

THE PRACTICE OF SHARED VALUES AND ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL IDENTITY

Evidence from a *Pesantren* in East Java, Indonesia

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Abstract: This paper aims at exploring shared values in a traditional Islamic boarding school, *Pesantren* Sidogiri one of the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, and their impact on the *pesantren's* identity construction. *Pesantren* Sidogiri has been running for nearly three centuries with all of the distinctive characteristics and customs. Through ethnographic study this article seeks how the community in this particular *pesantren* engages with the educational system organised based on their shared values. The results demonstrate that the shared values preserved shape the identity of the traditional Islamic education institution namely persistent greater emphasis on Islamic teaching, moral development, and shared awareness not to depend on the states' policies in two areas: teaching materials and funding.

Keywords: Islamic educational identity, traditional *pesantren*, Sidogiri, shared values, Islamic education.

Introduction

One of the essential features in understanding Islamic identity in Indonesia is through exploring the dynamics of the oldest Islamic educational system, namely *pesantren*. In this sense, *pesantren* is believed to have its way of transforming and designing an educational system in dealing with challenges of social changes and the modern era.¹ In the efforts trend to modernise the Islamic educational system,² it turns out

¹ Yon Machmudi, "Modernization and Changes in Kiai-Santri Relations in Three Pesantrens in Java," *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 16, 1 (2021): pp. 58–79.

² Yanwar Pribadi, "Sekolah Islam (Islamic Schools) as Symbols of Indonesia's Urban Muslim Identity," *TRaNS: Trans Regional and National Studies on Southeast Asia* (2021): 1–

that there are still founded *pesantren* that try to maintain their original forms. Even though they retain a traditional identity, they keep and develop the institution's existence. An excellent example of this phenomenon is the the *Pesantren Sidogiri* in Pasuruan, one of the many *pesantren* in East Java. This *pesantren* has existed for 3 (three) centuries and maintained all the unique characteristics of educational and cultural forms. In this context, the persistence and independence of an institution must be supported by shared values.³ Because of this, a comprehensive analysis of the shared values that exist in *Pesantren Sidogiri* is needed to explore the efforts of the *pesantren*, which are so persistent in maintaining the original identity of the institution.

So far, studies on *pesantren* can be categorised into three categories; the first examines efforts to modernise *pesantren*;⁴ the second explores the material or curriculum of *pesantren*⁵ and the third examines the leadership of the *kiai* in Islamic boarding schools⁶ and politics in

16; Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, "Imam Zarkasyi's Modernization of Pesantren in Indonesia: (A Case Study of Darussalam Gontor)," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, 1 (2020): 161–200; Iffat Maimunah Wildana Wargadinata, Wahid Murni, Abdussakir, Esa Nur Wahyuni, "Alternative Education in the Global Era: Education in Tazkia International Islamic Boarding School," *Libraray Philosophy and Practice* 12 (2019).

³ Elzbieta Karwowska, "Creating Shared Value by the University," *Social Responsibility Journal* 17, 1 (2021): pp. 30–47; Charlene Tan and Azhar Ibrahim, "Humanism, Islamic Education, and Confucian Education," *Religious Education* 112, 4 (2017): pp. 394–406; Charlene Tan, "'Our Shared Values' in Singapore: A Confusion Perspective," *Educational Theory* 62, 4 (2012): pp. 449–463.

⁴ Bambang Budiwiranto, "Modernization and Pesantren Based Community Development in Indonesia," *Jawi* 2, 1 (2019): pp. 1–18; Raihani Raihani, "Successful School Leadership In Indonesia: Perspectives Of The Principals," *Al-Fikra: Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 5, 2 (2017), p. 248.

⁵ Muhammad Zuhdi, "Challenging Moderate Muslims: Indonesia's Muslim Schools in the Midst of Religious Conservatism," *Religions* 9, 10 (2018); Ahmad Fauzi, "Implementation Of Multicultural Values In Islamic Religious Education," *Journal Education Multicultural of Islamic Society* 2, 1 (2021): pp. 13–23.

⁶ Yusuf Hanafi et al., "The New Identity of Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools in the 'New Normal': The Education Leadership Response to Covid-19," *Helijon* 7, 3 (2021); Yayan Rahtikawatie, Saifuddin Chalim, and Teti Ratnasih, "Investigating The Role of Religious Leadership at Indonesia's Islamic Boarding Schools in The Sustainability of School Management," *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 2021, 96 (2021): pp. 51–65; Imron Arifin et al., "Islamic Crash Course as a Leadership Strategy of School Principals in Strengthening School Organizational Culture," *SAGE Open* 8, 3 (2018).

Indonesia.⁷ Studies examining *pesantren's* shared values and identity have not yet been found. Meanwhile, studies on the construction of educational institution identity have been widely conducted,⁸ yet those focusing on Islamic traditional educational institution are lacking. Some studies reveal that shared values within educational organisations strengthen institutions themselves, especially in the effort to mobilise the organisation members to achieve their visions.⁹

The term shared values in this paper refers to the concept about what someone thinks is important in life.¹⁰ According to Panjawi,¹¹ they play as fostering factors of the social cohesion. Supporting Panjawi ideas, Tan¹² affirms that they function as a faith system governed by such institutionalised organisations, dogmas, regulation, and membership. Tan¹³ concluded that schools in Singapore, for example, prioritise the personal moral development of their students and more opportunities should be offered to contribute actively to the development of the vision of shared values. Furthermore, Tan suggests that Catholic schools envision to maintain their identity especially in

⁷ Nurul Azizah, Joseph Okwesili Nkwede, and Mohammad Armoyu, “The Octopus-like Power of Pesantren Dynasty in the Dynamics of Local Politics,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 7, 1 (2021); Wiwik Setiyani, “The Exerted Authority of Kiai Kampung in the Social Construction of Local Islam,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, 1 (2020): pp. 51–76.

