

Digitalization of Pesantren: Strategies for Existence in the Modern Era (A Multi-Case Study of Three Pesantren in East Java)

By

Mahfudh^{1*}, Moh. Gufron², Mujamil³ & Rohmawati⁴

Affiliations: ^{1, 3, 4} State Islamic University of Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah Tulungagung, ²UBH Tulungagung

Corresponding Author: mahfudhbangkuning@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Pondok Pesantren is a unique and distinctive educational system in the Nusantara region. It is considered distinctive because pesantren exist only in Indonesia. It is also regarded as unique due to its special characteristics that are not found in other educational systems. Pesantren have proven their ability to maintain classical learning models up to the present day. Additionally, the leadership model of the *kiai* is considered to have its own uniqueness. Pesantren are perceived as complex institutions in terms of management, often appearing far from structured and orderly, yet they continue to exist and adapt to various historical dynamics. Entering the digital era, the rapid transformation in the field of education compels pesantren to implement strategic transformations to integrate education with digital technological advancements. This is essential to prevent the erosion of the core values and unique identity of pesantren while ensuring they remain relevant in the modern era. The digital era presents a significant challenge for pondok pesantren, while at the same time offering a golden opportunity to strengthen their existence. The dynamics of changing times, along with various transformations, have shaped pondok pesantren into resilient institutions that maintain their classical educational model while continuously evolving. The transformations occurring in this digital era will test the existence of pondok pesantren, as they have traditionally been associated with classical education and are often perceived as maintaining a distance from digital technology, which characterizes this era. It is crucial for pondok pesantren to respond positively to these changes so that they can remain strong and relevant as societal orientations continue to shift in line with technological advancements. To sustain their existence; pondok pesantren must strengthen themselves through strategic transformations by implementing relevant innovations that align with the demands of the times. This study examines the implementation of transformation strategies in three pesantren in East Java (Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso Kediri, Pesantren Al-Islahiyyah Mayan Kediri, and Pesantren Mamba'ul Hikam Manten Blitar). A qualitative approach with a multi-site design was applied in this research. Data collection techniques included participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The application of Miles and Huberman's data analysis techniques was compared with Johnny Saldana's data condensation method. The findings indicate that the implementation of transformation strategies in pondok pesantren involves institutional transformation, teaching method adaptation, curriculum development, collective-collaborative leadership, and relevant management development aligned with the digital era. These strategies help accelerate the shift in societal orientation when choosing educational institutions. The study reinforces Clifford Geertz's assertion that the kiai will continue to maintain their existence.

Keywords: Existence Strategy, Pesantren Digitalization.



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INTRODUCTION

Discussing Islamic education cannot be separated from the existence of pondok pesantren. Pondok pesantren have undergone a long historical journey as the pioneers of Islamic education in the Nusantara (Indigenous). According to Mujamil Qamar (2000), pondok pesantren were once the only educational institutions owned by the indigenous community, playing a crucial role in fostering literacy and cultural awareness. The existence of pondok pesantren has been sustained from the 15th century until today. Since their establishment, they have provided educational opportunities for illiterate communities, always serving society and producing highly qualified graduates. It is no surprise that pesantren continue to hold a special place in the hearts of the people (Mujamil, 2000).

Pondok pesantren is a distinctive and unique educational system in the Nusantara region. It is considered distinctive because pondok pesantren exist only in Indonesia. They are regarded as unique due to their special characteristics that are not found in other educational systems.

According to Mujamil Qamar (2000), the strong existence and independence of pondok pesantren cannot be easily intervened by external parties without the kiai's permission. The kiai determines the structure and activities of the pesantren, leading to a wide variety of models that reflect individual preferences. This diversity makes pondok pesantren impressive and gives them a distinct identity. Currently, pondok pesantren, as stated by Binti Ma'unah (2009:1), are the oldest educational institutions that have emerged and continued to develop in the Nusantara (Indigenous). Their educational model was adapted from pre-existing Hindu and Buddhist religious education systems, originating long before Indonesia gained independence. One of the defining characteristics of pondok pesantren as an educational system is their strong sense of self-sufficiency. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, as cited in M. Dawam Raharjo (2009:43), pondok pesantren also have a unique specification as a subculture that is distinct from the wider society. They have successfully maintained the classical learning model up to the present day.

