santris at pesantren] in order to help them become better... (Ms H)

I like kids though they are sometimes hard to involve in learning, but I try to help them focus...I think at PondokPesantren, they have lack of English ability and it is the reason I join teaching voluntarily. (Ms K)

More importantly, participants in this study were enthusiastic to become a volunteer teacher because they liked to work with young people and to share what they had with santris at pesantren. It is interesting to note that the examples of the responses above showed that the volunteer English teachers' decision to teach English voluntarily at the pesantren was much strongly influenced by their interpersonal attractors such as contributing to their society after finishing their studies, working with young people in pesantren, and helping children from low income families at pesantren through teaching English.

Social service attractors

Within this theme, the twelve volunteer English teachers were asked to respond to several questions about what socially attracted them to teach English voluntarily in pesantren. They reported that their desire to teach English voluntarily was attracted by their motive to contribute to their society. They thought that teaching was as a valuable service of special moral worth. They wanted to have a chance for serving their people become better in future through education. For instance,

I join teaching at pesantren voluntarily because I want contribute to my society through education. (Ms C)

I offered myself to be a volunteer teacher. So, it is coming from my own desire to participate.(Ms A)

Yes, I participate in teaching at pesantren because I want to contribute or show something to my society that education is an important thing... (Ms K) 2

Yes, I like joining teaching for pesantren because I want to contribute directly to my society as in Indonesia many people or kids need education and knowledge because of their low-economic status and remote areas, but government's attention remains little. (Ms L)

After graduating, our participants desired to play a part in their society through being a volunteer English teacher to

form the upcoming generation of the nation through education. In general, volunteer teachers in this study testified that teaching English at pesantren would provide them with an opportunity for serving their people become better in future.

The furtherance attractors

Under this theme, we found that the participants in this study used various ways to convey their feelings and thoughts connected to why they became volunteer teachers to teach English at pesantren. The interview data indicated that all volunteer teachers wanted to have attachments to education and school. They expressed that education was part of their life and teaching was one of the ways to make them keep in touch with education. A personal fulfillment for continuing staying in the field of education through teaching English regardless of no financial salary had attracted our participants to be volunteer teachers. No body forced them to join the activity. For example,

Yes, I participate in teaching English voluntarily in pesantren because I want to continuing staying in the field of education. (Ms L)

Yes, I want to keep in touch with education. I think education gives me opportunities for further exploring about how education is interrelated to other aspects. (Mr G)

I participate in this voluntary activity in order to dedicate my ability in teaching and I want to get involved in education...Ms F)

The data above showed that regardless of the pesantren situation and condition, participants reported that they felt glad to be volunteer teachers in order to dedicate their knowledge for students in pesantren. For some participants, they expected that the activity would continuously exist as they would keep participating.

Discussion

Pesantrens in Indonesia are characteristically disadvantaged and students or santris survives in deprived conditions and under strict rules (Nilan, 2007). Yet, while pesantrens are characteristically disadvantaged, they remain strong up to now. One of the important elements that might keep pesantrens active is the presence of teachers who remain there regardless of low or no salary and bad facility. Additionally, many people might voluntarily participate and contribute to develop pesantren, particularly in rural, remote, and poor areas. This is a fascinating fact as what drives people or teachers actively to participate in developing pesantrens through teaching? What kinds of recruitment resources (motives or attractors) that attract people to go into teaching at pesantrens? The purpose of this study, within the attractors to teaching lens (Lortie, 1975), was to find out what had attracted voluntary English teachers to teaching English at the research site. Specifically, the investigation centered on the hidden and explicit attractors to teaching to voluntary English teachers and centered on what keeps their commitment and dedication to teaching and what keeps them remain in the occupation. These voluntary and young English teachers were very unique in terms of their dedication and contribution to teaching English to young learners at the research site. In fact, teaching English in Islamic boarding school or pesantren might be not easy to do because pesantren in Indonesia is not required to use the National Curriculum.

Understanding voluntary English teachers' hidden and explicit attractors to teaching English in pesantrens is important as not many pesantrens have access to have English teachers. Also, understanding their hidden and explicit attractors is important as they are still young but they have an affection of volunteerism, explicitly the enthusiasm to assist others without expecting any kind of payment or any other material gain (Davis, 1998; Munro, 2001). Through a qualitative case study, we intended to look at what had attracted voluntary English teachers to teaching English at the research site. The results of this study have offered clear empirical signs that the twelve voluntary English teachers' hidden and explicit attractors to teach English voluntarily at the research site was driven by a strong mixing of (1) interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction, (2) social service attractors, (3) the furtherance attractors, (4) non material benefit attractors: expectations of no payment, and (5) time attractors: compatible work schedules. Lortie (1975) said that the interpersonal resources described the reasons for people to enter the teaching

profession because it involved working and contacting with people, particularly young people in relation to the spread or diffusion of knowledge and skills. In terms of interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction, the results of our study showed that all voluntary English teachers testified that they joined the activity because they liked working with young people and sharing their English with young people in pesantren. They wanted young people in pesantren to be able to understand English. All participants shared their stories that although most of young kids in pesantren were coming from low income families, they had high motivation to study English. Participants in this study felt that their voluntary work paid off after looking at young kids' motivation in learning English at pesantren.