⁸ Ahmed Mohammed, “Education and Muslim Identity During a Time of Tension: Inside an American Islamic School,” *Journal of School Choice* 14, 3 (2020): pp. 519–521; Latifah Abdul Majid et al., “The Contribution of Islamic Education in Strengthening Malay Identity,” *Journal of Applied Sciences Research* 8, 8 (2012): pp. 4322–4327; Tedi Priatna, “Students’ Identity Formation: A Case Study of Integrated Islamic Schooling in Indonesia,” *International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology* 29, 3 (2020).

⁹ Safrul Muluk et al., “Developing Generic Skills at an Islamic Higher Education Institution Curriculum in Aceh, Indonesia,” *Higher Education, Skills and Work-based Learning* 9, 3 (2019).

¹⁰ Jack R. Fraenkel, *How to Teach about Values: An Analytic Approach*, VII. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990).

¹¹ Farid Panjwani, “Agreed Syllabi and Un-Agreed Values: Religious Education and Missed Opportunities for Fostering Social Cohesion,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 53, 3 (2005): pp. 375–393.

¹² Charleen Tan, “Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia,” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 14 (2014): pp. 47–62.

¹³ Tan, “‘Our Shared Values’ in Singapore: A Confusion Perspective.”

the communal aspect of the Catholic faith and the mission of the church.¹⁴

Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the national education system encourages Islamic educational institutions, including *pesantren*, to construct and actively promote a vision of national educational values for the students. Some fear that traditional *pesantren* will lose their identities or characteristics if they no longer emphasise on religious education based on the sources of Islamic teaching (*kitab kuning*). At the same time, the demand to adopt general education curriculum has attracted some *pesantren* to implement new educational programs. This paper seeks to clarify the relationship between shared values and the identity of traditional *pesantren*. It then seeks to answer two points: (a) the shared values practiced by the traditional *pesantren*; (b) the way shared values are engaged with the educational identity of *pesantren*.

This paper is expected to promote a better understanding of how shared values are constructed by traditional *pesantren*. It can provide new insights on the understanding of the traditional *pesantren* identity in the contemporary context because there are still misperceptions among the societies on the educational model of traditional *pesantren*, for example the label of conservative, incomprehensive, and orthodox. For example, Talbani¹⁵ views that traditional education goes against modernisation and uphold secularism and consumerism values.

In this context *pesantren* persists in the traditional system and are proud of it, they have their own way of transforming, managing and mobilising the members of the *pesantren* organisation with the spirit of building independence, especially in the teaching content and funding. In short, the education model of *pesantren* throughout Indonesia are diverse, each of them has their own uniqueness and identity. They create, manage, and develop their own educational institutions in their own way. This paper reveals that through *pesantren* traditional, these muslim community has significant role for maintaining original identity of Indonesian Islamic educational institution.

This research employs a qualitative study with in-depth interviews and observations to obtain primary data and some *pesantren* magazines

¹⁴ Marian Hobbie, John Convey, and Merylann Schuttloffel, "The Impact of Catholic School Identity and Organizational Leadership on the Vitality of Catholic Elementary Schools," *Journal of Catholic Education* 14, 1 (2010).

¹⁵ Aziz Talbani, "Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education," *Comparative Education Review* 40, 1 (1996): pp. 66–82.

as secondary data. The observation was conducted in Pesantren Sidogiri, Pasuruan, East Java. It employs ethnographic method to explore the conception and practices of *pesantren* in East Java with regards to the shared values and identity of *pesantren*. Le Compte and Schensul¹⁶ point out that ethnography is an approach to learning about social and cultural life of communities, institutions and other settings. Data were collected with the following methods: observation, interview, and documentation. Furthermore, triangulation was used to strengthen the research findings.¹⁷ Besides, data are also collected from relevant sources, such as articles, the *pesantren* newsletters, website and the *pesantren* media report.

The Relation between Shared Values and the Educational Identity of Traditional *Pesantren*

Identity is our understanding of who we are and other people's understanding of themselves and others (which include us). It is a very practical matter, synthesizing relationship of similarity and difference. The outcome is agreement and disagreement, and at least in principle always negotiable, identification is not fixed.¹⁸ Referring to the definition, traditional *pesantren* is also called as *pesantren salaf*, which refers to *pesantren* that focuses on learning religious teachings with classical books.¹⁹ Therefore, identity is highly needed to achieve the educational goals.²⁰

This study explores the extent, in which shared values play roles in strengthening the identity of traditional *pesantren*. Firstly, the identity of *pesantren* will be examined as an institution implementing Islamic

¹⁶ JJ Le Compte, M & Schensul, *Designing and Conducting Ethnography Research* (Walnut Creek: Altamara Press, 1999).

¹⁷ Norman K. dan Yvonna S. Lincoln Denzin, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 2009); MB Miles and AM Huberman, "Miles and Huberman," *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, 2014.

¹⁸ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition : A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" (1980), accessed November 28, 2022, <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/11271>.

²⁰ Zulkifli, "Education, Identity, and Recognition: E Shi'i Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 21, 1 (2014): pp. 77–108; Tan, "'Our Shared Values' in Singapore: A Confusion Perspective"; Hobbie, Convey, and Schuttloffel, "The Impact of Catholic School Identity and Organizational Leadership on the Vitality of Catholic Elementary Schools."

education system and community services. In this part, the shared values believed to increase togetherness in realising the ideal vision of the *pesantren* and to maintain the original identity of the traditional Islamic education model will be explored.