Additionally, the leadership model of the kiai is considered to have its own uniqueness. Pesantren are often seen as complex institutions in terms of management, appearing far from structured and orderly. However, despite this perception, they continue to exist and adapt to various historical and societal dynamics. In its early era, pondok pesantren leadership was characterized by a single fighter approach, centered around the figure of the kiai, with a closed management system. This led some to view pondok pesantren negatively. However, pesantren have consistently proven themselves as successful institutions in producing ulama who serve as role models for the wider community.

Beyond that, pesantren have also demonstrated their ability to nurture outstanding individuals who become public figures in society. They have positioned their santri (students) in respectable social classes across various communities. Moreover, pondok pesantren have continuously played a role in guiding their most promising santri toward high-ranking political careers. Many pesantren alumni have ascended to positions such as president, vice president, ministers, and representatives in parliament. They have served in the Regional House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) at the district level and as members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia). Furthermore, countless pesantren graduates have become regional leaders, including governors and deputy governors, regents and deputy regents, as well as mayors and deputy mayors.

The absolute authority of pondok pesantren, free from external intervention, has fostered strong independence and self-management in both leadership and administration. The charismatic and seemingly authoritarian leadership of the kiai plays a crucial role in maintaining institutional stability and ensuring absolute compliance with educational policies within pesantren. The exemplary conduct of the kiai has successfully instilled obedience and respect among santri, ensuring their unwavering adherence to his directives.

Entering the digital era, the rapid transformation in the education sector has forced pondok pesantren to implement strategic innovations. This adaptation is necessary to integrate pesantren education with technological advancements without diminishing the core values and unique characteristics that define them. While the digital era poses a significant challenge, it also presents a golden opportunity for pesantren to strengthen their existence.

The dynamic changes and ongoing transformations have shaped pesantren, reinforcing their role as classical yet adaptable educational institutions. The digital transformation will test their resilience, as pondok pesantren have long been associated with classical education and are often perceived as maintaining a distance from digital technology, which characterizes this era. To remain strong and relevant, pesantren must respond positively to digitalization and align themselves with the shifting educational preferences of society. Strengthening their existence through transformative strategies and relevant innovations is essential to meeting contemporary demands.

The ongoing educational transformation within pesantren is part of a broader effort to address societal changes and evolving educational goals. Education is no longer solely focused on shaping individuals with good character but also on equipping them with specialized skills to compete in an increasingly competitive job market. According to Gunawan (2020:55), the fundamental goal of education is the process of humanizing individuals in a way that aligns with contemporary realities. In this context, the researcher views the transformation of education within pesantren as an effort to synchronize and accelerate their adaptation to societal demands in the digital era.

The transformation strategy in pondok pesantren is a smart approach, as it allows for the modernization of its educational system while maintaining its deep-rooted classical traditions. Meanwhile, the challenges of modernization cannot be underestimated. If ignored, pesantren risk falling into intellectual stagnation. In general, social change in education becomes clearer when transformation studies are complemented by elements that accurately capture the dynamics of change. These elements include the educational paradigms and ideologies used to analyze and address educational challenges. However, not all transformations proceed as expected, as modernization involves numerous variables that must be carefully identified and executed swiftly and precisely. At this point, the transformation process requires a well-structured strategy.

The digital era marks a new phase of profound and fundamental change, affecting not only material aspects but also penetrating metaphysical dimensions. It has the power to break through personal and social boundaries, making all aspects of life visible to the public. This era of unlimited freedom will inevitably influence ideological and religious aspects of society, leading to shifts in norms, ethics, and values across all facets of human life—including pondok pesantren. Leadership models, management systems, relationship patterns, teaching methodologies, infrastructure, curriculum, and learning media will all be tested by the pervasive presence of digital spaces in every aspect of human life.

Pesantren, which have consistently upheld traditional values that remain relevant to the times, now face unprecedented challenges brought about by the digital era. While digital advancements also present positive opportunities for pesantren, they demand careful adaptation. This is reflected in the long-held principle followed by many pesantren:

المُحَافَظَةُ عَلَى الْقَدِيمِ الصَّالِحِ وَالْأَخْذُ بِالْجَدِيدِ الْأَمْلَحِ

(al-muhafadhotu 'ala qodimis sholih wal akhdzu bil jadidil ashlah), meaning:

"Preserving the good old values while adopting new and better ones" (Mujamil Qomar, 2023:160).

