### THE ADAPTABILITY OF PESANTREN IN INDONESIA DURING THE NEW NORMAL ERA

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Abstract: This article discusses strategic issues of pesantren management during the Covid-19 pandemic-based "adaptation to new habit" era in Indonesia. The research is carried out to a total of fifteen pesantren in West Borneo, Yogyakarta, East Java, and West Java. Sociocultural perspectives of *pesantren* during this period also has influenced the emergence of adaptive protocols toward public interest (maslahah). Therefore, each pesantren has authentic regulations in dealing with the disasterous situation (sadd al-dharā'i'). The results classify the adaptive responses of pesantren during the pandemic into three categories from the upper, middle, and lower tier management. Aside from misfortunes for humanity during the disaster, academics of pesantren suggest that they obtain several cocktails of wishful thinking from this phenomenon, i.e. inspiring ideas to maintain their faith and piety (hifz aldin) while developing enthusiasm for studying science and religion (hifz al-'aql). To summarize, all observed pesantren have attempted to balance physical (batinivah) and emotional (¿ahīrīyah) neccesities in overcoming the pandemic situation.

**Keywords:** pesantren, magāṣid al-sharī̄'ah, Covid-19 pandemic, new normal

### Introduction

The "Adaptation to New Habits" (Adaptasi Kebiasaan Baru/AKB) program is an effort to implement protocols conditioned down to the smallest community units under the Covid-19 outbreak situation. The term AKB is synonymous with various activities to prevent the spread of Covid-19 such as instructions on wearing masks, avoiding touching eyes, nose and mouth, taking a social-distance of minimum 1 m each, diligently washing hands, and actively following information developments through credible sources. Problems such as the registration of new students, routine worship activities at places of worship, admission of old students, management of sanitation and health for the *pesantren* community.<sup>3</sup> The researchers may also alert about the emergency protocols for the organization suspected of having the virus. Pesantren<sup>4</sup> must take strategic steps to prevent its members from becoming a new cluster of Covid-19 cases hence maintaining maslahah in each co-existence therein.

Based on some standard health and sanitation protocols—issued by the Task Force for the Acceleration of Coronavirus Handling,<sup>7</sup> the Indonesian Mosque Council (Dewan Masjid Indonesia/DMI), circular letter of Ministry of Religion no. 6 the year 2020,8 circular letter of Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama no. 835/A/PPRMI/ SE/III/2020,9 or the declaration of Muhammadiyah Central Executive Committee's

https://doi.org/10.1007/s11239-020-02134-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dwi Yunianto, 'Ketahanan Keluarga Sebagai Basis Pendidikan di Tengah Pandemi Covid 19', Ta'dibuna 3, 1 (2020): 1-12, https://doi.org/10.30659/jpai.3.1.1-12; Suci Ramadhanti Febriani et al., 'Arabic Learning for Elementary School during Covid-19 Emergency in Indonesia', OKARA: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra 14, 1 (2020): 67-80, https://doi.org/10.19105/ojbs.v14i1.3194; Richard C. Becker, 'Covid-19 Update: Covid-19-Associated Coagulopathy', Journal of Thrombosis and Thrombolysis (2020),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Law no. 18 year 2019 about Islamic boarding school defines "pesantren" as a community-based institution founded by Islamic individuals, foundations, organizations, and/or communities who promote noble morals and uphold the teachings of Islam which is reflected in the humble, tolerant, balanced, moderate attitude and the whole cultural values through education, Islamic preaching, exemplary and community empowerment within the context of Republic of Indonesia. For more description on this regard, see Muhammad Asif and Fakih Abdul Azis, 'Al-Shaykh Maimoen Zubair wa Afkāruh 'an al-Islām wa al-Waṭaniyah wa at-Tasāmuh fī Indūnīsiyā', Journal of Indonesian Islam 15, 1 (2021): 223-46, https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.1.223-246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan Covid-19, Penyesuaian Kebijakan Pembelajaran di Masa Pandemi Covid-19', August 2020, https://covid19.go.id/.

<sup>8</sup> Pimpinan Pusat Dewan Masjid Indonesia (DMI), 'Surat Edaran Kedua untuk Mencegah Penyebaran Covid-19 Nomor: 061/PP DMI/A/III/2020', 19 March 2020, http://dmi.or.id/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Pengurus Pusat Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama, 'Protokol Pencegahan Penyebaran Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) pada Pondok Pesantren', 10 April 2020, https://covid19.go.id/.

no. 002/PER/I.0/I/202010-each pesantren in Indonesia are capable of forming their local genius health regulations during the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak.<sup>11</sup> The performance of *pesantren* in Indonesia needs to be observed critically by analyzing its rate of effectiveness for handling the Covid-19 pandemic as a form of pesantren management. The research was conducting several *pesantren* in Indonesia. The study was appointed to understand the managerial mechanisms of pesantren<sup>12</sup> during the Covid-19 pandemic and the opportunities and challenges that accompany it. In contrast to previous studies, 13 this study does not comprehensively explain adaptive steps in one particular pesantren. Nonetheless, it seeks to see the managerial responses of the 18 pesantrens divided in four provinces during the pandemic outbreak hence to understand the causal relationships therein. This study focuses on eighteen pesantren in West Borneo, Special Region of Yogyakarta, West Java, and East Java, Indonesia. Each institution represents an authentic character seen from various approaches.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 'Pernyataan Pers Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Nomor 002/PER/I.0/I/2020 Tentang Pemberlakuan New Normal', 2020, http://m.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/news-19123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Atho Mudzhar, 'Pesantren Transformatif: Respon Pesantren Terhadap Perubahan Sosial', Edukasi: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan 6, 2 (2017): 12-14, https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v6i2.186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Pesantren management is understood as process of managing institutions with certain standards. This management includes aspects of the curriculum, tutors and education personnels, students, facilities/infrastructure, financing and public relations Moh Mahfud and Artamin Hairit, 'Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan: Studi Pola Manajemen PP. Nahdlatun Nasyiin Bungbaruh Kadur Pamekasan', Fikrotuna 4, 2 (2016): 5, https://doi.org/10.32806/jf.v4i2.2750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The authors found two recent researches regarding to this topic. See Shofiyullahul Kahfi and Ria Kasanova, 'Manajemen Pondok Pesantren di Masa Pandemi Covid-19: Studi Pondok Pesantren Mambaul Ulum Kedungadem Bojonegoro', Pendekar: Jurnal Pendidikan Berkarakter 3, 1 (2020): 26–30, https://doi.org/10.31764/pendekar.v3i1.28-27; Muh Barid Nizarudin Wajdi et al., 'Pendampingan Redesign Pembelajaran Masa Pandemi Covid-19 bagi Tenaga Pendidik di Lembaga Pendidikan berbasis Pesantren di Jawa Timur', Engagement: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat 4, 1 (2020): 266-77, https://doi.org/10.29062/engagement.v4i1.193...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The three pesantrens in West Borneo are Darunna'im, Mathla'ul Anwar, and Mu'tashim Billah, which represents various typologies. Darunna'im, known as one of the largest Islamic boarding schools in West Borneo, was formed in 2000 and is located on Jl. Ampera, Pontianak City, under the tutelage Habib Syarif Muhammad Ridho Yahya. Meanwhile, Mathla'ul Anwar Pontianak, a branch of the "Mathla'ul Anwar" association, centred in Banten, was founded in 2003 (legalized in 2007) and is