As a traditional Islamic education system, the main activities in *pesantren* are learning and teaching or maintaining Islamic scientific traditions. According to Azra,²¹ the main identity of *pesantren*, historically refers to the initial intention behind the establishment of *pesantren*, which comprises three main roles: as an institution for the transmission of Islamic knowledge, as an institution for maintaining Islamic traditions, and as an institution for reproduction of *ulama*. Based on its roles, the world of *pesantren* is the world of science, which is applying and preserving the inheritance of knowledge; and educating the '*ulama*', the Muslim clerics. Meanwhile, other scholars²² argue that the identity of *pesantren* is generally more focused on the education system. In this case, the identity of *pesantren* consists of three aspects; (1) religious ethics values of *pesantren*; (2) education system, and (3) teaching materials which are manifested in daily life of the students.²³ In addition, dealing with globalisation Islamic educational institutions is characterised by three unique attributes: curriculum integration; memorisation and critical analysis in knowledge construction; significant roles of extra-curricular activities.²⁴

Traditional *pesantren* has shared their values of regulating relationships among *kiai* (Muslim clerics) teachers, students, alumni, and communities surrounding of the *pesantren*. These traditions are maintained collectively, with their culture central to educational and social affairs as well as the ideology of particular religious school of thoughts. In this sense, *pesantren* as an Islamic educational institution is believed to be based on values and norms that have long been established, strongly rooted in the *pesantren* community and the

²¹ Azyumardi Azra, "Islamic Thought; Theory, Concept, and Doctrines in the Context of Southeast Islam," in *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2005), pp. 3–21.

²² Abdullah Syukri Zarkasyi, "Langkah Pengembangan Pesantren," in *Rekonstruksi Pendidikan Dan Tradisi Pesantren: Religiusitas Iptek* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012).

²³ Raihani, "Report on Multicultural Education in Pesantren," *Compare* 42, 4 (2012): pp. 585–605.

²⁴ G Daun, H and Walfrod, *Educational Strategies Among Muslim in the Context of Globalisation: Some National Case Studies* (Netherland: Brill NV, 2004).

surrounding societies.²⁵ *Pesantren* is known to be a populist educational institution that serve communities, especially those from the remote ones because most *pesantren* are located in the villages.²⁶ It is estimated that 78,05% of *pesantren* are located around the villages or rural areas, and 24% are located around the urban areas. The students also generally come from villages, the populist and entrenched nature that other educational institutions may not have.²⁷ In addition, Wahid mentions three basic elements that build *pesantren* into a unique culture, namely: leadership patterns that stand independently and are outside the leadership of the village government; universal literatures that have been preserved for several centuries (classic books/yellow book); specific value system that is separated from that adopted by the community outside *pesantren*.²⁸

The first element is *kiai's* unique leadership.²⁹ The uniqueness appears in terms of their robustness from the actions on pre-modern traits, such as the relationship pattern of leaders and followers which is based more on belief.³⁰ Discussion of the *pesantren* values, according to Ridlwan Nasir,³¹ despite the shift in the values of *pesantren*, there are still some basic values maintained: first, good relations and mutual respect between teachers-students (*kiai-santri*). Student's respect (*ta'dim*) to their teachers is enormous. They believe that they will not be good and clever without them, and they will carry out their duties as a

²⁵ Ronald A. Lukens-Bull and Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java," *The Journal of Asian Studies* (2000).

²⁶ Bambang Budiwiranto, "Pesantren and Participatory Development: The Case of the Pesantren Maslakul Huda of Kajen, Pati, Central Java," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 3, 2 (2009): pp. 267–296.

²⁷ Ahmad Ali Riyadi, "Respon Pesantren Terhadap Perubahan Sosial Politik Di Indonesia," *Hermania* 3, 1 (2004).

²⁸ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999), 14.

²⁹ Arifin et al., "Islamic Crash Course as a Leadership Strategy of School Principals in Strengthening School Organizational Culture."

³⁰ Hanafi et al., "The New Identity of Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools in the 'New Normal': The Education Leadership Response to COVID-19"; Rahtikawatie, Chalim, and Ratnasih, "Investigating The Role of Religious Leadership at Indonesia's Islamic Boarding Schools in The Sustainability of School Management."

³¹ Ridlwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005).

realisation of the mandate of Allah (God). Even, the relationship between students and *kiai* is not limited to science. The graduates still hold a relationship with *kiai* in terms of consultation related to religious law, life problems, asking for the blessing of *kiai* especially when they will have *walimatul arusy* (wedding reception) and *walimatul khitatan* (circumcision reception). Second, activities to organise the education is perceived as the implementation *Ta'abudi* (worship) to Allah. Therefore, education should be undertaken to get closer to God, sincere, and *ibtigha mardhatillah* (seeking the blessing of Allah). Third, the view that students learn essentially to gain the knowledge and not to hunt a diploma or a job, and learning is taken all the time, from the birth to the death. The fourth is upholding the significance of simple living and hard work as well as fostering and developing high solidarity in people's lives and participatory local economic development and societal development.³²

The Identity and Shared Values of Traditional *Pesantren*

It is helpful to introduce the shared values in the traditional *pesantren* of Sidogiri, East Java. The shared values are called as the six points of awareness (*al wa'iyat al sittun*), proposed since the early development of the *pesantren*. The values are mainly for share to all community of the *pesantren*, regardless of students or the *santri*, teachers, and all family members of *kiai*. For this purpose, the *pesantren* already published a magazine under the title *al-Wa'yu* (the awareness). In addition to the students, the program *Tauiyat* also lies within its development, intended for society beyond the *pesantren*. This is established with the Bulletin publication, *Tau'iyah*, since January 1, 2006. The Bulletin has been distributed free to pilgrims at 67 mosques in East Java, Central Jawa, and West Java with a circulation of 11,000 copies per an edition. Along with advancement of information of technology, the *pesantren* Sidogiri has a bulletin website for spreading shared values.³³ It mainly reveals that any programs of the *Pesantren* Sidogiri must adhere to the basic principles of the shared values, which consist of the following main principles:

³² Ridwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005); Budiwiranto, "Pesantren and Participatory Development: The Case of the Pesantren Maslakul Huda of Kajen, Pati, Central Java."