The emergence of digital technology is shifting societal perspectives on education. This shift compels pesantren to transform in response to the evolving needs of society. Observations of this transformation can be seen in several pesantren, including Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso Mojo

Kediri, Pondok Pesantren Al-Islahiyyah Mayan Mojo Kediri, and Pondok Pesantren Mamba'ul Hikam Mantenon Wonorejo Udanawu Blitar. These three pesantren have distinct approaches to navigating the digital era while preserving their traditional identity.

However, alongside technological advancements, new challenges arise. The widespread presence of the internet and the rapid development of information and communication technology have significantly impacted education. The rise of smartphones and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok, Snack Video, and other online media has introduced both opportunities and challenges for pesantren. The dominance of these digital platforms signals the full arrival of the digital era.

Despite these challenges, digital progress also provides an opportunity for pesantren to strengthen their existence. The growing phenomenon of *santrinisasi* (the increasing influence and visibility of pesantren culture) in the digital age has captivated public interest (Nurcholish Madjid, 1997:19-20). Various social media channels extensively showcase pesantren life—highlighting the lifestyles of *kiai*, *gus*, *bu nyai*, *ning*, *santri*, and the daily activities of pesantren around the clock. This exposure has significantly boosted pesantren's popularity among the public. Parents are increasingly enthusiastic about enrolling their children in pesantren, leading to a sharp rise in the number of new *santri*. The digital era has thus become an effective medium for pesantren to reinforce their presence and relevance in modern society.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

A qualitative approach with a multi-site design was applied in this study. Data collection techniques included participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Data analysis followed Miles and Huberman's analytical techniques, which were further compared with Johnny Saldana's method of data condensation.

RESULTS

Implementation of Transformation Strategies at Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah (Case 1), Al-Islahiyyah (Case 2), and Mamba'ul Hikam (Case 3) in Strengthening Their Existence in the Digital Era

(1) Institutional Transformation Strategies: Establishing foundations (Yayasan) and obtaining operational permits (Ijop). Forming organizational structures, including the Dewan Masyayikh (Council of Scholars) and dewan Ketua (Board of Leaders).

(2) Educational and Management Development: Establishing new pesantren units and formal schools/madrasahs. Enhancing teaching methods and curriculum development, including upgrading *mu'addalah* status and launching the Ma'had Aly Program. Strengthening management and leadership structures. Organizing Community Learning Programs (PKBM) for students and alumni. Providing vocational training in, computer skills, digital design, tailoring, and business apprenticeships. Encouraging marriages among pesantren family members (*dzuriyah*) to strengthen internal bonds.

(3) Building Internal and External Networks: Internal Networks: Expanding pesantren branches and formal education institutions. Enhancing educational programs, such as Ma'had Aly and vocational training. Conducting internships and life skill training for students. External Networks: Marital alliances between pesantren families and other pesantren leaders. Establishing *dzikir* assemblies and organizing pilgrimage tours (*Ziarah Wali Songo*). Creating Alumni Organizations and holding Haul ceremonies for pesantren founders. Forming Hajj Guidance Groups (KBIH), Sufi orders (*thariqah*), and Islamic study groups (*majlis taklim*). Actively participating in social, political, economic, and religious organizations. Utilizing digital media and mass communication to promote pesantren activities as widespread *da'wah* and public engagement.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Implementation of Transformation Strategies in Pondok Pesantren to Strengthen Its Existence in the Digital Era. The implementation of transformation strategies in institutional development is evident through the establishment of foundations (Yayasan) and the acquisition of operational permits (Ijop). The shift from a single-leader kiai-centric model to a foundation-based system aligns with the findings of Mujamil Qomar (2002), Nurcholish Madjid (1997), and Fauzan Adhim (2022).

The formation of organizational structures, including Dewan Masyayikh and Dewan Ketua, is a new finding in this study. This collective-collaborative leadership model is not commonly found in other pesantren. Its effectiveness is demonstrated by the rapid development of Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso Mojo Kediri, which currently accommodates 17,000 students. This success highlights the pesantren's strong existence in the digital era.