The research on three *pesantrens* in West Borneo began on July 17 to August 20 and two pesantrens of Yogyakarta observed from October 8 to 20 through observation, interview, and paper-based questionnaires, and while the other 13 institutions were examined through website-based questionnaires and online interview by social media. 15 Based on collaborative research methods, the primary variables that the researchers will observe include perception, regulations, and the managerial level of pesantren.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 1.** The Identity of *pesantrens* Examined on Their Continuance during the Covid-19 Pandemic Outbreak

Province	Name of <i>Pesantren</i>	Respondents
West Borneo	Mu'tashim Billah Pontianak Selatan	20
	Mathla'ul Anwar Pontianak	20
	Darunna'im Pontianak	20
Special Region	Al Munawwir Komplek Q Krapyak	26

located on Prof. M. Yamin street, Pontianak City, under the guidance of kyai Rohmatullah. Meanwhile, Mu'tashim Billah is the only formal pesantren-cum-orphanage that has been established since 2007 under the direction of ustadz Yahya Zaini and is located on Purnama street, South Pontianak sub-district. Moreover, Ali Maksum "Hindun" is a Qur'anic memorizing dorm for female students (ma'had tahfiz al-Qur'ān li al-banāt) functioned since the early 80's under the guidance of Nyai Hj. Durroh Nafisah and located on Jl. KH Ali Maksum Krapyak, Yogyakarta. Across this pesantren, one could find Al-Munawwir "Q", the older Islamic school (established since 22 September 1989) as the previous one but within the same concept to memorize the Holy Book, founded by KH. Ahmad Warson Munawwir, an Islamic scholar and the descent of KH. Muhammad Munawwir, an infamous ulama on the Qur'an in Yogyakarta<sup>14</sup>. There also other five pesantrens located in the province of Yogyakarta namely Al-Mubaarok Sleman and JPPI Minhajul Muslim located in Sleman city, Binaul Ummah located in Pleret, and Pesantren LSQ Ar-Rahmah and Pesantren Stikes Surya Global in Bantul city.

15 Interview efforts applied to some pesantren policy officers, santri, officers in the pesantren environment, regional sector (sub-district) policy managers, and pesantren education sector policy managers (Kasi Pontren Kanwil Kemenag) with a total of 11 people. The document study was conducted by focusing on some topics regarding pesantren studies, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the challenges of educational practices in the "Adaptation to New Habits" era. Then the results of the document study were supported by empirical facts from a questionnaire containing 49 questions distributed to 60 respondents. These data collected in comprehensive methods shall play an essential role in synthesizing articles about the management of pesantren during the Covid-19 pandemic.

<sup>16</sup> Nataliya V. Ivankova, John W. Creswell, and Sheldon L. Stick, 'Using Mixed-Methods Sequential Explanatory Design: From Theory to Practice', Field Methods 18, 1 (2006): 3–20, https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05282260.

Province	Name of <i>Pesantren</i>	Respondents
of Yogyakarta	Ali Maksum Komplek Hindun Krapyak	14
	Al-Mubaarok Sleman	1
	LSQ Ar-Rahmah Bantul	1
	JPPI. Minhajul Muslim Sleman	2
	Binaul Ummah Pleret	2
	Stikes Surya Global Bantul	2
West Java	Darussalam Ciamis	4
	Alhikamussalafiyyah Sumedang	1
	As-Salaam Bandung	1
	Al-Qur'an Nurul 'Arif Salam Tasikmalaya	5
East Java	Al Midroor Surabaya	1
·	Al-Jihad Surabaya	4
	Al Munawaroh Jombang	1
	Tebuireng Jombang	8

The research data variants are processed to understand the adaptive reaction of Islamic boarding schools during the "Adaptation to New Habits" program of the Covid-19 pandemic, considering that all institutions have opened face-to-face learning sessions effectively in mid-July 2020. The researchers, whom are affiliated to Qur'anic studies program, also observe this phenomenon in the light of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* which takes contemporary issues to a higher philosophical ground and, hence, encourages a much-needed environment of concilitation and peaceful co-existence. Abū Isḥāq al-Shaṭibī argues that *maqāṣid* (goals) of sharia is trying to discover that various legal stipulations in the Quran and Hadith are oriented towards human interests, both in the effort to worship Allah and to honor human dignity and rights.<sup>17</sup> This idea then developed by scholars such as Ibn 'Ashūr¹8, Ridā¹9, al-Qaradawi²0, and Auda²¹ in redefining the *maqāṣid* of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Abu Ishaq al-Syathibi, Al-Munvāfaqāt fi Ushūl al-Syarī'ah (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, 2004), 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Muhammad Țāhir ibn 'Ashūr, *Maqāṣid al-Saarī'ah al-Islāmīyah*, Nashr Mushtarak (Tunisia: Dār Suhnun li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 2012).