³³ <https://annajahsidogiri.id/kategori/publikasi/buletin-tauiyah/> accessed on November 10, 2022

The awareness to embrace the religious values (al wa'iyat al diny)

In this value, the *santri* and other communities of the *pesantren* should attach themselves to the religious ways of life. Therefore, their behavior must be based on religious teachings. In this point of view, the attitude of every party in the *pesantren* should be consulted to the religious values. Having such awareness, it seems they will be aware, they have responsibilities related to their deeds before God. Therefore, this is seen as a basic awareness that leads to other awareness.

These values are believed not to change, and they should be maintained. Therefore, for the *santri*, studying at *Pesantren Sidogiri* is intended for not only getting a diploma. This explained by the chairman of Sidogiri Boarding School:

Pesantren Sidogiri, since its establishment to date, still firmly holds the values of traditional education, *ablus Sunnah wa al jamaab*. Pesantren Sidogiri in responding to any current phenomena and problems, especially social and religious issues, always refer to the teachings of the former *ulama*. These principles become the guide of the *pesantren* in its governance. These values are also the foundation and spirit in the application of three functions of the *pesantren*, namely as institutions of *tafaqub fi al-din*, as an institution of preparation and training for scholars and social institutions.

Referring to the excerpt, it is clear how shared values are always associated with the norms of the previous generation. All scientific developments should be consulted with the former values and norms. In this context, the researchers also feel the strength of their efforts to instil shared values in the context of the tradition of being aware of religious values. In the first week of conducting the study, the researchers received advices and information from the senior students to follow the values and norms of the *pesantren*. The *pesantren* board demonstrated about religious traditions that everyone entering the *pesantren* area were advised to go on a pilgrimage to the grave of the *pesantren* founder, before starting the activity. One their view, the pilgrimage can bring God's blessings to the activities.

The awareness to seek knowledge (al wa'iyat al 'ilmy)

This kind of awareness refers to the belief that the *pesantren* communities should be aware that significant amount of time should

be devoted to look for knowledge is not considered lost time. In other words, once somebody becomes *santri*, he/she is aware that knowledge, in Islamic concept, is broad. In this sense, a holistic approach to learning should be implemented and the concept of religious and secular learning is not undertaken. With this scientific awareness, the *Pesantren* Sidogiri seeks to innovate in their own way and carefully (cautious policy), which does not follow the curriculum of the Indonesian government. The innovation aims to develop sustainable learning innovations while still referring to scientific values and norms that have become a scientific tradition of the *pesantren*.

For the sake of innovation, the researchers found at least four held in *Pesantren* Sidogiri: Quantum Teaching, Quantum Learning, Vision and mission of educational institutions, as well as SISJIAN (exam system).³⁴ *Pesantren* Sidogiri, although it is *salaf*, or the traditional type of *pesantren*, it envisions to follow the development of modern learning technology. As the following expression:

Pesantren Sidogiri is a place to learn, practice, and serve. Therefore, the teaching material held by *pesantren*, in our point of view, views positively on the part of innovation that should be implemented following the times. But still we decide which ones goes following the *santri's* values, norms and ethics. We take the positive sides, which are in accordance with the prevailing values in *Pesantren* Sidogiri.

In addition to the curriculum innovation, the *pesantren* also innovated in the form of three expertise programs for the students. The program is called *mu'amalah* (economics), *da'wah* (communication), and *tarbiyah* (education). *Mu'amalah* is a program which trains its *santri* in modern economic systems, particularly Islamic economic ideas. *Da'wah* is the program that trains communication skills of the students. In addition, *Tarbiyah*, the program prepares students to be innovative teachers as well as skillful in educational management. These three innovations represent new forms of education in the traditional Indonesian *pesantren*. In this sense, proving that although identity of traditional institutions, but *pesantren* have the awareness to innovate to meet the needs and challenges of the current and future times.

³⁴ *Taqirir Mas'ul Ma'had Sanawiyah* (Annual Report of *Pesantren* Sidogiri, 1425-1426), p. 9

Within the perspective of *pesantren*, the orientation of educational goals can be shifted if Pesantren Sidogiri changes the main material of study in the education system. This orientation shift should not occur in the traditional Sidogiri. The *pesantren* does not use the curriculum from the state either from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) or from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). *Pesantren* Sidogiri signs its education curriculum "*curriculum salaf and Ablussunnab*". The materials taught are dominated by the study of the classical textbooks, which are called the *mu'tabarab* book or the work of medieval scholars. The fiqh material uses the *Shafi'i* school book, except at the *Aliyah*, secondary level which also uses the Hanafi, Maliki and Hambali school fiqh.³⁵

It is interesting that to maintain the values of the *pesantren* dogma, it has several papers used as the main study of the students of the *pesantren*. Papers are written in Arabic and some are composed in Indonesian. One of the books in Arabic is *al Ma'man min Al-Dhalalah*. This book was written by the former Sidogiri boarding school caregiver, KH. A. Nawawi Abd. Jalil. Another book is titled "*Di Manakah Allah?*". This book was written in Indonesian, an article collection from religious questions and answers in Sidogiri Bulletin Magasine.

Furthermore, the perspective of the *Pesantren* Sidogiri communities that gaining knowledge is not solely because it is determined by the intelligence, the methodology accuracy and sincerity to achieve, but also depends on the purity of the heart, the blessing of the teachers, and various other ritual efforts, such as fasting, *sholat*, prayer and others.³⁶ According to Ustadz Abid, in principle, *pesantren* Sidogiri cling to the salaf curriculum, yet it is always interested in science development outside the *pesantren*. The following is the statement of the chairman of Batartama (Badan tarbiyah wa ta'lim or curricula division), "the curriculum does not follow the Ministry of Religion or the Ministry of Education. Sidogiri is not anti-formal education, but we believe that the curriculum has been in accordance with the expectations and values of beliefs taught by our previous teachers."³⁷

³⁵ *Taqrir Mas'ulil Ma'had Sanawiyah*, (Pasuran: Pesantren Sidogiri, 1424-1425), p. 25.

