THE DYNAMICS OF PESANTREN
Responses toward Modernity and Mechanism in Organizing Transformation

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Abstract: The development of pesantren from time to time illustrates its significant role within communities. Its dynamic development appears clearly as a result of its ability to adapt into the external condition. Its communities are well-known with their social skills in dealing with external culture that comes from all types of challenges coming from outside. Pesantren has an internal mechanism to adapt into a new trend, due to the development of its function and differentiation. The empirical experiences show the ability of four imperative functions of pesantren, namely: high ability to adapt into the external world, wide-ranging goal achievement, integrative ability of unifying the unique aspects of pesantren as sub-culture, and ability in preserving the pesantren’s tradition with the principle “maintaining the old good tradition and gaining a new better tradition”. Differentiation mechanism is a gradual transformation process of pesantren that causes the steady increase of new units within it to perform their functions more effectively. This response leads to various models of pesantren.

Keywords: Pesantren’s Functions, Adaptation, Goal Achievement, Integration, Latency, and Differentiation.

Introduction

Islamic boarding school (henceforth called pesantren) is an Islamic educational institution that possesses high ability to adapt with the expansion of the age. This condition enables the pesantren to keep its existence up until now. The pesantren proves to be able to exist in the community, since it has two strengths. First, it is a model of archaic
community-based management, in which its life has been supported and developed by the community that owns it. Second, it possesses a freedom climate to conduct adaptation and adjustment with the development and demand of the era, so that it experiences an increasing development. Expression of freedom that occurs within the pesantren environment leads itself to be creative and has a tendency of proliferation in type and system. Third, the pesantren has accommodative tradition towards any kind of development.

As a model of archaic community-based management, the pesantren, especially in rural area, is managed by the community funds and cannot be separated from the responsibility and participation of the community. The management of pesantren is a form of community-based education. Its patterns and characteristics are the form of the community’s responsibility toward education. The community has supported its life. This community-based management leads pesantren to have been able to survive up to now.

Observing the development of pesantren from time to time, it shows that the existence of pesantren in this current modernity competition is still significant. Pesantren historically had played its role as defensive fort against colonialism. Today, pesantren still serves as a home-base for younger generation to gain life skills in order to maintain their existence within the community. The existence of pesantren up to now proves its success in responding to the challenge of the era.

This paper is an attempt to examine pesantren’s responses towards ideas of transformation. The transformation is a significant issue for pesantren, as it becomes a basis for this Islamic school in responding to modernity. Transformation itself refers in this context to two key words, adaptation and accommodation. How does a pesantren execute adaptation and accommodation? To understand the adaptation and accommodation mechanism of pesantren, the writer pays attention to its development by relating its responses towards modernity within education. Mechanism is a way to cope with various challenges toward life attitude that is more harmonious with real necessity of pesantren community in this modern era.

In order to come more closely to the analysis of pesantren’s responses towards ideas of transformation above, the paper, however, starts with an exploration of the historical survey and sociological experiences of its development in Indonesia. This historical-
sociological overview plays an important role in bringing a better understanding of the dynamics of pesantren across the periods. What follows afterwards is the discussion of challenges of modernity facing pesantren and the responses of this kind of Islamic school to them.

**Pesantren in the Transformation and Continuity: Between Islamism and “Local Genius” of Indonesia**

The ability of pesantren in maintaining its existence is an undeniable fact. So far, the organized tradition of pesantren is a continuity of Indonesian local genius. According to Nurcholish Madjid, pesantren is not only identical with Islamic sense, but also identical with the “local genius” of Indonesia, because the similar institution has existed since the period of Hinduism-Buddhism, Islam just continued and Islamized the existing institution.1