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$ Rashid Ridā,  $Al\text{-}Wah\bar{\imath}$ al-Muḥammadī: Tubūt Nubuwwah bi al-Qur'ān (Cairo: Mu'asasah 'Izz al-Din, n.d.), 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Kayf Nata'āmal ma'a al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm (Cairo: Dar al-Syarūq, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jasser Auda, *Magasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2008).

humanity, from the proposed concept of 'freedom' (*hurriyyah*) in traditional schools (*madhāhib*) into the contemporary sense within multidisciplinary approaches. <sup>22</sup> Further informations regarding the *pesantren* observed in four provinces and the number of respondents can be seen on Table I as suggested underneath.

### Reconsidering *Pesantren* in the Changing Global Order

The author's efforts to analyze this phenomenon in *pesantren* under the dangers of the Covid-19 pandemic require a set of paradigms, which would also help provide enlightenment to understand the identity of *pesantren* in Borneo island. Covid-19 pandemic outbreak reflected as the introductory part of this constructive theology phenomenon; hence showing the need of a sustainable-developing process by *pesantren* officials towards a cohesive scientific paradigm in responding to scientific events that cannot be resolved by only piety and passivity.<sup>23</sup> Every development occurred in *pesantren* must absorb worldly bits of knowledge; therefore, students and teachers may prepare with the existing phenomena such as the Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>24</sup>

Studies about *pesantren* and its challenges to apply face-to-face education during the "Adaptation to New Habits" program are still limited, especially in the context of Borneo. Studies that link Covid-19, a symptom of a disease that has changed the global world order, with discourses on constructive theology in a disaster context, are also very minimal in the vortex of academic discourse. Academics have studied Covid-19 as a form of the pandemic since the beginning of 2020, namely its emergence in various countries such in Wuhan <sup>25</sup> and its

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See also Shofiyullah Muzammil, 'Praktek Demokrasi Di Indonesia Kontemporer Dalam Kritik Magosidus Syariah', *Tajdid: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 14, 2 (2015): 223–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, 'Pengembangan Metode Studi Islam Dalam Perspektif Hermeneutika Sosial dan Budaya', Tarjih: Jurnal Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam 6, 1 (2003): 1–19; Idem, Islamic Studies di Perguruan Tinggi: Pendekatan Integratif-Interkonektif (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012), 290–93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Mudzhar, 'Pesantren Transformatif'; Rustam Ibrahim, 'Pesantren Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat: Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Dawar Boyolali', *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 16, 1 (2016): 89, https://doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v16i1.316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Najaf Iqbal et al., 'Nexus between Covid-19, Temperature and Exchange Rate in Wuhan City: New Findings from Partial and Multiple Wavelet Coherence', *Science of The Total Environment*, 22 April 2020, 138916, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.-2020.138916.

impact on other countries shown in the research of Ahmadi,<sup>26</sup> Al-Tawfiq & Memish,<sup>27</sup> Alyanak,<sup>28</sup> Bodrud-Doza,<sup>29</sup> Ebrahim & Memish,<sup>30</sup> Ahmad Baidhowi,<sup>31</sup> and Zainuddin Syarif.<sup>32</sup>

Discourses on the comparison between the Islamic studies and the Covid-19 pandemic, for example, can be found in the research of Purwanto et al<sup>33</sup> regarding the challenges of learning in elementary schools (Sekolah Dasar/SD) or Suherdiana, et al.<sup>34</sup> who observed the Islamic preaching movement among communities in Indonesia. In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, studies have also appeared on the challenges of social communication<sup>35</sup>, implementing the pilgrimage<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Mohsen Ahmadi et al., 'Investigation of Effective Climatology Parameters on Covid-19 Outbreak in Iran', *Science of The Total Environment*, 17 April 2020, 138705, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2020.138705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Jaffar A. Al-Tawfiq and Ziad A. Memish, 'Covid-19 in the Eastern Mediterranean Region and Saudi Arabia: Prevention and Therapeutic Strategies', *International Journal of Antimicrobial Agents*, 4 April 2020, 105968, https://doi.org/10.1016/j. ijantimicag.-2020.105968;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> O. Alyanak, 'Faith, Politics and the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Turkish Response', *Medical Anthropology: Cross Cultural Studies in Health and Illness* 39, 5 (2020): 374–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/01459740.2020.1745482;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> M. Bodrud-Doza et al., 'Psychosocial and Socio-Economic Crisis in Bangladesh Due to Covid-19 Pandemic: A Perception-Based Assessment', *Frontiers in Public Health* 8 (2020), https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2020.00341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> S.H. Ebrahim and Z.A. Memish, 'Saudi Arabia's Drastic Measures to Curb the Covid-19 Outbreak: Temporary Suspension of the Umrah Pilgrimage', *Journal of Travel Medicine* 27, 3 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taaa029.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ahmad Baidowi et al., 'Theology of Health of Quranic Pesantren in the Time of Covid-19', HTS Theological Studies 77, 4 (2021): 11, https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.-y77i4.6452.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Zainuddin Syarif, Syafiq A. Mughni, and Abd Hannan, 'Responses of Pesantrens in Madura Towards the Covid-19 Pandemic', *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 15, 1 (2021): 47–74, https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.1.47-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Agus Purwanto et al., 'Studi Eksploratif Dampak Pandemi Covid-19 Terhadap Proses Pembelajaran Online Di Sekolah Dasar', *EduPsyCouns: Journal of Education, Psychology and Counseling* 2, 1 (2020): 1–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Dadan Suherdiana, Aang Ridwan, and Uwes Fatoni, 'Pesan Dakwah Ormas Islam Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Krisis Keagamaan Masa Pandemi Covid-19', *Karya Tulis Ilmiah*, 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Jeratallah Aram Dani and Yogi Mediantara, 'Covid-19 Dan Perubahan Komunikasi Sosial', *PERSEPSI: Communication Journal* 3, 1 (2020): 94-102–102, https://doi.org/10.30596/persepsi.v3i1.4510.

or social spheres problems such in Ashraf, Athey et al., Iacus et al., Pranata et al., and Tahir and Batool. 37 In theology-cum-education discourse within the context of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, a study by Safuwan et al. described the blessing concept in the tradition of kissing elder's hand-either kiai or ustadz-in Islamic boarding schools<sup>38</sup>.

