
Patterns of Pesantren Strength in Facing the Hegemony of Modernity

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Received: 2024-09-12

Revised: 2025-02-07

Accepted: 2025-03-15

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the patterns of pesantren so that they can stand firm in the face of the hegemony of modernity. The research uses an analytical descriptive method with an educational history and sociology approach. This study proves that pesantren have the following strengths: (1) having a tradition of scientific rihlah, writing, and reading the yellow book. (2) having kiyai leadership, (3) educational patterns in pesantren, (4) pesantren are in accordance with social theory in organisations, consisting of adaptation, the system must adapt to the environment, and adapt the environment to needs. As for what underlies the pattern, there is Goal Attainment, a system that must define and achieve its main goals. Integration, Latency (pattern maintenance). This strength is what makes pesantren strong.

Keywords: Education, Pesantren, Modernity.

Introduction

Pesantren (*Islamic boarding school*) is one of the interesting studies to date among scientists, both among researchers in Islamic religious science, social

science, and anthropology.¹ Although studies have been conducted above, according to Ahmad Tafsir, they have not been able to reveal all the secrets of pesantren.² This is because Pesantren, an original Indonesian educational institution that is classified as unique and features a traditional education system, with dormitories and yellow classical books as the main study, has survived until now.³ In fact, Martin van Bruinessen calls pesantren a *great tradition* in the Islamic education system in Indonesia.⁴ Which has advantages, both in its scientific tradition and in terms of moral transmission and internalisation.

On the other hand, pesantren is also an education that can play the role of *empowerment* and *civil society* transformation effectively.⁵ According to Nurcholish Madjid, boarding school is not only synonymous with Islamic meaning, but also contains the meaning of Indonesian authenticity. Islamic boarding schools are also *indigenous* educational institutions and social institutions that were born and developed along with the entry of Islamic broadcasting in Indonesia.⁶ Even today, boarding schools contribute to the character building of Indonesian society. This description explains that the struggles of pesantren in Indonesia have a long history, so it is interesting to study why pesantren education, as a local genius institution, is getting stronger and stronger in facing the hegemony of modernity. Therefore, this study uses an analytical descriptive method with historical, sociological, educational science, and comparative approaches.

Pesantren Discourse in Indonesia

Pesantren, according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, means a dormitory where santri or students study the Koran.⁷ The root of the word pesantren comes from the word santri, which is a term originally used for people who study religion in traditional Javanese and Madurese Islamic educational institutions.⁸ In a narrow sense, a santri is a person who studies

¹ Raehani, *Islam dan Kemajemukan Indonesia, Studi Kasus Pesantren dan Pendidikan Multikultural*, (Annual Conference on Islamic Studies (ACIC) ke-10, Bajarmasin: 2010), 386.

² Ahmad Tafsir, *Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2012), 289.

³ Fadlil Munawwar Mansur, "Kekayaan Budaya Pesantren", dalam *Jurnal Humaniora*, (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM, Volume xiv, No. 2/2004), 20.

⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 17.

⁵ Mardiyah, "Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Memelihara Budaya Organisasi: di Pondok Pesantren Modern Gontor, Lirboyo Kediri, dan Tebuireng Jombang", *Jurnal Tsaqafah*, (Vol. 8. No. 1. April 2012), 67.

⁶ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997, cet ke-1), 3.

⁷ Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 878.

⁸ Ali Anwar, *Pembaharuan Pendidikan di Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*, 21.

religion. While in the general sense, santri refers to a member of the Javanese population who adheres to Islam seriously, prays diligently, and goes to the mosque on Fridays.⁹

Pesantren, according to Mastuhu, is a traditional Islamic educational institution that studies, understands, deepens, lives, and practices Islamic teachings by emphasising the importance of religious morals as a guide to daily behaviour.¹⁰ Pesantren itself, according to its basic definition, is a place for students to study. Pondok means a simple house or residence made of bamboo. The word pondok comes from the Arabic "Funduq", which means "Hotel or dormitory".¹¹ However, when talking about pesantren, it practically means having a pondok, mosque, santri, kiai, and classical Islamic books.¹²

At least four theories were found about the origin of the word santri, namely adaptations from Sanskrit, Javanese, Tamil and Indian. Abu Hamid considers that the word pesantren comes from Sanskrit, which acquires its own form and understanding in Indonesian. It comes from the word *sant* which means good person and is connected with the word *tra* which means to help. So *santra* means a place of good people who like to help. Meanwhile, pesantren means a place to build people into good people.¹³ Nurcholish Madjid proposes that the word santri comes from the Sanskrit word *santri*, meaning literate, and also from the Javanese *cantrik*, meaning a person who is devoted to a teacher.¹⁴

The above assumption is not entirely correct, if traced through a comparison of the two systems (Islamic education system and pre-Islamic education system), where the teaching material in the *cantrik* prioritises physical training, which is called *kanuragan* science. The material taught in pesantren is generally more religious. This fact gives a clear picture of the difference between the Canadian education pattern and the Philippine education pattern. Another proof that in the Islamic world itself, there is a pesantren education system in Indonesia, which can be seen from the many

⁹ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, dan Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, terjemahan Aswab Mahasin, (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1983), hlm. 268. Lihat juga Ali Anwar, *Pembaharuan Pendidikan di Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri*, 23.

¹⁰ Lihat Mastuhu, *Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren*, h. 55. Bandingkan dengan Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, (Jakarta, LP3ES, 2011), 18.

¹¹ The survival of a pesantren is highly dependent on the attractiveness of the central figure (*kiyai*) who leads, continues or inherits it. Hasbullah, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), 138

¹² Andi M. Ramli, Gambaran Singkat tentang Pendidikan di Pesantren, dalam Buletin *Bina Pesantren*, (Jakarta: Depag RI, Juli 1999), 6.