The “local genius” of pesantren, as described by Pigeaud, is authentically derived from the community which was said to have located in a remote mountain. It represented pre-Islamic institution, such as lodge and dormitory.2 Similar to Pigeaud, Manfred Ziemek argues that pesantren is a pre-Islamic institution that has been organized for many centuries.3 Meanwhile, according to Madjid, pesantren has a historical relationship with pre-Islamic institution. The similar institution like pesantren actually had existed since the period of Hindu-Buddhism; Islam simply continued and Islamized the existing institution at that moment.4 This theoretical proposition is supported by Denis Lombard by arguing that pesantren has the continuity of pre-Islamic religious institution since there are similarities between both of them.5

The existence of historical relationship between the pesantren and the religious institutions of Hindu-Buddhism had begun since the

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4 Madjid, “Merumuskan Kembali,” p. 3
assimilation of cultural elements of pre-Islamic education system with the \textit{pesantren} system. The Muslim preachers did not only spread the Islamic teaching in the towns along the north coast of Java, but also entered more deeply into the rural areas and opened out the farming land. They lived a wealthy life in the new place and in turn competed with the priests and scholars of Hindu-Buddhism. After the Islamic Kingdom of Demak was established, the ruler of Demak assigned Muslim preachers to reach a number of locations for propagating Islam. Among them was Ki Gede Pandan Arang who was assigned to spread out Islam to rural area of southern part of Central Java. He then stayed in Tembayat Village and gathered his scholars from Demak and established an educational institution there later on. Analyzing the site in which Sunan Tembayat or Ki Gede Pandan Arang established his teaching center, some similarities were found with old steps and the archaeologists predict that the site was a pre-Islamic worshipping area that was conquered, then dominated and occupied as a center to spread out Islam to various parts of Java. When Sultan Agung from Mataram was in rule, Tembayat still maintained this place as an Islamic center. Tembayat still had several other Muslim prominent figures who rebelled against the Mataram authority that they considered as disobedient against the Islamic authority. The offspring of Sunan Tembayat are later on recognized by the Javanese as the missionaries of Islam in several regions between the border of Central Java to southern part of East Java, such as Madiun and Ponorogo.

In addition to the continuity of dormitory and lodging system, \textit{pesantren} is a continuity of social regulation called \textit{perdikan}. Fokkens in “Vrije Desa’s op Java en Madoera”\footnote{F. Fokkens, “Vrije Desa’s op Java en Madoera,” TBG, XXXI (1886), pp. 477-517.} reports the existence of \textit{pesantren} that came from \textit{perdikan} land, a sort of free land in which dormitories and lodges existed in the pre-Islamic period called \textit{putihan} or \textit{mutihan}.\footnote{Putihan or mutihan is staying local people called \textit{wong putih}, which is the nickname for the santri. The reverse is \textit{abangan}. Fokkens, “Vrije Village’s,” p. 479. According to Denis Lombard, symbolic color of “white” and “red” already exists at least since the end of the 13th century AD. The white color belongs to the special clergy and receipts, while the red or the lower term abangan brother is the color of the layman. Two fundamental nature to survive after the emergence of Islam and with the name or}
According to the report of Hurgronje who had been an advisor of the Dutch colonialism during 1889 – 1936, in Central Java, pesantren grew with consent of the kings for the sake of their continuity; the kings liberated all areas of village and took no tax from the pesantren.9

Besides showing its “local genius,” pesantren is also identical with Islamic mysticism. It can be seen that the pesantren in Indonesia represents the continuity of education activities on the one hand and Islamic mysticism on the other hand. Before the development of pesantren education system, activities of Islamic education took place in the centers of mysticism. If it was the case that the Suluk works which contain religious teachings, especially messages of Sufism, were lyrics enchanted in the Sufi or mysticism practices, the transformation of knowledge in the early period of Islamization should had taken place in the Sufi activities. The teaching centers in the Sufism practices, called zawiyah in Islam, had grown and turned out to be pesantren. The practice of suluk that belonged to the Sufi tradition had paved the way for mysticism to grow in the pesantren environment.10