Those closest to them in methodology are the great scholars who, although they used their rationality to understand better the purposes and objectives behind God's law, never set their rationality against scripture.<sup>39</sup> Auda, for example, purposed the realisation of magāṣid as the core objective to maintain openness, realism, and flexibility in the system and practice of Islamic law, 40 especially in the Islamic-based education center such as pesantren. For Ibn al-Qayyim, the fact that the shari ah seeks to promote certain values, such as the removal of oppression and excessive hardship, simply cannot be denied.<sup>41</sup> Because the text and its underlying rationale are part of *nass*, *pesantren* caretakers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Suleman Atique and Ramaiah Itumalla, 'Hajj in the Time of Covid-19', Infection, Disease & Health, 15 April 2020, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.idh.2020.04.001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Badar Nadeem Ashraf, 'Economic Impact of Government Interventions during the Covid-19 Pandemic: International Evidence from Financial Markets', Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Finance 27 (2020): 100371, https://doi.org/10.1016/i.jbef.2020.100371; Alexander G. Athey et al., 'Survey of AAHKS International Members on the Impact of Covid-19 on Hip and Knee Arthroplasty Practices', Special Covid-19 Supplement 35, 7 (2020): S89-94, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.arth.2020.04.053; Stefano Maria Iacus et al., 'Estimating and Projecting Air Passenger Traffic during the Covid-19 Coronavirus Outbreak and Its Socio-Economic Impact', Safety Science 129 (2020): 104791, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssci.2020.104791; Raymond Pranata et al., Impact of Cerebrovascular and Cardiovascular Diseases on Mortality and Severity of Covid-19-Systematic Review, Meta-Analysis, and Meta-Regression', Journal of Stroke and Cerebrovascular Diseases 9, 8 (2020): 104949, https://doi.org/ 10.1016/j.jstrokecerebrovasdis.2020.104949; Muhammad Bilal Tahir and Amber Batool, 'Covid-19: Healthy Environmental Impact for Public Safety and Menaces Oil Market', Science of The Total Environment 740 (2020): 140054, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.-2020.140054.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Safuwan et al., 'Analysis of Cultural Psychology Regarding the Phenomenon of Salaman Kissing the Hands of Lecturers Among Indonesian Student', International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering 7, 6 (2019): 1482–85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Abdul-Rahman Mustafa, On Taqlid: Ibn Al Qayyim's Critique of Authority in Islamic Law (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013), 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Auda, Magasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law, 244–45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Jauziyya, I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn, 4:337.

and local authoritative institutions must not neglect either when issuing coronavirus pandemic and religious vendicts beneath it.

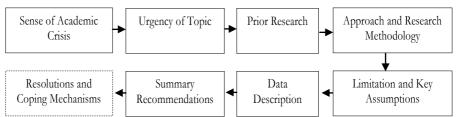


Figure 1: The systemic order of data analysis

Discourses on pesantren during the "Adaptation to New Habits" period have received insufficient attention from researchers, despite the fact that general ideas about Islamic boarding schools are in high demand among scholars. *Pesantren* studies demanded that unique characteristics of each pesantren be discovered on this basis. Hence, each institution can adapt and be dynamic amid global challenges to break the dichotomy of education between Islamic and science-technology studies <sup>42</sup> and to minimize stigmas associated with the conservatism of *pesantren* in the developments of scientific and social sciences.

## The Multifaced Islamic Conservatism: Reading Respondents' Views

The results of this study showed that all boarding schools observed in West Kalimantan, Yogyakarta, West and East Java were allowed to run face-to-face learning programs from the beginning of June year? when the Task Force implemented the "Adaptation to New Habits" program for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 of the three Islamic boarding schools in West Kalimantan, the authors observed that the *pesantren* Mu'tashim Billah was the first institution that reopened practical teaching-learning sessions in mid-May and was

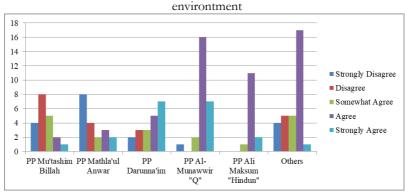
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 'Semarak Syi'ar Ramadan Online di Era Covid-19', 6 May 2020, https://islamsantun.org/semarak-syiar-ramadan-online-di-era-covid-19/; Nazifatul Ummy Al Amin et al., 'Kejawen, Multiculturalism, and Principles of Qur'an: Transformation and Resupposition of QS. al-Kafirun (109) 6 in Urip Sejati Community of Yogyakarta', *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, Bridging Rationality and Piety Within Multicultural Society in Post-Truth Era, 21, 1 (2020): 71–90, https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v21i1.2195.

followed by the pesantren Darunna'im in early July. Meanwhile, the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar opened its institution gradually from the end of July to mid-August. Besides that, two pesantrens in Yogyakarta have quite different policies. The pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q", in example, arranged repatriation of santri gradually based on the groups that had been made by the caretaker, starting from mid-August until now. The pesantren Ali Maksum "Hindun" doesn't have any special rules about time of santri repatriation. Santri allowed people to come back to pesantren voluntarily according to the wants and needs of the santri. Distinctions in the background of pesantren and its community's perceptions against the existence of the Covid-19 in the society have a significant impact on determining the beginning of the opening educational program<sup>43</sup>. According to the statistical data below, 133 respondents from three Islamic boarding schools expressed varying opinions about the existence of the Covid-19 in Pontianak city.