¹³ Abu Hamid, "Sistem Pendidikan Madrasah dan Pesantren di Sulawesi Selatan", dalam Taufik Abdullah (Ed), *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1983), 328

¹⁴ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*; 19-20.

religious institutions in Islamic countries whose education systems are the same as pesantren in Indonesia. As in Yemen with its Darul Mustofa or in Saudi Arabia with its Rubat.¹⁵

The above opinion dismisses the assumption that pesantren is a traditional Indonesian culture that has undergone Islamization, and on the other hand, it can be concluded that pesantren is part of Islamic culture that has been indigenized when it entered Indonesia. Pesantren, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, is a place inhabited by students and has the characteristics of a hut as an integral educational environment.¹⁶ This statement shows the meaning of the relationship between pesantren and santri, which cannot be separated, so Dhofier signalled that pesantren comes from the word santri in addition to the prefix pe and suffix an, which means a place where santri live. Dhofier even summarises John's opinion that the term santri comes from the Tamil language, which means recitation teacher. At the same time, C.C. Breg argues that the term shastri in the Indian language comes from the word shastra, which means holy books, religious books and books about science.¹⁷

However, the pesantren is an important element in the institution.¹⁸ Terminologically, pesantren is a traditional educational institution that studies, understands, lives, and practices Islamic teachings by emphasising the importance of religious morals as a guide to daily behaviour.¹⁹ Mahmud Yunus also expressed this opinion that pesantren is a place for santri or students who study the Islamic religion, so that they become religious teachers and Islamic muballighs who broadcast Islam throughout the island of Java.²⁰ Furthermore, Steenbrink explained that the pesantren, in terms of its form and system, originated from India. Before the spread of Islam in Indonesia, the system had been used in general for Hindu education and teaching in Java. After Islam entered, the system was taken by Islam, with the recitation model.²¹

According to M. Arifin, pesantren is an Islamic religious education institution that grows and develops and is recognised by the surrounding community, with a dormitory system where students receive religious education through a teaching system that is fully under the sovereignty of the

¹⁵ Samsul Nizar et. al, *Sejarah Sosial dan Dinamika Intelektual Pendidikan Islam di Nusantara*, (Jakarta: Kecana, 2013), 139

¹⁶ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan" dalam buku Marzuki Wahid dkk, (penyunting), *Pesantren Masa Depan Wacana Pemberdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren*, (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999), 13

¹⁷ Zamakhasyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai*, 41

¹⁸ M. Ali Sibram Malisi, *Pembaharuan Pendidikan Pesantren*, (Tangerang Selatan: YPM, 2013), 35.

¹⁹ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, 55.

²⁰ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Hidakarya, 1996), 231

²¹ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah Sekolah*, 20.

kiai leadership, with charismatic characteristics and independent in all respects.²² Even Mundzier Suparta explained that pesantren is a da'wah institution that has a major influence on the development of Islam in the archipelago.²³

The opinions of the experts above provide the concept of understanding that pesantren is an institution that is unique and different from other educational institutions in organising a religious education and teaching system. This is the background of different views on the theory of the origin of pesantren, even to the typology of pesantren. This distinction causes pesantren to have three terms that it bears, namely:

First, pesantren as an *indigenous* Islamic educational institution that has an Islamic meaning, also carries the meaning of Indonesian authenticity²⁴ Which arises and develops from the religious sociological experience of its environmental community, where pesantren have a close relationship with their environmental community.²⁵ Strictly speaking, pesantrens have taken an important role in the process of Islamization of the archipelago and have been recognised as *agents of culture* that are able to interpret the messages of religious teachings and apply them functionally in everyday life. Abdurrahman Wahid recognised that pesantren is the only educational institution that accommodates all levels of society to get education and has a blue blood of nobility because of its relationship with the royal education institution.²⁶ Even the ability of pesantren as a pure community self-help does not depend on *foreign* provisions, by developing local cultural creativity and social dynamics of the environment based on pesantren values that are believed and lived independently.²⁷

Second, pesantren as a *subculture* institution is a tradition that only grows and develops in the pesantren community. Although this term has not yet received equal agreement, its use is more an attempt to recognise the cultural identity of the pesantren world by outsiders, which gives an isolationist-exclusive impression.²⁸

Pesantren is a subculture operating within a society based on a religious

²² Daula Haidar Putra, *Historitas dan eksistensi, Pesantren, Sekolah dan Madrasah*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2000), 8-9.

²³ Mundzier Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah, Terhadap Prilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat Keagamaan*, (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 56.

²⁴ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, 3.

²⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam Tradisi dan Modernisasi*, 108.

²⁶ KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Prisma*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 112.

²⁷ Ibrahim, S. (2017). Pendidikan tentang Manusia dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an. *Jurnal Ilmiah AL-Jauhari: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Interdisipliner*, 2(2), 243–256. <https://doi.org/10.30603/jiaj.v2i2.691>. M. Habib Chirizin, "Pengejawatahan Nilai Pesantren secara Berperan Serta", dalam *Pesantren* No. 2, 1985, 29.

²⁸ KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 9.

culture. The culture regulates people's behaviour in their relationships with community members and other communities.²⁹ Pesantren is a separate community, where kiai, ustadz, santri and santri administrators live together in one campus based on Islamic religious values, complete with their norms and habits, which are exclusively different from the general public. It is a large family under the leadership of a kiai or ulama with the help of an ustadz.³⁰ Thus, pesantren as a subculture has three main characteristics: (1) The pesantren value system is unique from the value system adopted by the community outside the pesantren. (2). An independent leadership pattern that is different from the leadership adopted by the community outside the pesantren. (3). The cluster of knowledge transmission is based on universal literature that has been preserved for centuries.

Third, Pesantren is a traditional institution because it is more oriented towards teaching and disseminating traditional Islamic sciences such as tawhid, tafsir, hadith, fiqh, tasawwuf, morals, and soon.³¹ Pesantren has its traditional role attached to it, namely: (1) as a centre for the transmission of traditional Islamic knowledge, (2) as a guardian and perpetuation of traditional Islam, and (3) as a centre for the reproduction of ulama.³²

Traditionalism in the definition above does not mean conservative and outdated, but refers to the understanding that this institution, from a historical aspect, has existed for hundreds of years (300-400 years) and has become an integral part of the life system of Muslims in Indonesia. In fact, it has changed from time to time in accordance with the journey of Muslim life.