In the pesantren tradition, the Kyais (learned clerics) usually considered themselves as “mysticism followers”, meaning that the pesantren generally adopts the Sufi activities as the first entry-point to get into. The Kyai generally leads the community in enchanting required prayers and remembrance (dhikr) after the prayer. In enchanting the collective prayers and remembrance, particular verses of the Qur’ān are selected and Names of God are repeatedly uttered. The students simultaneously perform

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10 Within pesantren tradition, the term sufism used solely in relation to the intellectual aspect of the “road to heaven”, while aspects of its aspects that are ethical and practical (which in a pesantren environment is considered more important than the intellectual aspect) called the term “tarekat”. There are two meanings of the congregation. First, as explained Dhofer, the orders are defined as “a strict adherence to the rules of Islamic law and practice it with your best, both ritual and social, such as by running wira’s. Second, after the 11th century order is defined as the whole system of ritual to the spiritual practice of mystical orders of Islam that developed from this century. See Dhofer, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Kiai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), pp. 135-136.

mutihan or putihan (“those who are dressed in white” but also “those who are pure”) is intended for devout Muslim faction, or often called “orthodox” or “pious” that characterize the santris so that santris are also called “putihan”. See Lombard, Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya, p. 86.
the remembrance after the *Kyai*. The form of remembrance and patterns of God’s names that are simultaneously uttered by scholars and *kyais* are not so different from what the mysticism members usually practice. In addition, particular *pesantren* has been the home-base of particular Sufi orders.\(^\text{11}\)

Despite the fact that some *clerics* have not taken any oath of allegiance as the member of particular Sufi order, he declared himself as the member of the mysticism since he admitted that he got simple spells from one of the Sufi sects in Mecca or Medina. As reported by Hurgronje, some Javanese Muslims embraced the Sufi order of *Shādībīšyāb*. They usually learned this order from fellow Muslims lived in Medina. They only stayed temporarily in the holy towns of Saudi Arabia and were unwilling to leave them without any consent from one of the mysticism orders. Therefore, they frequently requested to be taught certain remembrance and prayers for several days in Mecca or Medina by inviting a mentor that was selected based on the recommendation from their teachers. The learning instruction was delivered every day after performing one or some required prayers. This tradition also occurred in Hadhramawt, Yemen. If an individual in Hadhramawt wished to add up the five required daily prayers with *sunnah* prayers, he asked for consent from an *ulama* whose family tree was connected to the ‘*Alawi*’ (the Prophet’s descendants) family. Thus, without being a member of any mysticism sect, he might not be classified as the follower of ‘*Alawiyyah* family member.\(^\text{12}\)

In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, in which *pesantren* rapidly grew in Java, there developed a way to gain a “consent” from a mysticism sect by practicing the spells and remembrance after required prayers. The mysticism in this sense finally became a tradition in the *pesantren*. In addition, the mysticism network had introduced a dormitory system. Before the *pesantren* system was institutionalized, the dormitory system had been introduced through mysticism activities since the early period of Islamization. The building of rooms around the mosque was used as a place to stay and cook, which was similar to the boarding of the students in the *pesantren*.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., pp. 136-137.

In most of the mysticism organizations, the relationship between mentors and students is equivalent to the relationship between teachers (kyai) and students (santri) in the pesantren, in which the relationship between the two requires an absolute obedience and compliance of the students to the teachers. Before pesantren had been institutionalized, the centers of mysticism had introduced the tradition of mentors-students’ relationship that also becomes the characteristics of the pesantren. According to Dhofier, the teachers-students relationship is the factor that actually guarantees the continuity of the pesantren life.13