Referring to Figure I, all of those pesantren show various statistical data. The pesantren Mu'tashim Billah that is in the form of an Islamic boarding school as well as an orphanage has difficulty in educating santri regarding the Covid-19 due to limited access to information and has a long distance to cities. The phenomenon occurred in the *pesantren* Mu'tashim Billah based on the high number of respondents who disagree (40%) and strongly disagree (20%) about the spread of the Covid-19 in Pontianak. Likewise, with the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar also has a high percentage, with 20% of respondents disagree, and 40% strongly disagree. The appearance of a dangerous substance as the Covid-19 heightened sense of security among santri (hifz al-nafs) qualified for handling Covid-19 in these pesantren. This data looks in contrast to the pesantren Darunna'im. 44 This institution recorded the highest statistic on respondents who were aware of the Covid-19 spreading in Pontianak with 40% while the other 35% looked very alert.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Suherdiana, Ridwan, and Fatoni, 'Pesan Dakwah Ormas Islam Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Krisis Keagamaan Masa Pandemi Covid-19'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For a further reading regarding to this topic, see Shofiyullah Muzammil, 'Epistemologi Ushul Fikih Al-Syafi'i: Telaah atas Qiyas dalam Kitab Al-Risalah' (Ph.D Dissertation, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2009); 'Ushul Fikih Integratif-Humanis: Sebuah Rekonstruksi Metodologis', in Islamic Studies dalam Paradigma Integrasi-Interkoneksi, ed. Fahruddin Faiz (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, id.scribd.com/doc/244053083/.



**Figure 2.** Respondents' view on the existence of Covid-19 in their

Unlike the three institutions above, *pesantren* in Yogyakarta and the others show a high awareness of the spread of Covid-19 in their pesantren areas. Based on Figure I, respondents from the *pesantren* Al-Munawwir "Q" and Ali Maksum "Hindun" gave an agreed statement in 61% and 79% percentage, also 27% and 14% of them stated strongly agree. In addition, other pesantren from Yogyakarta, East Java, and West Java, which we call "Others" also show similar results, where santri are aware of the presence of Covid-19 in their pesantren environment, with 53% state agree and 3% strongly agree. Although the percentage of their awareness is quite high, there are still doubts (16%) and even skeptics (12%) about the presence of Covid-19 in their region. The high level of awareness of the *santri* is influenced by the high number of positive corona victims in each *pesantren* area, and also supported by the massive warning alerts carried out by the caretaker.

Heterogeneous responses appear upon the existence of the Covid-19 in Indonesia. There is an imbalance in the information obtained by each *pesantren* carried out by the information control party, the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19, which became a mass communication inadequacy. Mass communication has a vital role in solving any problems because the primary purpose of communication is to provide and receive information and to interact with the community,<sup>45</sup> which in this case is in the form of reporting and providing information related to Covid-19 to Indonesian society. Effective mass communication makes the goals of delivering

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Dani and Mediantara, 'Covid-19 Dan Perubahan Komunikasi Sosial', 21–23.

information to the public more easily achieved to be more reflective and aware of the situation and conditions around them. The level of mass communication effectiveness equals the status of delivering information to the public.

The different level of awareness of each pesantren residents against Covid-19 has also affected their visit regulations for outsiders, especially wali-santri, considering that the pesantren Darunna'im and Mu'tashim Billah keep opening the visit schedule. On the contrary, the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar, Al-Munawwir "Q", and Ali Maksum "Hindun" completely close the access of outsiders to enter pesantren, including parents or guardians. Nevertheless, mostly from other pesantren, the respondents show their approval of the prohibition for wali-santri visitation. Even though both institutions allowed visitation every Friday, some differences protocols applied in the process seen from the availability of sanitation and health protocols. Moreover, the stakeholders of the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q", Darunna'im, and Ali Maksum "Hindun" provide strict requirements for visitors and also observe the health-protocols implementation according to the provision of the Ministry of Education and Culture about health protocols in Pesantren. 46 On the other hand, the pesantren Mu'tashim Billah caretakers made concessions for the wali-santri who did not obey the health protocols.

Each pesantren has authentic regulations and protocol in dealing with a pandemic situation-according to the level of financial stability and partnerships with government institutions such as Public Health Office, Social Service, Ministry of Religion Regional Office, or local Community Health Centers. The various policies set by besantren management are kind of *pesantren* developing, especially during this pandemic, so that teaching and learning activities can run well under local government recommendations. However, each pesantren has challenges in developing their institutions. One of the crucial problems is that it is almost always related to financial conditions, limited facilities and infrastructure, and the lack of networking for pesantren<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Atique and Itumalla, 'Hajj in the Time of Covid-19', 46–53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ashraf, 'Economic Impact of Government Interventions during the Covid-19 Pandemic: International Evidence from Financial Markets', 232-33.

From this thesis, the authors agree to Haili's review in Rohmah 48 that the lack of funding is an inhibiting factor in *pesantren* development.

The results of the interviews—represented by *pesantren* administrators and officials—showed that those three pesantren in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, often made controlling efforts and had an online discussion with officials of the MoRa Regional Office via social media, likewise with the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" which has built cooperation and received direct supervision from Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah (RMI) who is a Non-Government Organization (NGO) from a religious mass organization, Nahdlatul Ulama. Multiinstitutional communication is essential to increase information disclosure regarding the pandemic from the *pesantren* and the Ministry of Religion and open opportunities for cooperation with the government or other Non-Government Organizations, such as providing disinfectants, masks, and handwashing facilities. However, assistance distribution supplied by local governments sometimes was not evenly distributed to each pesantren but was sporadic. This imbalance occurs because the networking by each institution is different. 49 However, building an extensive network is one of the priority steps in pesantren management. Beside that, the pesantren Ali Maksum "Hindun" as a boarding school under the auspices of a foundation, doesn't build cooperation with the government or Non-Government Organization (NGO), because their foundation already has good managerial skills and is considered capable of dealing with the fulfillment of Covid-19.