³⁶ Interview with Abdul Hamid, Sidogiri, June 19, 2022

³⁷ Interview with Ustadz Sholeh, Sidogiri, July 5, 2022

The awareness to organise (al wa'iyat al nidamy)

In this sense, the santri and other parties in the *pesantren* should be aware of participation, involvement, support in the structure of the *pesantren* organisation. Being involved in the organisation, the santri believe that they can contribute in solving educational management problems. Pesantren Sidogiri makes efforts to build positive interaction and communication in the *pesantren* management organisation. The term of positive interaction in this study is the life of organisational awareness with values of togetherness (*al ukhawah*), sincerity, togetherness, mutual assistance, and *kbhusnudon*. This aspect of organisational awareness mainly appears in three dimensions, which are the formation of the family council, the spirit of devotion, and network. In this context, Pesantren Sidogiri is still able to offer and show the noble and commendable values and actions in the governance.

The governance of Sidogiri by the chairman has successfully formulated a family council, supported by *ustadz*, and the *pesantren* boards. The family council is an effort to involve the management of the *pesantren* organisation by involving the descendants (*dzuriyat*) of the founder. Therefore, with the formation of the family council, there is no any single authority with absolute power because the authority belongs to the members of the family council. Therefore, the leadership pattern of the *pesantren* is collective leadership. It is supported by the following excerpt from the staff:

The role and duties of the *pesantren* in the currently era keep increasing in terms of the challenges and complexity. Therefore, the *pesantren* endeavors to form the educational leadership that combines charismatic leadership and modern management. The *pesantren* management focuses on planning, organising, implementing and monitoring. As an implication, the management of the organisation does not solely depend on *kiai*, but it is based on the division of authority responsibilities reflected in the organisational structure of the family council

With the family council (*majlis keluarga*), it seems that the management of the *pesantren* always imbued with the spirit of kinship (*al-ukhawah al islamiyah*), togetherness and belief in worship and spreading knowledge, especially religious sciences (*ulumuddin*). Based on the observation (participatory observation), the researchers found that the *ustadz* and the administrators feel very proud and comfortable

to teach, and show the spirit of serving in the *pesantren*. It is evidenced by the long dedication (*istiqomah*), love and loyalty to the institution in advance. There seems to be a sense of pride in being a part of Pesantren Sidogiri, in dedication (*hidmah*) as either a teacher/*ustadz*, administrative staff, or board of *pesantren*. Therefore, they never apply or register to be a teacher/*ustadz* elsewhere and never question the amount of salary received. They are highly proud to be trusted or appointed by the *pesantren* to be *ustadz* or administrators. It can be understood from the following excerpt of the general treasurer:

They, the teachers/*ustadz* and the administrators, are selected by *kiai*. I am convinced when *kiai* and the family council select the students or alumni to be teachers and managers at this *pesantren*, they will not choose carelessly. They already must have made consideration and background knowledge of the students. If the students are ordered by *kiai*, they will be "*sami'na wa ata'na*", undertaking the order with pleasure. Yes, there is an attitude of *ta'dim*. A sense of pleasure can get a chance *hidmah* (showing gratitude), and *ngalap barakah* (blessing) when they are requested to be teachers or administrators. In regards with the salary or *bisarah*, I believe they do not have any motivation for that. I feel I never lack of money. Alhamdulillah, my farms are always harvested. When other farms are damaged, surprisingly mine are still fertile. I am sure it is due to the blessing I gain from serving in the *pesantren*.

The awareness to live with people or to socialise (al wa'iyat al ijtima'iy)

Besides being aware of the organisation, they also hold the principle of living together with other people who may come from different backgrounds. In other words, the *pesantren* and the *santri* should be aware of the community needs in a wide scope. In this context, the *pesantren* is also expected to contribute to solve the social problems or social transformations, such as problems like poverty. Therefore, the *pesantren* establishes a cooperative to help improve the welfare of residents around the *pesantren*. And at the same time, it indirectly becomes a means of training for students to be able to serve in the community and practice *syariah* economics. At first, the awareness comes from the phenomenon in the surrounding society, where people are trapped in the practice of usury, as stated in the excerpt below:

[at the beginning, the awareness departs from the teachers, who see that the community around the *pesantren* get trapped in the practice of usury. It happens when people get money loans from lenders. By then we realize that we must contribute to solve the social problems in the society]

For this purpose, the *pesantren* established an LAZ Sidogiri (amil zakat institution). This institution was founded by a family council (*majlis keluarga*), on June 8, 2006. The main program of LAZ is the collection, distribution, and empowerment of *zakat*, *infaq* and *sadaqah*. The funds collected were distributed to those entitled to receive them (*mustahiq*), which were initially intended for the community around the *pesantren*, and have now expanded to around 23 regions throughout Indonesia. LAZ's main program is a form of the *pesantren* concern for humanity through various programs: education, social, health, and economic empowerment. Along with the development of LAZ showing progress, the Indonesian Zakat House Foundation (*Yayasan Rumah Zakat Indonesia*) in 2015 invited cooperation by making partners to carry out social and humanitarian programs (*Unit Rumah Zakat*).