From the discussion of mysticism and pesantren similarity in characteristics, it can be concluded that mysticism is a channeling institution that introduces several traditions that becomes an integral part of pesantren education system, such as the model of dormitory and ethics of teachers-students relationship. In addition, the teaching of supernatural power that became the salient feature of mysticism also grows in the pesantren. The mysticism is always connected with supernatural well-being. In addition to Qadiriyyah Sufi order as elaborated above, Shattariyyah grew in Java that was believed to be able to endow spiritual power to someone. Shattariyyah was developed by Shaykh Abd al-Mukhyi upon his return from Mecca. He settled for a long time in Cirebon. Further, on the request of Sukapura Regent, he stayed in Karang Pamijahan Village to fight against aji-aji hitam (black magic) of Batara Karang.14 He was highly venerated for his deep knowledge and nobility in his behavior. Some Dutch literature addresses him as “Hajee Karang”.15

13 Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 85

14 He is believed to have sanctity and regarded as a guardian. This indicates he was known as the magic. It is said that thanks to kekeramatannya he managed to quell the center hermitage for those studying black-aji aji at Caves Valley in the village of Karang Safar. Until recently in the Banten area known several shades of black magic and immunity, namely ngelmu reef associated with Islam and ngelmu Rawayan associated with Bedouin society and explicitly non-Islamic. See Aliefya M. Santrie, “Martabat Alam Tujuh Karya Syaikh Abdul Mukhyi” Ahmad Rifa’i Hasan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia: Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasiik* (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), p. 111.

Since the emergence of first pesantren and in the 19th century, the pesantren has been associated with the teaching of spiritual and invincibility power. The invincibility power sometimes becomes an appeal for young men to study in the pesantren, such as pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo and Sidoresmo Surabaya. Kyai Kasan Mukmin from Sidoarjo that led the battle against colonial government and was known having an invincibility power had a relation with Kyais from Pesantren Tegalsari and Sidoresmo.16 Even, since the beginning of its establishment, Pesantren Tegalsari has been known with invincibility power. It can be seen from the confrontation encountered by Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari, Pakubuwana II (1726-49) who asked for the assistance of Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari to take over Kertasura Palace and to fight against the rebels.17 Besides Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari, Pesantren Tegalsari also owned other venerated kyais, such as Kyai Bin Umar, the son-in-law of Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari, and Kyai Ageng Kasan Besari that under his leadership, Tegalsari reached its glory and popularity.18

Likewise, it organizationally occurs to the mysticism as well; many pesantrens become centers of mysticism organization. Sometimes, the mysticism organization becomes sponsor for the development of a pesantren. Yet, the mysticism activities are apart from pesantren and do not belong to education system of pesantren. Thus, the mysticism that becomes tradition within education system of pesantren is not


17 Mohammad Poernomo, Sejarah Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari (1985), pp. 27-34. Kiai Ageng Muhammad Besari known to have supernatural powers. In her escape to when the palace Kertasura Panaraga rebel-held, Pakubuwana II meet Kiai Ageng Muhammad Besari and ask for help to repel the rebels.

18 At the time of the rebellion that rocked Yogyakarta palace by Prince Singasari, younger brother of Sultan Hemengkubuwana I and Uncle Pakubuwana II, and escaped to Malang to join the descendants Surapati, Sultan Bin Umar asked for help scholars to persuade the Prince. If Kiai Bin Umar, ordinary people and not have excess supernatural powers, he will not be given greater responsibility at high risk for entry into the lair of the rebels and eventually Prince Singasari can be arrested and thrown out of Java. For his services, then give the gift of the earth’s Sultan of Banjar Sari fief hereditary. Kiai Bin Umar then settled and established a boarding school in the village of Banjarsari Madison. Further discussion will be discussed in the next chapter, and the role of pesantren Banjarsari in Dipanegara War will be discussed in subsequent description.
organizational mysticism that possesses a ritual system for spiritual exercise of Islamic orders, but mysticism in the sense of a strict compliance to Islamic regulations by properly performing them both ritually and socially, such as prayers, remembrance, performing wira’i (piety) and practicing riyadhah (ritual).