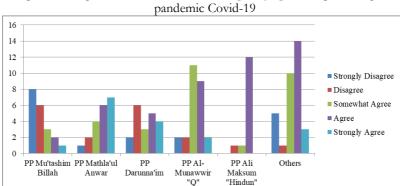
Respondents of the questionnaires expressed different views regarding their adaptability during the Coronavirus outbreak. Later, these variables will also influence the adaptive, authentic, and contextual regulation-making in securing students from the pandemic. Pesantren education strategy may also require a readjustment under the limitations faced by each institution after the Covid-19 disaster.<sup>50</sup> This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Athey et al., 'Survey of AAHKS International Members on the Impact of Covid-19 on Hip and Knee Arthroplasty Practices'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Iacus et al., 'Estimating and Projecting Air Passenger Traffic during the Covid-19 Coronavirus Outbreak and Its Socio-Economic Impact', 154-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Pranata et al., 'Impact of Cerebrovascular and Cardiovascular Diseases on Mortality and Severity of Covid-19-Systematic Review, Meta-Analysis, and Meta-Regression', 156.

phenomenon illustrated in the statistics showing *pesantren*' efforts on adapting amid the worldwide disaster as follows:



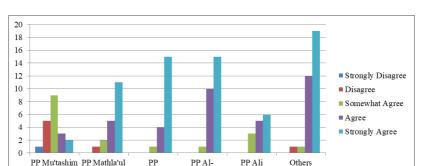
**Figure 3.** Respondent's view on the shifting daily agenda in *pesantren* post-

Based on the data in Figure 3, all of respondents have various views about the influence of the pandemic on the santri daily routines. The pesantren Darunna'im has a stable graph, with 40% of respondents who disagree or strongly disagree. In comparison, the remaining 60% think that the *pesantren* daily schemes also move dynamically along with the emergence of the Covid-19, marked by changes in the scheduled activities, where the customary on Monday through Thursday contains formal education. At the same time, Saturday and Sunday specialized for a religious one. This reality looks different from the two other institutions, the *pesantren* Mathla'ul Anwar and Mu'tashim Billah, which show contradictory statistical data. The majority of respondents from the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar, with a percentage of 85%, argued that the Coronavirus disaster changed the formal and non-formal pesantren education agenda. It has initially been in a typical class with a small scale before turning out into a notorious one, namely Ula and Ulyaclass, each for males and females. Meanwhile, the majority of respondents from the pesantren Mu'tashim Billah, with a statistical figure of 70% argued otherwise that Covid-19 did not have a significant effect on teaching and learning activities at the pesantren, because pesantren activities were still carried out as usual in the form of halaqah Hadhramiyyah after each maghrib prayer, by forming groups of approximately six or seven people in a circle with one facilitator.

A very different thing happens to the other two pesantren, which are also representative of the most of pesantren from the Yogyakarta, West Java, and East Java regions, with high rates of Covid-19 cases. The pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" and Ali Maksum "Hindun", both of which are student pesantren (although not all of them, but the majority are students) there has been a change in the daily agenda in their pesantren. The pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" shows somewhat agree statements in 42%, also approval statements (agree and strongly agree) in the same percentage, 42%, with changes in the learning mechanism of Madrasah Diniyah. The rest, there are no significant changes to the daily agenda other than the necessity to implement health protocols in every student activity. Beside that, the *pesantren* Ali Maksum "Hindun" can be said to have absolutely agreed (86%) with the change in the agenda at the *pesantren*. Because the daily agenda at this *pesantren* is basically a tahfidz al-Our'an program, the changes that occur lie in the implementing setoran and this change is considered quite significant for santri in Hindun. On the other hand, the others also had statements that were not much different, shown by approval statement in 52%, somewhat agree in 30%, and the rest (18%) were expressing disapproval. The compactness in the approval statement appears to be a direct effect of the high Covid-19 cases in the pesantren area.

The availability of teachers (ustadz) on formal and non-formal subjects in each pesantren reflected significant differences. Most of the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar and Al-Munawwir "Q"s teachers live outside the *pesantren* area—considering that these institutions' organizer still minimizes the access of outsiders to enter the pesantren environment—so that the learning process cannot be done face-toface. The pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar formal program's only runs passively through modules and daily assignments, besides, the learning of Madrasah Diniyah in the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" takes place online. Meanwhile, teachers living in *pesantren* environment handle all Islamic learning activities, same as what was implemented in the pesantren Ali Maksum "Hindun", where all Tahfidz al-Qur'an was handled by the teachers from within the pesantren. This reality is different from the *pesantren* Mu'tashim Billah, which provides entrance access for the outside of pesantren, so the formal learning process (especially for MTs and MA levels) executed directly in the morning while the elementary school is still required in online learning programs because not all of these school students are part of *pesantren* (santri).

Internal teachers or senior students manage most informal learning activities, so they can still run normally as usual.



Mimawwii

"O"

Maksum

"Hindun'

Billah

Anwar

Darunna'im

**Figure 4.** Respondents' view on the accessibility of medical facilities and sanitation kits in *pesantren*'s environment

The *pesantren* Darunna'im does not face more daily plan's changes. The formal education program runs to the regular schedule because the organizers have guaranteed the safety of its academic community and the provision of adequate sanitation and primary health facilities in the *pesantren* area. However, the schedule of formal activities shortened to four days, and the other two days were informal activities. Respondents of those three *pesantren* also have various views on the availability of health and sanitation facilities, as seen in the following graph:

According to the chart in Figure 4, 80% of the total 133 respondents "agree" or "strongly agree" with the existence of medical and sanitation facilities in their respective pesantren areas. This data can be understood as a santri or the teacher's appreciation for the availability of a health unit—or also known as qism al-sinhat—In each pesantren, which is powered by nurses with medical equipment and primary medicines needed by santri. However, there are only the pesantren Mu'tashim billah with the minimum percentage of approval statements. Respondents of the other pesantren have a top chart in the table, as the "strongly agree" section of the pesantren Darunna'im has the highest percentage, 75%, followed by the "Others" and the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" in 58%, then the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar in 55%, and the last pesantren Ali Maksum "Hindun" in 43%. This high

percentage defines adequate medical facilities and strict application of health protocols, considering that both two pesantren have sanitation centres, disinfectant booths, infrared thermometers, and hundreds of masks for their residents.

The *pesantren* Mathla'ul Anwar has only implemented face masks as a strategy for preventing the transmission of Covid-19 51 compared to the other two institutions. It was supported by the mandatory instruction to bring a minimum stock of five masks before the departure of santri, return to the pesantren, followed by giving face masks to all santri arrived at pesantren, each student received two covers. This pesantren also strictly enforces restrictions on visitor access and even eliminates visits for santri—meanwhile, the pesantren Darunna'im, since the beginning, has facilitated rapid tests for all pesantren residents, thereby loosening the instructions for using masks for the entire academic community and followed by still permitting visits by *santri*, by complying with the established protocol. Therefore, the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" and Ali Maksum "Hindun" both require their santri to take a rapid test before returning to pesantren, likewise, the rules for using masks are enforced in every congregational activity. Both of them also did not allow outside visits. Therefore, even though the pesantren Darunna'im was less consistent with the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar regarding to the implementation of health protocols in *pesantren*, these two institutions, also the pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" and Ali Maksum "Hindun" are arguably well-established in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. The establishment of these four institutions on preventing the pandemic outbreak has built a sense of trust among themselves.