Table 1. Amil Zakat Institution Program for community needs

Programs	The form of programs
Education affairs	Scholarship Education for orphans and dhua'fa' Scholarship for outstanding children Improvement of Human Resources (teachers) Assignment of teachers in remote areas
Health affairs	Health Free medical services Mass circumcision Blood donors Free ambulance service
Economy affairs	Economy Business capital assistance for the poor HR training in the field of entrepreneurship Entrepreneurial assistance
Environment affairs	Free construction of toilets Greening (planting productive trees) Planting 1000 trees Spreading fish seeds

The awareness to be a part of the nation (al wa'iyat al hukumy wa al sya'by)

This awareness becomes a jargon of love for Indonesia. In this context, loving the country is perceived to be a part of religious teachings. The spirit must be attached to the *santri* and community character. Therefore, the *santri* should have awareness and responsibility to the development of Indonesia. *Pesantren* expects the form of a unitary state to be well maintained. Historically, the *pesantren* has proved to play a role according to the times. There is no doubt about the role of *pesantren* in defending the country and building Indonesia as a lot of figures are born from *pesantren*. Since the pre-independence, *pesantren* have become an integral part of the struggle for independence in Indonesia. *Pesantren* has been a place to develop the attitude and courage to fight for the truth and independence of the nation.³⁸

Pesantren does not only teach the way of reciting and exploring religion, but also the spirit of defending the country. It becomes a buffer to defend Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and NKRI. The spirit is certainly based on deep thinking about how to build a country that agrees with the plural and multicultural Indonesian State (*al-ukhuwah al wathoniyah*). The *pesantren* teaches about the attitude of *tasamuh*, *tawassuth* and *tawazun*. The students are taught to be tolerant, moderate and balanced. Islam is not understood from the context of violence but from the dimension of peace. The three attitudes will create the views and attitudes of the students not to act violently in the life of the nation and society. Therefore, the *pesantren* categorically rejects the idea of uniting a single Islamic caliphate, as initiated by transnational Islamic movements, such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Violence action in the name of religion will only damage the image of Islam. Terrorism will also only break the image of Islam as a religion of safety and peace (interview M). This idea supported by other staff of the *pesantren*:

“The task of the Muslim community is not physical war, but to combat poverty and other social problems such as malnutrition, providing housing, clothes and medical assistance for the needy people. The purpose of this task should not only be for Muslims, but also for all people who live in the same community”.

³⁸ Abd Rachman, “The Pesantren Architects and Their Socioreligious Teachings (1850-1950),” *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 1997.

The awareness of self-reliance in education funding (al wa'iyat al istiqlaly fi tamwil al ta'lim)

Sidogiri has the spirit of self-reliance awareness in education funding. The policy in funding does not receive funding assistance from any party and take effort to be as independent as possible in the educational funding. Therefore, there is no intervention from other parties or from the Indonesian government, against the existence of *pesantren*. To maintain the independence, Sidogiri answers by having to have their own income by opening their own businesses or entrepreneurship. Starting in 1961, Kiai Sa'doellah Nawawie, at that time wanted the students to live independently, not dependent on the state. It was inseparable from the conditions at that time, where the diploma of Sidogiri students was local. They, in principle, are not prepared to become civil servants, so they must be able to become entrepreneurs.³⁹ Therefore, referring to the data, beliefs or values of independence in the education funding have existed at least since 1961, according to the following excerpt:

In 1961, Kiai So'dollah Nawawie gathered the students and ustadz, who are amounted to approximately 300 people to build business activities. They were requested a contribution of Rp 25, so the collected money was around Rp 750. The money was then used for activities to meet the needs of students daily. From there, an idea of Kopontren Sidogiri came up, with the principle” *santri, oleh santri dan untuk santri?*”

Furthermore, to encourage the institutional independence, Kopontren Sidogiri was established in 1961, on the idea of Kiai Sadoellah Nawawie. At the beginning of the establishment, they opened canteens and grocery stores. On July 15, 1997, they had a cooperative legal entity with a decree number: 44/BH/KWK.13/IX /1997. Therefore, the management of Kopontren Sidogiri is directly in the management of Pesantren Sidogiri. There are at least three visions of Kopontren Sidogiri: (1) to support Sidogiri income to be an independent *pesantren* in education funding; (2) to meet the needs of students and become a bridge of devotion for students; (3) to disseminate economic shari'ah in the real society, through the pattern of syar'i trade and transactions (eg: mudharabah or sharing profit,

³⁹ Interview with Abdullah Karim, Sidogiri, September 12, 2022

syirkah, syirkah al-inan (capital participation) and syirkah Al-wujuh (big name inclusion/influence), ijarah or rent, nadhar lajaj (royalty system).

The own businesses at *Pesantren Sidogiri* has demonstrated significant progress. The *Pesantren* has started to produce and sell drinking water in collaboration with an outside company (*Air Mineral Santri or drinking water*). The revenue from these business activities provides income to support the operation of the *pesantren*. Besides contributing to the independence of the *pesantren*, the *Koperasi Pondok Pesantren* (the *pesantren* cooperative) also offers learning experience opportunities for the students, particularly those who are studying *mua'amalah* (economics). These business activities run by the *pesantren* are managed by the *santri*, thus giving them an opportunity to experience practical training and business management. In short, the Sidogiri cooperative opened a new opportunity to get a job for the community. The case of *Pesantren Sidogiri* is also proof that even though the *pesantren* makes an effort to maintain the traditional identity, the *pesantren* is also able to deal with some aspect of self-reliance in education funding. As stated by *pesantren* staff:

“One of the important teaching values in *Pesantren Sidogiri* is self-reliance; it is based on prophet teachings: ‘self-reliance is the foundation to be successful’. Based on this principle, we work hard in order not to depend on others, society and even the Indonesian government. We have a slogan ‘we should contribute to this country’, therefore we think about what we should give to this country not what we should get from this country. The increasing number of worker can see it each year.

Referring to the shared values depicted from the six points of awareness (*al wa'iyat al sittun*), from the *pesantren* scope, *keiai* dan *santri* strive to create common principles for local community at the national level to change people’s mindsets regarding a lot of aspect of life in Indonesia, particularly in education. Public participation and shared values could assist in overcoming challenges and problems and the development of the *pesantren* while keeping its identity.