So the term traditional here is not in the sense of conservative and orthodox, which have experienced a lot of secularisation. But traditionalism in pesantren education is a term used to describe Sunni Islam throughout Islamic history and is very different from the concept of conservatism and orthodoxy in Western culture; therefore, pesantren traditionalism is perseverance and patience in seeking knowledge, intellectual dynamism that still maintains traditional values.³³

If we analyze the above opinions, there are two main theories in the debate about the origin of pesantren in Indonesia. So Zamakshary said that pesantren originated from the Middle Eastern pesantren tradition, not

²⁹ Khaerul Wahidin, *Pembaharuan Pondok Pesantren Masa Orde Baru*, Disertasi (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, tidak diterbitkan, 2000), 32.

³⁰ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, 5.

³¹ Suwito, Muhib, *Jaringan Intelektual Kyai Pesantren di Jawa-Madura Abad XX*, dalam Laporan Hasil Penelitian Kompetitif, (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2000), 1

³² Ibrahim, S. (2014). Menata Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Irfani*, 10(1), 29302. Tim Peneliti, *Peran Pesantren Dalam Penyelenggaraan Program Wajib Belajar 9 Tahun*, (Jakarta: BalitBang Kemenag RI, Pusat UIN Jakarta, 1999), 4.

³³ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara; Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, 276.

originally from Indonesia. According to Dhofier, the current model of pesantren in Java is a combination model between madrassas and tarekat centres in the Middle East. Likewise, Martin van Bruinessen, in a book entitled *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren and Tarekat*, disagrees with the argument that pesantren are a continuation of the Hindu-Buddhist education system before the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. According to Martin, Al-Azhar is the initial typology of the pesantren model in Indonesia.

The second theory states that pesantren originated from pre-Islamic educational traditions or education in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Manfred Zambek expressed this opinion in the book *Pesantren and Social Change*. According to him, the current institutional pattern of pesantren is in parallel a continuation of pre-Islamic educational institutions that have been institutionalized before. Nurcholish Madjid expressed the same opinion in the book *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: A Portrait of a Journey*, which recognises that the current pesantren is a continuation of the Hindu-Buddhist era pesantren. When Islam came, it was only a matter of giving Islamic colours to the existing educational institutions.

The two theories of the debate above gave rise to convergence theory as a reference in viewing pesantren. Institutionally, it is an assimilation of outside education models, both Islamic education in the Middle East and Hindu-Buddhist education that entered Indonesia.³⁴ Hanun Asrohah in her research entitled *Pelembagaan Pesantren: The Origin and Development of Islamic Boarding Schools in Java*, concluded that the characteristics of Islamic boarding schools are in Hindu-Buddhist education with the tradition of dormitories and mandalas. In contrast, the yellow book education model refers to Middle Eastern education.³⁵ Therefore, these theories complement each other.

The Power of Pesantren Tradition in the Hegemony of Modernity

The word *tradition* comes from the English word tradition, which means tradition.³⁶ In Indonesian, tradition is defined as everything (such as customs, beliefs, habits, and teachings) that is passed down from ancestors to posterity. The word *adat* comes from Arabic, plural *'awaid*, which means habit. The definition of tradition is then close to *culture*, namely politeness and culture,

³⁴ Wakhid Khozin, dkk, *Pendidikan Kewargaan Pada Komunitas Pesantren*, (Jakarta: Prasasti, 2007), 5.

³⁵ Hanun Asrohah, *Pelembagaan Pesantren: Asal Usul dan Perkembangan Pesantren di Jawa*, (Jakarta: Bagian Proyek Peningkatan Informasi Penelitian dan Diklat Keagamaan Departemen Agama RI. 2004), 5.

³⁶ Ibrahim, S. (2017). Pendidikan tentang Manusia dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an. *Jurnal Ilmiah AL-Jauhari: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Interdisipliner*, 2(2), 243–256. <https://doi.org/10.30603/jiaj.v2i2.691>. John M. Echol dan Hasan Shadily, *Kamus Inggris Indonesia*, (Jakarta Gramedia, 1980), 599.

and culture itself is close to meaning *values* that are selected and determined as superior and good, which are then understood, lived, and practised, and used as a system of work of reason in everyday life.³⁷ So the pesantren tradition is everything that is familiarised, understood, lived and practised in pesantren, namely its values and implementation in everyday life, so as to form a culture and civilisation that distinguishes it from other educational traditions.³⁸

The strength of tradition inherent in pesantren education makes and proves its role as an institution that produces scholars and leaders of the people and is able to maintain the Islamic scientific tradition.³⁹

According to researchers, the pesantren tradition is the strength of pesantren education; Many studies later prove that the strength of pesantren is in the strength of its traditions, which is called theoretical Mapping in pesantren studies, which includes. Martin van Bruinessen's study *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, and Tarekat: Islamic Traditions in Indonesia*. This proves that, in Bruinessen's view, pesantren have successfully built a *great tradition* in teaching Islam based on classical books popularly known as the yellow book. The traditions developed by pesantren are unique and different from the traditions of other Islamic entities in Indonesia, such as modernists. The uniqueness of pesantren is certainly seen in its persistence in maintaining classical scientific traditions that modernists almost neglect.

Zamakhshari Dhofier's research on *Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Kiai's View of Life* (1994) provides a fairer picture of the pesantren world. This perspective is ignored by pesantren researchers who come from outside the pesantren. Dhofier mentions three names as targets of criticism. The first two names mentioned are Clifford Geertz and Alan Samson, who describe the world of pesantren quite fatally by characterising pesantren as conservative Islam that is familiar with syncretic elements that are contrary to Islam. Surprisingly, the mistake in the perspective of foreign researchers was also made by Indonesian researchers, namely Deliar Noer, towards the world of pesantren. According to Dhofier, Deliar Noer's perspective on pesantren is not much different from Samson and Geertz, who tend to position pesantren in a dichotomous manner; pesantren traditionalism on the one hand and modernism on the other. Not satisfied with the dichotomous perspective, Dhofier offers a new perspective called *continuity and change*. Through this epistemic perspective, Dhofier succeeded in showing that the creativity of pesantren in responding to changes while still referring to classical scientific traditions.

³⁷ These values include honesty, discipline, independence, hard work, cooperation, mutual respect and respect. See Abuddin Nata, *Pendidikan Islam dengan Pendekatan Multidisipliner*, (Jakarta, Rajawali Press, 2010), 170-180.