Respondents had mixed feelings about the *pesantren* Mu'tashim Billah, which did not yet have a definitive health protocol and lacked health facilities. The pesantren Mu'tashim Billah had difficulty providing complete medical facilities for santri or teachers, in contrast to the two previous pesantren, which are well established in financial management. Therefore, if there were any members of the community who indicated symptoms of Covid-19 for two days, this *santri* would immediately be sent home to the hometown without being given a referral letter to the nearest public health centre or hospital. Besides, the pesantren Mu'tashim Billah, which also is an orphanage, will find it difficult to

<sup>51</sup> Tahir and Batool, 'Covid-19: Healthy Environmental Impact for Public Safety and Menaces Oil Market'.

repatriate the orphaned *santri*(s) because none of their relatives can accommodate them if they are infected with the Covid-19 other than staying at *pesantren*. The solution offered by the board feels quite dangerous because efforts to repatriate *santri* indicated having the virus to their hometown will expand the rate for the spread of Covid-19 in other areas.

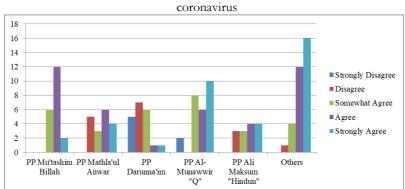


Figure 4. Respondents' views on the effectiveness of ablution in avoiding the

The other side of the lack of health detection tools in the *pesantren* is the increasing attitude of piety and faith among *santri* and teachers, such as saying that doing *ablution* five times a day can reduce the risk of contracting the Covid-19. *Ablution* does give benefits to human's body, both physically and psychologically. It cleanses micro-organisms that may cause harm in certain body parts <sup>52</sup> and also can reduce stress reactions if applied regularly.<sup>53</sup>

# The Covid-19 Pandemic and The Cocktails of Spiritual Behaviours

The majority of the *pesantren* Mu'tashim Billah respondents believed that wearing masks during all activities was unnecessary. Santri's activities remained unchanged as well. Few additional activities settled to prevent the spread of Covid-19 in *pesantren* such as daily exercise each morning, doing *wirid*, optimizing the use of clean water, and limiting the visits of the parents/guardians. Even though these

<sup>52</sup> Tahir and Batool, 226-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Safuwan et al., 'Analysis of Cultural Psychology Regarding the Phenomenon of Salaman Kissing the Hands of Lecturers Among Indonesian Student', 59.

steps have been considered sufficient, in general, it is still classified as a worrying problem considering that the mobility of visitors to the pesantren is still relatively high. Therefore, a common assumption arose among the students that ablution and morning exercise, which was accompanied by tirakat, were sufficient to prevent someone from the infection of Covid-19.

The pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar, who some of his students admitted that they did not believe in the spread of Covid-19 in Pontianak, did not even believe that the virus was a significant contagious effect on their worship practices, but they have a fairly high approval statement on the function of ablution in warding off the coronavirus. However, their belief in this function of ablution doesn't have much influence on their worship activities. The constructive theology in this pesantren society reflected in three ways, first, the majority of the pesantren Mathla'ul Anwar santri or teachers did not think there is a need for one meter spacing in prayer. Second, respondents mentioned that the santri sat close to each other while studying and reciting the Koran. Third, there are some santri who are sent by the pesantren to preach in public. However, the pandemic phenomenon has several effects on the psychological and mental aspects of santri, such as the adaptability of new santri and increasing santri's concentration in learning activities.

The pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" and "Others" have a high proportion in responding to the connection between ablution and the prevention of the coronavirus. The pesantren Al-Munawwir "Q" seeks to balance batiniyah (phyisical) and zahiriyah (spiritual) aspects which can be seen from the high number of Strongly Agree and Agree in the questionnaire with regarding the availability of Covid-19 handling facilities (distribution of health masks, availability of sinks, routine health checking, et cetera) and strict regulating mobility inside and outside the *pesantren* as well as statements related to increased worship practices and a high level of belief that the practice of ablution has positive implications for efforts to deal with Covid-19. This inner effort with mujahadah and increasing ablution is one form of theological motivation to provide psychological strength. The "Others" share the same belief, that in warding off the coronavirus, bāṭiniya and ʒāhiriya efforts are needed.

The pesantren Ali Maksum "Hindun" has a balanced proportion between statements of agreement and disagreement. This happened because the *pesantren* Ali Maksum "Hindun" had always practiced a clean lifestyle and religious practices such as mujahadah, midnight prayer, and witir together, before the pandemic era. One thing that is additional to the practice of worship is reading Tibb al-Qulub after mandatory prayers. So, the existence of the coronavirus didn't bring a significant change to the practice of worship, because physical and psychological efforts had been made by santri. The handling of the coronavirus in this *pesantren* is basically more of a personal responsibility, because all appeals have been made, both from the board administrator and from the caregivers directly.

Unlike the others, most respondents of the pesantren Darunna'im admit that they don't believe that ablution can ward off the coronavirus. But, with good management, the implementation of these *pesantren* activities during the pandemic outbreak has become more adaptive, such as the intention of limiting students' and visitors' mobility as well as adjusting academic practices, which was explained recently. Thus there is an increase in santri's quality and quantity of worship so that all students have a strong spirit in facing this pandemic. Santri's toughness in facing this disaster occurs because there is physical and psychological support from them which is also based on religious beliefs. This fact is related to Koenig's opinion that religious beliefs and practices have a significant position in disaster mitigation.<sup>54</sup> There are some reasons for this statement; some of them are that religion can create a sense of optimism in facing disasters, 55 provide personal strength, and also can give hope and motivation.