Table 2. Six dimensions of shared values for identity practice to keep the original identity of the *pesantren*

Dimension of Shared Values	Impact on the Pesantren Identity
The awareness to embrace the religious values (<i>al wa'iyat al dini</i>)	Ensuring religious knowledge (<i>tafaqub fi al diin</i>), religious texts, and the tradition of memorizing subjects

Dimension of Shared Values	Impact on the Pesantren Identity
The awareness to seek knowledge (<i>al wa'iyat al 'ilmy</i>)	remain the main value orientation of educational goals (<i>core values</i>) Providing and ensuring educational materials by rooting to scientific values and norms that have become a hereditary tradition
The awareness to organize (<i>al wa'iyat al nidamy</i>)	Designing and shaping the organizational structure of <i>pesantren</i> , involving members of the family assembly in decision making, the spirit of service and networking
The awareness to live with people or to socialize (<i>al wa'iyat al ijtima'iy</i>)	Preparing socio-economic programs needed by wider community, compensation for orphans, widows, and the poor
The awareness to be a part of the nation (<i>al wa'iyat al bukumy wa al sya'by</i>)	Ensuring students love the Republic of Indonesia in a multicultural frame
The awareness on the educational independence in funding (<i>al wa'iyat al istiqlaly fy tammil al ta'lim</i>)	Providing and ensuring financial support through <i>pesantren</i> -owned business entities (cooperatives); Ensuring affordable education costs with no dependency on the funding from the government or the Republic of Indonesia

From the previous data, the article argues that shared values have an essential role in maintaining the original identity of the *pesantren*. Shared values have implications for independence and creativity in managing the essence of such institutions, including in the policy model of the education system and education funding. The research findings also reveal that designing shared values for educational organisation members is believed to contribute actively to the cohesion of educational institutions, especially in efforts to mobilise the organisational members to realise the vision of an educational institution. Shared values interfere with the *pesantren* organisation. Therefore, the shared values must be well defined so that human resources become aware of and understand the potential and support that must be given to the organisation.

Shared Values in Maintaining the Identity of the *Pesantren*

This study explores the shared values and identity of traditional *pesantren* amid the trend in developing Islamic education. The fundamental aspect is understanding the way the traditional *pesantrens* shows the ability to survive amid the onslaught of educational modernisation.⁴⁰ Shared values affect the sustainability of *pesantren* education identity, emphasising the religious teaching, independence in the curriculum and funding.

The shared values in Sidogiri imply on the efforts to maintain the identity of the *pesantren* as an educational institution based on the teaching materials of religious values. It mainly refers to the function of *pesantren* as a religious institution and the mission as well as vision of *pesantren*, which aims to prepare the students to be theologians and Muslim scholars.⁴¹ Here are the implications of shared values on the identity of the *pesantren*.

Teaching greater emphasis on Islamic knowledge and independence in the curriculum

Historically, the shared value of *Pesantren* Sidogiri is built by the pioneers (*muasis*) of the *pesantren*, which is a philosophy behind its establishment. Subsequently, the educational philosophy becomes a part of an inseparable personality between the caregivers, students, teachers, and even the society around the *pesantren*. The *pesantren* is established to prepare the students who have solid religious knowledge based on *taqwa*, which is referred to the education philosophy of *Pesantren* Sidogiri.

Referring to the awareness to embrace the religious values (*al wa'iyat Al diny*) and the awareness to seek knowledge (*Al wa'iyat al ' ilmy*), development of religious science (*tafaqub fi al dyn*) and the tradition of memorising the material are the core values of the *pesantren*, which are maintained to date. The shared values are believed not to change and must be maintained as the identity of *pesantren*.⁴² Therefore, studying at

⁴⁰ Zarkasyi, "Imam Zarkasyi's Modernization of *Pesantren* in Indonesia: (A Case Study of Darussalam Gontor)"; Tan, "Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia."

⁴¹ Azra, "Islamic Thought; Theory, Concept, and Doctrines in the Context of Southeast Islam"

⁴² Deviana Fadhillatie Azizah and Marzuki Marzuki, "Strengthening Disciplined Character Education in Modern Islamic Boarding School Assalaam Surakarta During The Covid-19 Pandemic," *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious*

Sidogiri does not only aim to receive a diploma but also to be faithful. Sidogiri has a vision and mission of educating and preparing students, the condition with the content of religious science values. All core of knowledge delivered in Sidogiri is always based on the religious literatures (*turath/yellow book*). They do not adopt the curriculum from Indonesian government to maintain the original identity of traditional the *pesantren*. It is a good idea to make more emphasis on the principle of *maslahah*, by not breaking the prevailing scientific tradition of Sidogiri which is believed to be good (*al qodim al-shalih*). For *Pesantren* Sidogiri, the concept of curriculum innovation does not necessarily displace scientific traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. As an implication, the identity as a traditional *pesantren* is well maintained.

With the shared value, Sidogiri strives with full confidence and pride to maintain the typology and scientific tradition of traditional *pesantren*. With the shared values about the nature of santri, Sidogiri becomes the institution of transmission of religious sciences and regeneration of scholars'. Furthermore, with reference to the nature of students, Sidogiri also serves as an educational institution based on the tradition of scientific teachings of *abl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*.

Independence in educational funding

In terms of funding, the *pesantren* implements independence-based policies. All funding comes from the revenue of the *pesantren*, and it refuses financial support from the state. Not only the principle of independence, Sidogiri also seeks to make affordable education for all societies regardless of their social backgrounds. Therefore, Sidogiri run its own business unit or *Koperasi Pondok Pesantren* (Kopontren) which pursues a variety of successful and independent businesses. The business activities of Kopontren run well, and it is believed to be able to completely support the finance of *pesantren*. The governance of the *pesantren* education financing becomes independent, it is free from any interests and political forces. Therefore, any assistance from the state is not accepted. As the implication, the financing of Sidogiri also known as affordable *pesantren* for all levels of society, as stated by the Treasurer:⁴³

Understanding 8, 10 (2021): p. 426; Azyumardi Azra, *Esai-Esai Intelektual Muslim* (Jakarta: Logos, 1989).