The establishment of additional pesantren units and formal madrasahs/schools supports the conclusions of Clifford Geertz (1959) and Ali Anwar. According to Geertz, the role of a kiai remains significant as long as they establish madrasahs that fulfill the religious needs of rural communities and provide education that contributes to the development of modern Indonesia. Enhancing institutional structures, teaching methodologies, and curriculum—including upgrading mu'addalah status and launching Ma'had Aly programs—is a crucial form of transformation. Mujamil Qomar (2002:86-97) emphasizes that a pesantren's existence remains strong if it undergoes transformation in leadership, management, education systems, curriculum, institutional structure, and teaching methods.

Building Internal and External Networks. Internal Networking: Establishing additional pesantren units and formal schools serves as a complementary educational service to meet the public demand for formal education that grants official diplomas. This approach aligns with changing societal expectations regarding education's role in employment. Mujamil Qomar (2023:129) argues that pesantren graduates must obtain formal certification to meet employment qualifications and economic demands. Upgrading mu'addalah status and launching Ma'had Aly programs build upon Ali Anwar's findings on complementary education and Qomar's research on institutional transformation.

The Community Learning Program (PKBM) was introduced as a social response to support pesantren graduates without formal diplomas. This initiative has helped alumni secure influential positions such as DPR members, regional heads, village chiefs, government officials, and religious instructors at the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Vocational Training and Economic Empowerment: Organizing life skills training in computer literacy, digital design, tailoring, culinary arts, and apprenticeships reinforces Nurcholish Madjid's (1959:23-28), Agus Sunyoto's (2018), Mujamil Qomar's (2023:129), and Abu Yazid's (2018:238) research. Their studies highlight the importance of equipping pesantren students with economic skills to ensure their future readiness when reintegrating into society.

Marriage between family members of the same descent but not mahram. This marriage is valid according to Islam, even though they are from the same lineage but not considered mahram. The marriage can be conducted through misanan or mindoan (marriage within the extended family), or other forms, as long as they are not forbidden by Islamic law. This supports the findings of research by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1958:112-135), Nurcholish Madjid (1997:134-135), Mujamil Qomar (2023:104), and Hiroko Horikoshi (1979:76-78), as outlined in the literature review in Chapter II.

Building external networks through marriage between children or descendants of one pesantren and another pesantren's family has become a transformation strategy in Islamic boarding schools. At al-Falah Pesantren, such marriages have become a trend and gained attention from the public. Many descendants of al-Falah Ploso Mojo Kediri have married children or descendants of other kiai

families. This is also true for al-Islahiyyah Pesantren Mayan Mojo Kediri and Mamba'ul Hikam Pesantren Manten Worejo Udanawu Blitar. This phenomenon further supports the research by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1958:115-136), Nurcholish Madjid (1997:135), and Hiroko Horikoshi (1979:78). Although this practice has been rejected by some descendants from the pesantren, both al-Falah, al-Islahiyyah, and Mamba'ul Hikam, other sources confirm it. This can be understood since there is no written rule or formal guideline for such marriages. This can be comprehended from the facts that have occurred on the ground.

The formation of majlis dzikir such as Sema'an Qur'an and Dzikrul Ghofilin at al-Falah Pesantren Ploso Mojo Kediri, Dzikir and Shalawat al-Khidmah at al-Islahiyyah Pesantren Mayan Mojo Kediri, and Dzikir Shalawat Nariyah at Mamba'ul Hikam Pesantren Manten Worejo Udanawu Blitar is another key finding. Majlis dzikir like this may exist in other pesantren, but in the locations of this research, the dzikir and shalawat activities are managed excellently with the advancement of digital technology. The activities are broadcasted through parallel cable TV (relay) and high-powered sound systems. These events are filmed and shared with the public through social media like YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and via television and digital print media with creative content. Live streaming makes it accessible to the global audience. Alumni spread across Indonesia and abroad can access and participate in the activities online. In addition to dzikir and prayer activities, there are lectures from public figures who are currently idols of the society. This phenomenon represents a new strategy for pesantren in the digital era. This is a new finding in this research. It introduces brand marking in branding pesantren in the digital age. Such brand marking is now very familiar in society, such as ST Nyel (a brand mark for the Sabilut Taubah Taklim and Shalawat Majlis at Mamba'ul Hikam Karanggayam, led by KH. Muhammad Iqdam, popularly known as Gus Iqdam).