Aside from misfortunes for humanity during the pandemic, santri and teachers stated that they got several cocktails of wishful thinkings obtained from this phenomenon. Many santri(s) believe that the disaster can inspire someone to increase their faith and enthusiasm for studying science and religion. In contrast, teachers believe that this phenomenon makes santri easier to manage and feel at home living in pesantren<sup>56</sup> because santri cannot return to their hometown immediately, considering the pandemic situation has not subsided. Santri obtained fruitful wisdom from the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, especially in Pontianak, as it became an inspiration to escalate their concentration on worshipping and studying.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Suryadilaga, 'Semarak Syi'ar Ramadan Online di Era Covid-19'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Amin et al., 'Kejawen, Multiculturalism, and Principles of Qur'an', 359.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Abdul Mustaqim, "Teologi Bencana Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an', Nun: Jurnal Studi Alguran Dan Tafsir Di Nusantara 1, 1 (2015).

The preceding discussion essentially describes *Santri's* constructive theology. According to Abdul Mustaqim, constructive theology is similar to the term anthropocentric-functional theology which has a scope not only on issues of faith, but also more to human problems faced by contemporary society.<sup>57</sup> This understanding is also in line with constructive theology according to Jasson A. Wyman which assumes that there are at least two basic characteristics of constructive theology, namely inter-disciplinary and oriented to social action. Wyman wanted to emphasize that theology is impermanent, but also encourages critical action.<sup>58</sup>

In the context of handling Covid-19 in pesantren, Islam as a theology has an important role in constructing both the thoughts and actions of students in facing a pandemic situation.<sup>59</sup> Efforts to prevent and handle Covid-19 in Islamic boarding schools are in line with the concept of magasid al-sharā'ah that aims to overcome situations that are felt to be pressing and burdening the ability to deal with these problems using the coping strategy. The application of coping strategies based on Islamic purposes requires a certain resource, which in this context is constructive theology in *pesantren*. The coping strategy divided into two: coping strategies that focus on physical problems (problem focused form of coping mechanism/direct action); and coping that focuses on emotions (emotion focused coping/palliative form).<sup>60</sup> In general, constructive theology which is formed from religious beliefs and practices has a significant position in dealing with a problem. All *pesantrens* which were the research targets attempted to balance physical (batiniyah) and emotional (zahiriyah) neccesities in overcoming the pandemic situation with idiosyncratic perceptions, strategies, and agendas.

### Conclusion

To conclude, the adaptive responses of *pesantren* during the pandemic can be classified into three categories, namely upper, middle,

 $^{58}$  Joas Adiprasetya, "Teologi Konstruktif: Tren Berteologi Masa Kini" (Kupang: UKAW, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Moch Tolchah, "Teologi Bencana Kaum Pesantren', KARSA: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Keislaman 23, 2 (2016): 308, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Siti Maryam, 'Strategi Coping: Teori Dan Sumberdayanya', *Jurnal Konseling Andi Matappa* 1, 2 (2017), 102.

and lower tier of management. A high-class one instructed all its academic communities to run rapid tests and provided medical and sanitation facilities. The middle-class leadership institution collaborated center (Pusat local public health Masyarakat/Puskesmas) and other local health authorities to anticipate the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, low-tier status pesantren sent its students who indicated to be infected by the virus back to their hometowns as their expression of maslahah<sup>61</sup> due to its lack of medical facilities and sanitation kits hence possibly endangering other areas for not applying quarantine or self-isolation.

This study also shows that the involvement of government institutions pesantren and their partnership network are two critical external domains in anticipating the spread of the virus in the pesantren and the responsiveness of internal boarding schools in dealing with possible virus infiltration in *pesantren* environment. The responsiveness of pesantren officials makes face-to-face learning activities possible, despite all the challenges and shortcomings that each institution may face, which are not necessarily applicable to ordinary schools which have different typologies, management, and education implementation strategies. This paper would also simply encourage all elements of each pesantren to obey the health protocols as a 'reasoning procedure' in blocking the widespread of Coronavirus (sadd al-dharā'i').

After examining the adaptive response of Islamic boarding schools in the midst of the "Adaptation to New Habits" period for the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, there are several things that the authors would like to suggest as development opportunities. First, in order to carry out research in emergency situations like this, it requires

<sup>61</sup> Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazalī, a well-known Islamic jurist and philosopher, proposed the definition of "maṣlaḥah" in his book entitled Al-Mustashfā min Ilm al-Uṣūl as follows: "The maslahah is basically an expression from take advantage and reject harm, but that's not what we meant, because actually, taking advantage and rejecting harm is the goal of beings (humans) and the goodness of humans will be realized by achieving their goals. What we mean by maslahah is to maintain the purpose of shara'/Islamic law, and there are five shara' purposes of creature, i.e. maintaining faith, soul, intellect, descent, and wealth. Everything that contains efforts to maintain these five principles is called maslahah, and everything that removes these five principles is called 'mafsadah', thus its opposite is called 'maşlahah'. See Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazalī, Al-Mustashfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl, ed. Hamzah bin Zahir Hafidz, (Madinah: al-Jāmi'ah al-Islāmīyah Kullīyah al-Sharī'ah, n.d.), pp. 481–82.

intellectual and mental courage to collect data and accommodate permission from the relevant authorities in order to provide a sense of security for respondents and research informants. Second, research on the performance of Islamic boarding schools on Borneo island was found to be minimal meanwhile the study of pesantren in Java are the opposite, so that the results of the study conducted by the author could be a trigger for more severe research. Third, this research program is part of the Community Service, so that researchers are faced with limited time in completing research. Researches of pesantren studies on Borneo should be executed with strict paradigm and methodology to enrich its Islamic heritages. Fourth, as a scientific experiment, of course, there are deficiencies in providing analysis and criticism when the authors photograph the adaptive responses and management strategies of Islamic boarding schools in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic.

However, the research still needs to be appreciated, and the best appreciation for written work is constructive criticism. Hopefully, this research can be followed up by the author himself, as well as among those who are interested in Islamic studies and other Islamic boarding schools. The final objective of this research is the emergence of written development recommendations aimed at several government agencies, specifically the District Offices and the Regional Offices of Ministry of Religious Affairs.

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