³⁸ Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Intitusi pendidikannya*, (Jakaarta, Raja Wali Press, 2012), 310

³⁹ Taufik Abdullah, et.al, *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: PT. Karya Unipress, 1988), 1.

Manfred Ziemek's study on *Pesantren in Social Change* (1986). In the German edition, *Pesantren Islamische Bildung in Sozialen Wandel*, published in 1983. This study not only discusses the scientific tradition of pesantren, but also the social roles of pesantren in developing the surrounding community. Ziemek's findings provide an image of pesantren that are often misunderstood as institutions that tend to isolate them from the outside world. The results of this study show that the traditions in pesantren include:

Scientific Rihlah Tradition

Scientific Rihlah literally means a journey of knowledge or traveling from one region to another, or one country to another, both near and far and sometimes staying for a long time, not even returning to the area of origin, with the main purpose of seeking, gaining, deepening, and developing knowledge, even teaching it and writing it down in various books.⁴⁰ History records that prominent Indonesian scholars made scientific pilgrimages from Indonesia to Mecca, Egypt and several countries in the world for quite a long time, not only to gain knowledge, but also to teach and develop it in the form of writing books. Among them was Nawawi al-Bantani (1813- 1879M), who travelled to Mecca at the age of 15 until he died there, as well as to several other countries such as Syria and Egypt. Khalil Bangkalan (1819- 1925 AD), who lived in Mecca for 12 years; K.H.R. Asnawi Kudus (1816-1925 AD), who lived in Mecca for 22 years; and K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947 AD), who lived in Mecca for more than 10 years.⁴¹

Thus, the *scientific rihlah* carried out by the pesantren kiai above shows an extraordinary achievement, considering that traveling abroad at that time was not easy, given the availability of adequate transportation facilities, and the settlement facilities in Mecca were still simple.

Book Writing Tradition

Writing books is a productive tradition carried out by pesantren kiai. Some of the scholars led by pesantren, including Nawawi al-Bantani, for example, wrote more than 100 titles divided into nine fields of religious science: tafsir, fiqh, ushul al-din, tauhid science, tasawwuf, the life of the Prophet, Arabic grammar, hadith, and morals.⁴² Among his famous works is *Tafsir al-Munir al-Tanzil*, or in another title, *Marah Labid Tafsir an-Nawawi*, which totals 985 pages and is divided into 2 volumes. It was first published in Cairo in 1305 H. Other important Nawawi books are Syar Sullam al-Munajah, Nihayah al-Zain fi Irsyad al-Mubtadi'in, Tausiah 'ala Fath al-Qarib, and *Sullam al-Taufiq*.⁴³

⁴⁰ Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Institusi Pendidikannya*, 310.

⁴¹ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren Perhelatan Agama dan Tradisi*, Yogyakarta, LKiS, 2004, 92-221.

⁴² Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren Perhelatan Agama dan Tradisi*, 111.

⁴³ Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Institusi Pendidikannya*, 312

Likewise, K.H. Asnawi Kudus also has a writing tradition; his works include *Fashalatan*, *Mu'tawad Seked*, *Islamic Sharia*, and a translation of Jurumiyah on Arabic grammar. Furthermore, the writing tradition of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari,⁴⁴ not many scholars from traditional circles wrote books, but not K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. He compiled no less than ten books, including: (1). *Adab al-Alim wa al-Muta'allim fima Yahtaj Ilah al-Muta'alim fi Ahuwal Ta'allum wa ma Yataqaff al-Mu'allim fi Maqamat Ta'limih*. (2). *Ziyadat Ta'liqat, Radda fiha Mandhumat al-Shaykh 'Abd Allah bin Yasin al-Fasurani Allati Bihujubiha 'Ala Ahl Jam'iyyah Nahdlatul Ulama*.⁴⁵ his works are mostly related to hadith, morals, fiqh, and child education.

Looking at the written works of the kiai above, several things are understood, namely: *first*, that among kiai in Islamic boarding schools, there is a strong tradition of writing, although the number is not proportional to the number of kiai. *Second*, the writing ability of Indonesian kiai or ulama at that time had managed to outperform the writing ability of scholars from other countries. *Third*, the written works of Indonesian clerics were not only recognised by Muslims in Indonesia but also throughout the world. This is evident from the use of books written by Indonesian scholars in countries around the world, especially in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Fourth,

⁴⁴ K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was born in the village of Nggedang, one of the villages in the district of Jombang- East Java on Tuesday Kliwon, the 24th of Dhulqa'idah 1287 H or coinciding with July 25, 1871 AD. His full name is Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari ibn Abd al-Wahid ibn Abd al-Halim who has the title Pangeran Bona ibn Abd al-Rahman known as Jaka Tingkir Sultan Hadiwijaya Ibn Abd Allah ibn Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Fatah ibn Maulana Ishal from Raden Ain al-Yaqin called Sunan Giri. His first teacher was his own father who educated him by reading the Qur'an and other Islamic literature. Since childhood he has loved to read. His next level of education was in several Islamic boarding schools. At first, he became a student at the Wonokojo pesantren in Probolinggo, then moved to the Langitan pesantren in Tuban. From Langitan he moved again to Bangkalan, at a pesantren run by Kyai Kholil. Finally, before studying in Mecca, he was a *student* at the Siwalan Panji boarding school in Sidoarjo. It was at this last pesantren that he was taken as a son-in-law by Kyai Ya'qub, the caretaker of the pesantren. . *Ensiklopedi Islam II*, Jakarta, Ikhtiyar Baru Van Hoeve, Cet. II. 1994, 102-3. Lihat juga Abu Bakar Aceh, *Sejarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim dan Karangan Tersiar*, Jakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim, 1975, 35