Holding a Group Pilgrimage to the Wali Songo. Almost all pesantren organize or form pilgrimage groups to the Wali Songo. This is done in al-Falah Ploso Mojo Kediri, Al-Islahiyyah Mayan Kranding Mojo Kediri, and Mamba'ul Hikam Manten Worejo Udanawu Blitar. However, this study explores more than just a routine pilgrimage event. The pilgrimage is planned carefully. The visit is programmed to strengthen the relationship between the kiai and the santri from an early age. It instills the value of honoring a teacher (kiai), both while the kiai is alive and when the kiai has passed away. This devotion is demonstrated by the kiai through visiting the graves and praying for the deceased, similar to the Wali Songo who have contributed to the spread of Islam and passed down their knowledge to the ulama, including pesantren kiai. Strengthening this relationship between kiai and santri has become a regular annual agenda. Some pesantren even hold it every week or month. There are also some that combine the pilgrimage with a majlis dzikir (prayer gathering). This activity also serves as rebranding and brand marking for the advancement of the pesantren. The pilgrimage activities are shared on various social media platforms, either through the pesantren's official links or individual links from santri or participants. Social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, as well as television and digital print media, are used to create and share creative content. Live streaming allows the events to be accessed globally. Alumni spread across Indonesia and abroad can access and participate in the activities online. This is considered a new phenomenon in the digital era. It is a distinctive finding in this research. The pilgrimage to the Wali Songo, in its relation to maintaining the genealogical lineage of knowledge, strengthens the findings of Agus Sunyoto (2018:149).

Forming an Alumni Organization. Alumni play a significant role in strengthening the existence of pesantren. An alumni organization is crucial for channeling and empowering the potential of alumni. The alumni organization creates work programs for a specific period. It utilizes digital technology to socialize its programs and publishes its activities to ensure they can be followed by all alumni. This alumni management reinforces the research of Fauzan Adhim (2022:58-61) and Nurcholish Madjid (2018:100).

Holding a Haul for the Mu'assis of the Pesantren, the Founders of the Pesantren, and Their Descendants. In addition to the mu'assis (founders), this event also commemorates the children or grandchildren who have passed away. The mu'assis are the founders of the pesantren and often serve as symbols of the pesantren. Their death anniversary is usually commemorated on a large scale. The Haul is often held in conjunction with an alumni reunion or meeting. The Haul is meant to honor the struggles of the pesantren's predecessors and to inspire the descendants, santri, and alumni to love and cherish the pesantren more. During the Haul, a high-powered sound system is used, and the event is broadcasted across various social media platforms, as well as through TV and social media channels. The Haul of the pesantren, as a strategy for transforming the pesantren to strengthen its existence in the digital era, has not been found in prior research to the knowledge of the researcher. Therefore, this Haul is considered a new finding in this research and serves as a starting point for further, more in-depth research.

Forming a Hajj Guidance Group (KBIH). Most large pesantren today provide services for Hajj guidance groups (KBIH). Al-Falah has Nashrul Ummah, al-Islahiyyah has al-Mubarak, and Mamba'ul Hikam operates under An-Namirah Travelindo. These Hajj Guidance Groups (KBIH) are promoted through various social media platforms such as the pesantren's, santri's, dzuriyah's, jamaah's, and alumni's accounts. As a result, they receive a large response from the community. The formation of a Hajj Guidance Group (KBIH) as a transformation strategy is a new phenomenon in the digital era. This is a new finding, and to the knowledge of the researcher, it has not been studied before.

Forming a Tariqa Congregation. Tariqa is a Sufi organization consisting of individuals who have taken the tariqa oath. The number of jamaah joining the tariqa is a significant potential for the pesantren. The relationship between the kiai and santri, or in this case, the relationship between the murid and mursyid, is special and intimate. This aspect complements the research of Marteen Van Bruinessen (1995:255-477), Zamakhsuari Dhofier (2002:212), and Nurcholish Madjid (1998:71). Besides the routine weekly meetings, there is also a major event held once a year. This special and intimate relationship ensures that almost all the jamaah will be motivated to attend. The event is supported by a high-powered sound system, broadcast via radio and television, and published across various social media channels. The activities are filmed and shared with the public through platforms like YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, television, and digital print media with creative content. Live streaming allows worldwide access, enabling alumni across Indonesia and abroad to join and follow the event online. The use of Tariqa as a transformation strategy to strengthen the pesantren's existence in the digital era is a new finding in this research. To the researcher's knowledge, there has been no previous study regarding this matter.