⁴³ Interview with Masykuri, Sidogiri, June 20, 2022

The reason why Sidogiri does refuse financial assistance from the government is that we want to be a good educational institution, so the *pesantren* should not depend on the state in terms of funding. Let the government assist the other institutions in need. *Alhamdulillah*, we can support our educational activities and other social services. Let us support our institutions on our own, without any help from the government. In addition, the tuition in the *pesantren* is very affordable for all levels of society.

The consistency of Sidogiri to be independent in education funding appears in Sidogiri's policy of refusing assistance, such as government financial support for school operation (BOS) and the support of (Learning Assistance Program for Islamic School (LAPIS), a forum of AuSAid organisations engaged in the development of the Islamic education system, as stated in the following excerpt:⁴⁴

In 2006, Brian Spicer, representative of LAPIS (offered a proposal of assistance programs for Sidogiri. At that time, the daily administrator discussed about LAPIS's proposal and decided an agreement to accept the assistance. The decision of the daily administrator meeting was then submitted to the family council (*majelis keluarga*). Furthermore, after going through deliberation and consultation with the Family Council, the decision was finally made not to accept the program from LAPIS

In relation to the refusal, the authors attempt to identify the meaning of the rejection. Referring to the norms and values of Sidogiri, here is one of the statements expressed by the Board of Pesantren:⁴⁵

“Basically, it has long been a tradition of Pesantren Sidogiri, to be careful in receiving financial assistance from the government. Yes, basically, religious teachings have given guidance, for example in l-Hadith there is no better food than one's own hard-earned food. Indeed, the prophet ate from his own sweat”,⁴⁶ we can say that this teaching is recommended to be an independent person”

⁴⁴ Interview with Abdullah Karim, Sidogiri, June 22, 2022

⁴⁵ Interview with Khudori Abdul Karim, Sidogiri, July 15, 2022.

⁴⁶ Abi Isa Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Saurah, *Sunan al Tirmidzi*, vol. 5 (Egypt: Maktabah Mustofa Bab al Halaby wa Auladuh, 1975).

Innovation in Policy and Recognition of Pesantren Certificate from the Government

Although it does not follow the state curriculum, the *pesantren* makes innovation in three expertise programs for the students, which are *mu'amalah* (economics), *da'wah* (communication), and *tarbiyah* (education). It never happened in the past in the intellectual tradition of traditional *pesantren*. It is interesting even though the innovation is on careful consideration, which does not merge in the national education system. Innovation is made based on benefit values, not to get the legality of a formal diploma from the state. However, with the reputation, the system gains social recognition and trust. As the implication is that since 2006, the diploma of Pesantren Sidogiri got a legal status from the government. The issuance of the decree of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially at the level of Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Madrasah Aliyah. Interestingly, *Pesantren* Sidogiri never submits a proposal to the Ministry of Religious Affairs in order to get their recognition. However, *mu'adalah* is a recognition policy from the state to the status of Sidogiri diploma. The status granting the phenomenon of *mu'adalah* for *pesantren salaf* is interesting because the status is a gift from the government. As a consequence, *Pesantren* Sidogiri committed to stick to the existing learning system, so it does not change the learning system as the common learning models in the traditional *pesantren*.

In regard with the phenomenon in *Pesantren* Sidogiri, it goes into three functions: first, the transmission function of Islamic knowledge; the second, maintenance of the Islamic tradition; the third, reproduction of 'ulama.⁴⁷ Therefore, the world of *pesantren* is the world of Science, pursuing and preserving the inheritance of knowledge at the same time; and producing the bearers of knowledge called the scholars'.

Pesantren Sidogiri can consistently survive to maintain the identity as a traditional *pesantren* and at the same time it also shows a good achievement in the management of the institution. It still survive in one governance management with the establishment of the family councils, independence in the learning system and independence of education financing. Furthermore, it is also evidenced by the development of educational services or innovation in its own way,

⁴⁷ Azra, *Esai-Esai Intelektual Muslim*.

which is not common in typology of the traditional *pesantren*. In this case, it does not follow the education system of Indonesia.

Conclusion

This study shows that traditional *pesantren* has become a specific community based on socio-culture, and at the same time it builds an independent education system movement in terms of teaching materials, funding, and organisational networks. Interestingly, although it maintains a traditional identity, it does not mean stagnant. It develops in its own way, which means innovation on its own because the shared values and religious scientific traditions have become a comprehension and belief deeply rooted among the community. In this sense, traditional *pesantren* also poses a prominent role in maintaining the identity of traditional Islamic values in East Java Indonesia. In brief, the shared values primarily implemented to build a positive interaction emphasises three identities: diversity in teaching religious and character values, independence in educational funding, and independence in the learning design or curriculum.

In the context of funding, the synergy among the community, the surrounding society, and the alumni appears in the field of not only education and socioreligious services but also in the socio-economic. Therefore, the *pesantren* is not financially dependent on the support from the state. It responds to the needs and expectations of the society. It has their own strategies to face the social challenges and modernity because its effectiveness in holding people to participate in education funding cannot be separated from particular values, such as independence (the awareness of self-reliance in education funding) and brotherhood (*al-ukhuwah al-Islamiyah*) and social worship (*al waiyat al ijtima'iyah*).

In the aspect of curriculum, the *pesantren* puts an emphasis on religious learning and applies it carefully (*cautious policy*) in innovation. It focuses more on the principle of *maslahah* (public good), by not destroying the scientific tradition of *pesantren*. Therefore, the existing educational goals are considered good (*al qodim al sholih*), and they must be preserved. For Sidogiri, the concept of innovation does not necessarily replace the scientific tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation, it can maintain the identity as a traditional *pesantren*. This study is limited to the traditional Islamic

education in East Java that further research involving *pesantren* outside Java is highly recommended. []

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