⁴⁵ Subsequently, *Al-Tanbihat al-Wajibat liman Yashna al-Maulid al-Munkarat*. (3). *Al-Risalat al-Jami'at, Sharh fiha Ahwaal al-Mauta wa Asyirath al-Sa'at ma' Bayan Ma'fhum al-Sunnah wa al-Bid'ah*. (4). *Al-Nur al-Mubin fi Mahabbah Sayyid al-Mursalin, bain fihi Ma'na al-Mahabbah Lirasul Allah wa ma Yata'allaq biha Man Ittaba'iha wa Ihya' al-Sunnatih*. (5). *Hasyiyah 'ala Fath al-Rahman bi Syarth Risalat al-Wali Ruslan li Syaikh al-Islam Zakariya al-Anshari*. (6). *Al-Dur al-Muntasirah fi Masail al-Tis'i Asyrat, Sharh fiha Masalat al-Thariqah wa al-Wilayah wa ma Yata'allaq bihima min al-Umur al-Muhimmah li Ahl al-Thariqah*. (7). *Al-Tibyan fi al-Nahy 'an Muqathi'ah al-Ikhwan, bain fih Ahammiyyat Shillat al-Rahim wa Dhurar Qath'iha*. (8). *Al-Risalat al-Tauhidiah, wahiya Risalah Shaghirat fi Bayan 'Aqidah Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*. (9). *Al-Qalaid fi Bayan ma Yajib min al-'aqaid*. Ramayulis dan Samsul Nizar, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh-Tokoh Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta, Ciputat Press, 2005, 216-217

the existence of these scientific works shows that the efforts of Indonesian clerics have raised the image of Indonesia in the international community.⁴⁶

The Tradition of Reading the Islamic Classic Book

The tradition of reading the yellow classical books has become a characteristic of the teaching and learning process in pesantren, and its teaching continues culturally to this day, which fosters its own colour in the form of certain ideas and value systems. Through this yellow Islamic classic book tradition, the pesantren kiai have succeeded in colouring the religious life of the community in particular and social life in general. Martin Van Bruinessen informs that the books by Nawawi al-Bantani and Mahfuz al-Tarmisi have become the main reference books in all Javanese Islamic boarding schools and their surroundings, even Bruinessen admits that classical Arabic books already existed in the 16th century.⁴⁷ In the field of fiqh, the books studied are as follows: *fath al-mu'in*, *i'anat- u'lthalibin*, *taqrib*, *fath-u'l-qarib*, *kifayat-u'l-akhyar*, *bajuri*, *minhaj-u'l- thalibin*, *minhaj-u'l-thullab*, *fath-u'l-wahab*, *minhaj-u'l-qawim*, *safinat*, *kasyifat-u'l-saja*, *sullam-u'l-munajat*, *uqud-u'l-lujain*, *sittin*, *muhadzab*, *bughyat-u'l-mustarsyidin*, *mabadi fiqhyah*, and *fiqh-u'l-wadlih*. For the completeness of the science of fiqh, the science of ushul fiqh is usually also known: *lathaif-u'l-sign*, *jam'ul jawami*, *luma'*, *'l-asybab wa al-nadlail*, *bayan*, *bidayat-u'l-mujtahid*.⁴⁸ The fiqh concentration is a scholarly tradition that receives a lot of attention in various pesantren in Indonesia, so these books are most often used.⁴⁹

The books related to the sciences of nahwu, sharf, balaghah and so on were used in sharf; kailani, maqshud, amtsilat-u'l-tashrifiyat, and bina', among others. In nahwu; imrithi (syarah imrithi), ajrumiyah (syarah ajurumiyah), mutammimah, asymawi, alfiyah, ibnu 'aqil, dahlan alfiyah, qathr-u'l-nada, awamil, qawaid-u'l-'irab, nahwu wadlih, and qawaid-u'l-lughat. In *balaghah*, the books of *jauhar-u'l-maknun* and *uqud-u'l-juman* are known.⁵⁰

In the science of interpretation, generally used books of interpretation: *tafsir u'l-jalalain*, *tafsif-u'l-munir*, *tafsi ibn katsir*, *tafsir baidlawi*, *jami'u'l-bayan*, *maraghi*, and *tafsir-u'l-manar*. Hadith books can also be found, among others; *bulugh-u'l-maram*, *subul-u'l-salam*, *riyadl-u'l-salihin*, *shahih bukhari*, *shahid muslim*, *arba'in nawawi*, *majalish-u'l-saniyat*, *durratun nashihin*. *Ta'lim muta'llim*, *wasaya*, *akhlaq li'l-banat*, *akhlaq li'l-banin*, *irsyad-u'l-ibad*, *minhaj-u'l-abidin*, *al-hikan*, *risalat-u'l-mu'awanah wa 'l-muzhaharah*, and *bidayat-u'l-hidayah*, *ihya'ulum-u'l-din*.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Institusi Pendidikannya*, 313

⁴⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning; Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 27.

⁴⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning; Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 115 dan 145.

⁴⁹ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, 117.

⁵⁰ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, 149.

⁵¹ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, 163.

From the description above, the classical books studied in pesantren indicate the wealth of scientific knowledge in this educational institution, so that in pesantren, there are cultural nuances, morals, knowledge, strong faith, and integrity. Therefore, the tradition of reading the yellow classical books, the kiai, succeeded in colouring the style of social religious life. If we look at the books used in the pesantren world, it is said that the strong influence of the teachings of *ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* among Muslims, which is characterised by the use of Asy'ari's understanding in the field of theology, the use of As-shafi'i's understanding in the field of fiqh, and the use of al-Ghazali and Imam al-Junaidi's Sufism in the field of Sufism, occurred due to the influence of the tradition of reading the yellow book by kiai in pesantren

The strength of this tradition is what makes the world of pesantren survive until now and become stronger. The power of Kiyai. According to Dawan Raharjo, NU's victory in the 1955 general election as the fourth largest political party has made many people realise how influential the kyais and ulamas are on the Indonesian political stage.⁵² Even history records the appearance of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid to the stage of power, namely becoming the 4th president of the Republic of Indonesia on October 21, 1999, as a representative of the pesantren tradition that bridges the interests of secular nationalist groups with modern Muslim groups, not young to be realised in running the wheels of the presidency.⁵³ In contrast to the opinion of KH Abdullah Abbas quoted by Dhofier that the rise of KH Abdurrahman Wahid cannot be separated from the contribution of NU ulama and kiai, on the political stage, with the PKB, KH Abdurrahman Wahid became president by defeating Megawati Soekarnoputri from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP).⁵⁴ Thus, the power of kiai is an asset for pesantren in the development process.