Although all of previous studies have not focused on volunteer teachers, their findings are still relevant to this study. The finding of this study is also in line with Yong's (1995) study in Brunei Darussalam that explored trainees' motives for incoming into a teaching profession was driven by the intent to share knowledge with others and with the studies of Hobson et al. (2004) and Mukminin et al. (2017) who found that "helping young people to learn" and "working with children or young people" were two of ten features which appealed the highest numbers of trainees. Additionally, the finding of this study supports the findings of earlier studies (e.g., Manuel & Hughes, 2006; Mazza et al., 2016; Mukminin et al., 2017) who found that the choice to teach owing to their individual desires to work with young individuals so as to construct a difference in young people's lives.

With respect to the attractor of social service, Lortie (1975) stated that the resources of service are related to the teaching as a service of distinctive moral value (the aura of its mission) while Clary, Snyder, and Stukas (1996) suggested that one of the six broad motivational functions that attracted people to volunteer was socially motivated. Our study results indicated that the twelve voluntary English teachers who had not permanent work yet reported that their desire to teach English voluntarily at pesantren was to contribute to their society. All participants wanted to have a chance for serving their people become better in future through education. This finding suggests that although they are still young in terms of age and teaching experience, the twelve voluntary English teachers already understood the conditions of educational world in their community such as lack of English teachers at pesantren. This kind of situation had driven them to do voluntary work as part of their contribution to their community. In other words, the twelve voluntary English teachers in this study testified that teaching English at pesantren would give them a chance for serving their people become better in future as English is needed by santri in future to introduce their cultures to others and to understand other cultures.

This study has provided clear empirical evidence that one of the attractors that attracted the twelve voluntary English teachers to teach at pesantren was because after graduating they wanted to directly stay in touch with school or education. Lortie (1975) argued that attachments to education and school had made people to stay in school by becoming teachers. Another interesting finding in our study was that the twelve voluntary English teachers reported that although they were not paid, they kept joining the program. This kind of motive or attractor was driven by the fact that pesantren where they worked needed English teachers. They also wanted to keep teaching at pesantren after seeing the fact that it is a disadvantaged pesantren. It is similar to what Nilan (2007) said that pesantrens in Indonesia were characteristically disadvantaged and santri survived in deprived conditions and under strict rules. One important finding in our study was that many of participants reported that they were influenced by the evidence that the activity had compatible teaching schedules. Such compatible teaching schedules help them arrange their other activities. In other words, participating in teaching English voluntarily at the research site will not prevent them from doing any other activities.

Overall, through this qualitative case study, a picture of attractors emerged from the twelve voluntary English teachers that the recruitment attractors for their goal to participate in teaching English at pesantren were a combination of various attractors including (1) interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction, (2) social service attractors, (3) the furtherance attractors, (4) non material benefit attractors: expectations of no payment, and (5) time attractors: compatible work schedules.

Recommendations and Policy Implications

Implications and recommendations for programs and policies can be drawn from the findings of our inquiry as English is not a compulsory subject in some pesantrens, particularly at the research site of our study. The Indonesian government through the Religious Affairs Ministry and the National Education and Culture Ministry has to guarantee that national education policies and programs explicitly target and respond to the needs of pesantrens. To deal with the lack of quality English teachers in pesantrens in rural and remote areas, specific interventions should be taken by the six key actors (the Religious Affairs Ministry and the National Education and Culture Ministry, the department of education at the provincial and district levels, university, and pesantrens). The pesantrens should not work alone to manage teacher deployment and recruitment. The six key actors should engage in the process of recruiting, posting, and transferring teachers to the intended pesantrens. Three important reasons of the need of cooperation among the actors are: (a) the current system should prioritize the recruitments and distribution of teachers to pesantrens, (b) the salary levels and promotional and reward systems should focus on teachers in pesantrens, and (c) the money for paying teacher salaries and incentives in pesantren should be from the central government which is transferred to the provincial government and districts' budgets. The succeeding specific policy recommendations can be implemented by the five key actors:

- Two of the findings in this study indicated that participants were attracted by the interpersonal attractors: volunteering for personal satisfaction and social service attractors. These findings can be used as indicators that Indonesian young teachers are potential to help pesantren develop its potential. Therefore, they should be recruited and appointed nationally and allocated to pesantrens through the department of education at the provincial and district levels, particularly for new and young teachers who apply to be a teacher. They are posted to pesantrens.
- Another interesting finding in our study indicates "non material benefit attractors: expectations of no payment" is one of the attractors for our participants to teach English voluntarily. Although in our study, participants expected no payment, government and policymakers should make a policy for recruiting English teachers for pesantrens who are obliged to serve in rural and remote pesantrens for a minimum of three years and a maximum of five years with incentives and promotions.
- For a long-term solution, providing university scholarships for potential students from rural or remote areas who are interested in becoming pesantren teachers and serve their home areas is promising.

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