Forming a Majlis Taklim. A Majlis Taklim is a gathering or congregation for religious study. There are various types of Majlis Taklim: some are regular, while others are incidental; some are held within pesantren, and others outside pesantren; some are organized privately, while others are run by institutions or community groups. A Majlis Taklim is often combined with activities like reciting shalawat, congregational dhikr, and other forms of worship. Some include reading classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning) or delivering free lectures. Well-known Majlis Taklim include Al-Mughits, led by KH. Son Hadji Bin Abdul Ghofur from Mamba'ul Hikam Mantenon Wonorejo Udanawu Blitar, better known for Shalawat Nariyah. The Majlis Taklim Sabilu Taubah (ST) is led by KH. Muhammad Iqdam Kholid, also known as Gus Iqdam, the head of Pondok Pesantren Mamba'ul Hikam Karanggayam Srengat Blitar. There is also the Majlis Taklim Al-Khidmah, led by KH. Najib Zamzami from Pondok Pesantren Al-Islahiyyah Mayan Kranding Mojo Kediri. Another well-known Majlis Taklim is Dzikrul Ghofilin, led by KH. Sabuth Panoto Projo, the son of KH. Khamim Djazuli of Ploso Mojo Kediri. There is also the Majlis Taklim Dzikrul Ghofilin Moloekatan, led by KH. Tijani Robert Syaifun Nawas, the son of KH. Khamim Djazuli. Additionally, there is a Majlis Taklim that reads the Ahad Legi text or Ihya' Ulumuddin, led by KH. Nurul Huda Djazuli, the head of

Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso Mojo Kediri. All of these Majelis Taklim events are broadcasted via live streaming on social media channels such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Snack Video, Telegram, and other digital media. The number of attendees present at the location is often in the thousands. The use of Majelis Taklim as a transformation strategy for pesantren to strengthen their existence in the digital era is a new finding in this research. To the extent of the researcher's investigation, no previous studies have addressed this matter.

Active in Social, Political, Economic, and Religious Organizations: Utilizing digital mass media information technology to publicize all activities of the pesantren as a booming da'wah campaign in society. Holding strategic positions in various organizations helps make the figure well-known and familiar to the public. Moreover, each activity is broadcasted through various social media platforms. This serves as a promotional tool and free publicity, making the figure more marketable. Naturally, this will have an impact on strengthening the extension of the pesantren. This complements the research findings by Harry J. Benda (1959:184-189), which discussed the involvement of kiai and ulama in social, political, economic, and religious organizations.

Conclusion

The implementation of the transformation strategy of pesantren in strengthening its existence in the digital era includes: Institutional Transformation: Changes in organizational structure, methodology, curriculum, and management. Leadership: Establishing pesantren units, either on the same location as the main pesantren or at separate locations. Improvement of Status: Offering Mu'adalah programs, opening Ma'had Aly programs, and establishing formal schools or madrasahs, whether public schools under the Ministry of Education and Culture or madrasahs under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenag RI). Building Kinship Systems: Creating internal marriage bonds among dzuriyah and with other pesantren. Establishing Majelis Dhikr: Forming Majelis Taklim, holding Haul for the founder (mu'assis) and their dzuriyah, visiting the tombs of Wali Songo, holding alumni reunions, and creating a Tarekat congregation. Offering Life Skills Training: Actively participating in social, political, economic, and religious organizations.

This research supports Abdurrahman Wahid's view that pesantren is a subculture of civil society, not bound by social laws and state laws within certain limits. It reinforces Zamakhsyari Dhofier's opinion that kinship among dzuriyah or between kiai of different pesantren becomes stronger and more intertwined through marriage and the transmission of knowledge (sanad).

Furthermore, this study challenges Karel A. Sreenbrank's theory, which asserts that as formal education institutions with organized management grow and develop, traditional educational institutions such as pesantren will eventually disappear. It also adds elements of pesantren, as defined by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, not only consisting of the Pondok (boarding house), Masjid (mosque), Kiai (Islamic scholar), Santri (students), and Kitab Kuning (classical Islamic texts), but also including Cantin (canteen), Kopotren (coffee shop), and health units.

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