According to Horikoshi's thesis (1976) entitled *Kiai and Social Change*. Horikoshi's important finding is that kiai apparently do not only play the role of *cultural brokers* who tend to be passive, but become agents of social change so that neither the pesantren nor the surrounding community experiences a *cultural gap (cultural lag)* with the outside world. Although kiyai encourages the pesantren and the community around the pesantren to be open to the outside

⁵² Dawan Raharjo, Editor, *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren*, (Jakarta, P3M, 1985), Vii.

⁵³ Zamakhasyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya*, 259.

⁵⁴ At first KH. Abdurrahman Wahid supported Megawati, but after the party elections declared PDIP as the winner of the elections, about two months before the MPR general session, with the support of the central axis of the coalition group of Islamic parties (PAN, PPP, P Keadilan and PBB, another party that rejected women) and Golkar, which was still supported by the remnants of the New Order power that previously also nominated Habibie as president but withdrew in consideration of the acquisition of support. KH Abdurrahman Wahid finally broke with Megawati and nominated himself for president. And he ended up winning in the voting.

world, the pesantren still stands on its classical wisdom, namely maintaining the good from the old tradition, and taking the best from new changes. In Horikoshi's findings, the power of kiai is rooted in two things: (1) moral credibility, (2) the ability to maintain the desired social institutions.⁵⁵

What Horikoshi concluded above is true. The authority of the kiyai comes from two things: moral credibility and the ability to maintain social institutions. Moral credibility, according to observations, is fostered, among others, with the support of faith (religious knowledge, ability to read the yellow book), pious behaviour and service to the Muslim community. The ability to maintain social institutions, such as kiaiKiyai kissing hands, the tradition of *karamah* to kiaiKiyai, *barakah* and so on, is the trust of kiai given by the community. However, there is one element, according to Ahmad Tafsir, that is less considered by researchers, namely the supra-rational abilities possessed by some kiyais. In my opinion, this element has a very big influence on confirming the kiai as an authoritative person.

According to Ahmad Tafsir, the resistance of pesantren in facing the hegemony of modernity or in the era of globalization still has strength, if the capital strength of the kiyai mentioned above is maintained, it can be predicted that the important role of the kiyai is at least a value filter that can still be relied upon.⁵⁶ In fact, if the kiyai is able to add insight into the world, it is not impossible that he is not just a value filter, as Horikoshi found, but also a value change engineer who is not just passively waiting for the current but active in welcoming it.

Strengths The Pattern of Pesantren Life

The world of pesantren, by borrowing Hussein Nasr's framework, is the world of Islamic traditionalism, namely the world that inherits and maintains the continuity of Islamic traditions developed by scholars from time to time, not limited to certain periods in Islamic history.⁵⁷ This is what Mastuhu says is the principle of the pesantren education system, which includes:⁵⁸

First, the philosophy of education built in pesantren is a theocentric philosophy that says events originate, process, and return to God. This philosophy tends to prioritise behavioural attitudes that are very strongly

⁵⁵ Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial*, Terj. Umar Baslim, (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 169

⁵⁶ Ibrahim, S. (2017). Pendidikan tentang Manusia dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an. *Jurnal Ilmiah AL-Jauhari: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Interdisipliner*, 2(2), 243–256. <https://doi.org/10.30603/jiaj.v2i2.691>. Ahmad Tafsir, *Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, 298.

⁵⁷ For example, the period of the salaf, namely the companions of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The term salaf for pesantren refers to the notion of traditional pesantren which is full of Islamic worldviews and practices as a historical heritage, especially in the fields of shari'ah and Sufism. Said Agil Husin Al-Munawara, *Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Qur'ani dalam Pendidikan Islam*, Jakarta, Ciputat Press, 2003, 263.

⁵⁸ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*, 62-66.

oriented towards Ukhrawi life. *Second*, voluntary and devoted, where all educational activities are dedicated to God. In other words, all actions of the pesantren must be rewarded by God with a good reward; this spirit of sincerity is manifested in all series of attitudes and actions that are always carried out ritually by the pesantren community.⁵⁹ *Third*, wisdom, pesantren emphasises the importance of wisdom in organising pesantren education to be patient and behave patiently, humbly, obey the provisions of religious law, be able to achieve goals without harming others, and bring benefits to the common interest.

Fourth, the simplicity referred to in the pesantren world is synonymous with the ability to behave and think reasonably, proportionally and not proudly. So that it gives birth to a big soul, courage, moving forward, and never backing down in all circumstances, this is the beginning of the growth of mental strength and character, which is a requirement for the success of a struggle and all fields of life.⁶⁰

Fifth, independent, which is usually used as an acronym for standing on one's own feet, does not mean that a santri must learn to manage their own needs. Still, it has become a kind of principle that the beginning of pesantren as an Islamic educational institution has never relied on its survival and development independently. *Sixth*, guided freedom, where the attitude of the pesantren in carrying out education is to help and accompany its students, but the pesantren also strictly adheres to the pesantren rules, especially to religious law. The term used by Mastuhu is *restu kiai*.⁶¹

Based on the discussion above, it appears that the pesantren education system shows a pattern of life and uniqueness that is truly used as the main foundation, namely the development of the character and mentality of santri. Or borrowing Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory, namely, imitation learning theory,⁶² where santri in learning are bound by the kiai's visual and verbal behaviour codes, which are realised in daily behaviour in the pesantren environment. However, the theory built by Bandura reaches the cognitive realm, while the existing theory in pesantren education emphasises more on affective and psychomotor aspects without excluding the cognitive realm. Therefore, santri makes the kiai figure function as a model or good example (*uswatun hasanah*) not only for their santri, but also for the entire community

⁵⁹ Abdul Halim Soebahar, *Modernisasi Pesantren*; 45.

⁶⁰ Abdul Halim Soebahar, *Modernisasi Pesantren*; 45.

⁶¹ The use of the word *restu* for kiai or ulama refers to the giving of prayers and charismatic power. This means that all actions carried out by every pesantren resident are very dependent on the blessing of the kiai, both *uztad* and *santri* always try not to do things that are not pleasing to the kiai.

⁶² Muhammad Surya, *Psikologi Guru; Konsep dan Aplikasinya*, Bandung, Alfabeta, 2013, 150.

around the pesantren.⁶³

According to KH. Abdurrahman Wahid details several unique characteristic patterns that exist in pesantren, namely; (1) pesantren use traditional methods where the relationship between teachers (kiai) and students (santri) appears more free and mutually needy; (2) life between santri is very democratic, they face work together and solve various problems faced together as well; (3) in addition to religious studies, pesantren also teach idealism, brotherhood and equality and self-confidence, so that in the end pesantren alumni do not have strong ambitions to become civil servants because their superiors always co-opt them.

Abdurrahman Wahid in one of his writings on pesantren said that the history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia is the result of a combination of formal Islamic doctrines and the cult of the guardians, culminating in the wali songo, as a remnant of the influence of the cult of saints (*hermits*) in Hinduism. This manifestation is most evident in the asceticism (*zuhd*) that has become a strong feature of Islamic religious life in this country. This asceticism model of life is also growing rapidly, especially in the world of pesantren. The choice of such a way of life, in addition to the reasons for the Islamic genealogy of the archipelago, which has its style, is also a cultural counter to the general life of the community, which is being hit by a moral crisis.⁶⁴

From a cursory observation of the traditions and patterns of life that develop in pesantren education, it appears that the pesantren tradition has many similarities with the traditions in Sufism, in this case, tarekat, for example, in the issue of respect for kiai. Respect for kiai is a fundamental teaching instilled in santri. In fact, obedience is allegedly more important than seeking knowledge itself. Such a tradition of obedience may be difficult for everyone to understand. However, such events do exist in certain groups of society, including pesantren communities, with kiai as the main leader. Actually, in the sociological theory of leadership models, Weber has provided a clear theory. In his theory, Weber says that domination can be based on charisma (charismatic domination) when the authorities are personally recognised as having charisma due to magical powers, receiving revelations, or having heroic traits.⁶⁵

⁶³ Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren*, 64

⁶⁴ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 17.

⁶⁵ ⁶⁸Charisma is defined by Weber as a particular trait of an individual's personality by virtue of which that individual is regarded as exceptional and treated as possessing superior supernatural qualities or at least with distinctive and extraordinary powers. Anthony Giddens, *Kapitalisme dan Teori Sosial Modern: Suatu Analisis Karya-Karya Tulis Marx, Durkheim dan Max Weber*, terj. Oleh Soeheba Kramadibrata, Jakarta, UIP, 1985, 197.

Strength of Organisational Culture

The strength of the pesantren world, if analyzed using Talcott Parsons' functional structural social theory, which suggests that in order for the social organisation system to *survive*, the system must have four things called AGIL, namely⁶⁶: *Adaptation*, the system must adapt to the environment and adapt the environment to its needs. *Goal attainment*, a system must define and achieve its main goals. *Integration* (integration), a system must organise the relationship between the parts that are its components. *Latency* (pattern maintenance), a system must equip, maintain and repair cultural patterns that create and sustain motivation.

The four functions, according to Parsons, take place in four action systems, namely: behavioural organisations that carry out adaptation, personality systems which carry out goal achievement, social systems that cope with integration functions, and cultural systems which carry out pattern maintenance functions. The weakness of the theory built by Talcott Parsons does not talk about the leadership of an organisation, even though leadership is the key to implementing the above programs, in the organisational structure. From the functional structure theory above, it can be analysed that the pesantren education system has strong endurance because it is in accordance with the social structure of an organisational system in the face of change or modernisation. This can be seen in the operational concepts in the pesantren education system, namely: *First, the* adaptation system carried out in pesantren is very clear when looking at the function of pesantren which positions it as a religious (Islamic) educational institution which remains the center of *tafaqquh fi al-dien* which functions to maintain, develop and utilize Islamic sciences.⁶⁷ Even the role of value between the community and the pesantren ended with the victory of the pesantren, so that during the colonial period the pesantren was an education that adapted a lot to the people and it was not an exaggeration to state that the pesantren was an educational institution for *grassroots people* who were integrated into community life.

The adaptation of pesantren to the community environment as a large and widely spread educational institution has contributed a lot to the formation of religious Indonesian people.⁶⁸ The role of pesantren with its various components is a provision in the process of development and social change towards a community order with character and becoming a whole human being

⁶⁶ George Ritzer dan Goodman J. Doglas, *Teori Sosiologis Modern*, terj. Alimadan, (Jakarta: Prenada, 2004), 121.

⁶⁷ Atho Mudzhar, "Pesantren Transformatif: Respon Pesantren Terhadap Perubahan Sosial", 13-14.

⁶⁸ The institution has given birth to many national leaders in the past, present and presumably also in the future. Many pesantren graduates take active participation in nation building.

(*insan kamil*).⁶⁹ Pesantren has a role in the development of scientific character, both culturally and in the construction of the kiai tradition, reciting the yellow book, and the construction of knowledge and practice.⁷⁰ As an institution of civilisation, it is time for pesantren to pay attention to the demands of the developing global ideology. In addition to carrying out the function of maintaining or preserving *local* values (*localities*) that are good, positive and beneficial for pesantren, it is also time to adapt them as long as they do not destroy the locality. Therefore, as agents of socio-economic change, pesantren are educational institutions from and for the community, or community-based institutions, so pesantren are required to participate actively in the economy of the surrounding community.

Second, the personality system, namely the *goal attainment* of pesantren is very clear, in a historical perspective, the purpose of pesantren education at the beginning of its development was to develop Islam, and better understand Islamic teachings, especially in the fields of fiqh, Arabic language, tafsir, hadith, and tasawuf.⁷¹ Meanwhile, the purpose of pesantren education, according to KH. Abdurrahman Wahid is the integration of religious and non-religious knowledge, so that the graduates produced have a complete and rounded personality in themselves, incorporating elements of faith and knowledge in a balanced manner.⁷²

When viewed from the context of the above ideas, the objectives of pesantren education are two things, namely: (1) The specific goal is to prepare students to have religious and non-religious knowledge. (2) The general objective is to guide santri to become human beings with an Islamic personality who are able to practice their knowledge.⁷³ This is what KH Abdurrahman Wahid termed as an independent life character, which comes from its own value system.⁷⁴ The personality system formed by the Pesantren institution is to become a human being who gives birth to santri who have an Islamic personality, are able to apply their knowledge, and have morals.

Third, the Social System (*integration*) has always integrated from the beginning of pesantren education, such as Mabaul Ulum Surakarta, Tebuireng Jombang, and Gontor Islamic boarding schools, both institutionally and in

⁶⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi-tradisi Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2010), 44.

⁷⁰ Ahmad Baso, *Pesantren Studies 2a, Kosmopolitanisme Peradaban Kaum Santri di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2012), 320.

⁷¹ Ibrahim, S. (2014). Menata Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Irfani*, 10(1), 29302. Departemen Agama, *Seri Monografi Pondok Pesantren dan Angkatan Kerja* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2000/2003), 12-13.

⁷² Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 172.

⁷³ M. Arifin, *Kapita Seletakta Pendidikan Islam dan Umum* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2012), 248.

⁷⁴ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi*, 142.

terms of curriculum. Even pesantren that integrate are able to become large pesantren. The latest development is that the type of Salafiyah pesantren has decreased, estimated to be 5,512 out of 11,211 salafiyah pesantren in Indonesia.⁷⁵ This means that more than half of the boarding schools in Indonesia have modernized themselves by adopting the classical system. The adoption of the classical system as a feature of madrasah triggers pesantren to not only adopt the classical system *as such*, but also to accommodate madrasah institutions as an integral part of the pesantren.

Fourth, the pattern maintenance system (latency). KH Abdurrahman Wahid initiated this system with the term pesantren subcultural theory, which has several aspects:⁷⁶ (a) the aspect of pesantren activities revolves around the division of periods based on the mandatory prayer time. The main activity is centred on giving recitations of textbooks at the end of each compulsory prayer. The value system of pesantren is unique and separate from the value system of society outside it. (b) In pesantren, universal literature is preserved for centuries and passed down from generation to generation. (c) A pattern of leadership⁷⁷ that stands alone and is outside the leadership of the village government. (d) Its unique and characterised teaching structure naturally also produces a distinctive outlook on life and aspirations. The vision to achieve acceptance by Allah in the future occupies the most important position in the value system in pesantren, which is known as sincerity, which means sincerity in receiving, giving and doing something among fellow creatures. Therefore, the pesantren still adheres to the tradition of its values so that it can play a role as an institution that is able to make a meaningful contribution in building a value system and moral framework in individuals and society, such as simplicity, *qanaah*, sincerity and work ethic.

This value system or tradition must be maintained in the pesantren

⁷⁵ Husni Rahim, *Madrasah dalam Politik Pendidikan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2005), 76.

⁷⁶ Ibrahim, S. (2014). Menata Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Irfani*, 10(1), 29302. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 19-42

⁷⁷ The sub-cultural character found by KH Abdurrahman Wahid in the values, way of life, and leadership model above has placed pesantren in a dual role: a separate unique subsystem, and therefore an ideal alternative to the systemic crisis of the surrounding society. This ideal position, according to him, is in accordance with the cultural manifestation of Islam that reached the archipelago. This cultural manifestation of Islam manifests itself in the combination of the formal doctrine of Islam with the cult of the saints (culminating in the cult of wali songo), as a remnant of the influence of the cult of hermits in Hinduism. The cultural manifestation of this is evident in the assetism (az-zuhud, kealiman) that colors the life of Islam in the archipelago, unlike what happens in Arab countries. On the other hand, the position of cultural separation is then accompanied by the position of being part of the community, in the sense of active involvement of pesantren in the process of social change. See, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 23.

education system. As long as the pesantren maintains its institutions or organisational culture, then the pesantren is not only a cultural filtering institution, but also the pesantren's ability to control value changes. This role is expected not only to be able to carry out its traditional functions, but also to take on other social roles, such as becoming a social rehabilitation centre. In this last context, many families are experiencing socio-religious turmoil or crisis; pesantren educational institutions are an alternative to save the nation's children.

The four systems above are the capital of pesantren and provide the durability and continuity of the education system. However, the functional structure system above can only run if the pesantren has a kiai leadership. Pesantren are large and survive because of the role of the kiai in maintaining organisational culture. In relation to kiai as the central figure in pesantren, kiai leadership is something unique; social relations between kiai and santri are carried out on the basis of trust, not because of patron-client as is done in society in general. From the description above, it can be understood that the pesantren education system will survive in the face of change, as long as it performs the five functions above. Mardiyah in her research (Journal), "Kiai Leadership in Maintaining Organizational Culture; in Pondok Modern Gontor, Liboyo Kediri, and Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang", in *Tsaqafah*, vol. 8. no. 1 April 2012. The study concluded that the Liboyo Kediri and Modern Gontor, and Tebuireng Jombang pesantrens were large and survived, because of the great role of kiai in maintaining the organizational culture of the pesantren.⁷⁸

Thus, the world of pesantren education in the era of globalization will remain strong because it has capital that other education models do not have. The strength of the pesantren education system can be understood by the fact that pesantren is in accordance with social science theory in the culture of an organization. Therefore, large pesantren that have durability and continuity are pesantren that maintain the above capital. If not, then it is certain that pesantren education does not have strong endurance, and will even be displaced as an Islamic educational institution, aka becoming general education. In other words, leaving one of the above capitals, then the pesantren education does not have the strength to keep up with the times. This is what is termed in the world of pesantren, which reads: *al-muhafazah 'ala-al-qadim al-salih wa al-akhdhu bi al-jadid al-aslah* (maintaining and preserving old values that are still positive and taking new, more positive values).

⁷⁸ Mardiyah, "Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Memelihara Budaya Organisasi", 27.

Conclusion

This study concludes that pesantren, as a traditional educational institution that has survived until now, actually has strengths as capital in facing the hegemony of modernity, which is why pesantren will still exist in the era of globalization. These strengths include, *first*, having a tradition of scientific rihlah, writing, and reading the yellow book. *Second*, the *kiaiKiyai* owned by the pesantren, *third*, the education pattern in the pesantren, *fourth*, the pesantren is in accordance with the social theory in the organization, which consists of *Adaptation*, the system must adapt to the environment and adapt the environment to the needs. *Goal attainment*, a system must define and achieve its main goals. *Integration*, a system must organize the relationship between the parts that are its components. *Latency* (pattern maintenance). This strength is what makes pesantren still strong until now.

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