Islamic intensification in the Javanese community that became stronger in the late 18th century influenced the strength of Islamic identity in the pesantren community, in Azyumardi Azra’s words, orthodoxy has occurred in the pesantren community. This is caused by the intensiveness of ḥājj rituals. The pilgrims did not only perform the ḥājj, but most of them used their chance to stay longer in the centers of Islamic science for studying Islam that certainly hard to be found in their home country. The pilgrims did not only want to perform ḥājj, but also they wanted to spend their time to study the science and law of Islam. After performing ḥājj, they stayed for several years in Haramayn in accomplishment of their study. Since they stayed for a long time, they were highly influenced by the ideological and spiritual circumstances there. These Muslims had a great influence upon their returns for religion development in Java. They were considered as ulama who were strongly knowledgeable in Islam, according to Hurgronje, they were really required by their people who came from various places to study the law and teaching of Islam.

Their role can be seen from the elaboration of Hurgronje concerning the participation of ḥājjis in education upon their arrival to their hometown, in which their participation in Islamic education can be distinguished in several ways. Among several Muslims who had performed ḥājj, most of them were ordinary ḥājjis who had lack of knowledge in Islam. They went to Mecca just for performing ḥājj. To perform ḥājj, they stayed in Mecca for three years, the time that made them exposed to Arabic language, and they could learn specially about daily worships such as: prayers, remembrance and reciting the Qur’ān. When the performance of ḥājj was finished, they went home with fair knowledge, fanaticism, and experience, compared to the time before leaving their home country. According to Hurgronje, they were the

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20 Ibid., p. 106.
21 Ibid., p. 104.
wearer of turban that became religion mentors in some rural areas, that was equivalent with the mentors of the Qur’an recitation in prayer houses that taught their students in the way not more than reciting the Qur’an like a parrot.22

They were different from the ḥājjis who taught the religion or religious books in the prayer houses or mosque. They usually consisted of clergymen who taught the religion in the mosque or prayer house, or the ḥājjis who taught the religious books in the mosque or their private prayer house. This group was different from a minority number of other pilgrims. They were not ordinary pilgrims, but they were the pilgrims who stayed for many years in Mecca to study and deepen their Islamic knowledge.23 They would become teachers that were really needed by their nation, not a teacher who taught their students to recite the Qur’an in the mosque and prayer house, but ulama who taught in the pesantren, in which the young men from various places came to study the law and teaching of Islam.

Ḥājj was a channel that introduced Islamic education system to pesantren community. Through ḥājj, Javanese Muslims could access text-books of Islam that were great tradition in the pesantren tradition.24 Mecca as a gathering center for Muslims in all over the world and also became a knowledge source of Islam. The ḥājjis who stayed for long time in Mecca experienced the so-called “Arabization”, namely adopting the way and tradition of Arabian Muslims. After settling for long time in Mecca and deepening Islam, among the pilgrims who went home to Java came to be as the figures that strongly supported a movement of regeneration that aimed at strengthening the moral principles of religion. They fought against the actions that neglected the religious teaching and tried to restore the pure goal of Islam.25

Their spirit to strengthen the moral principles of religion and to enforce the pure goal of Islam was gradually able to eradicate the Islamic pattern of Java community that tended to be mystical and syncretistic. In the 19th century, the identity of Java Community was...
Muslims. In the case of Islamic movements fighting against the Dutch, Islam was used as a cultural identity to fight against the colonialism and was indicated by the attitude that was more obedient in performing worships and compliant to the law.

**Challenges of Modernity and the Responses of Pesantren**

The Muslims have been in touch with the modern culture since the 19th century. Interaction with modern culture occurred through Western colonialism toward eastern countries including Islam. The presence of Western in the Muslim countries through colonialism had introduced modern culture such as science, militarism, modern trade system, relations, fashion, life style, and even modern education system in the form of schooling. Modernism progress in western countries had undoubtedly brought about a positive effect for Muslims to realize the importance of transformation. The transformation and modernization waves in education, as elaborated by Azyumardi Azra and Karel Steenbrink, threatened the existence of the institution of traditional Islamic education.\(^{26}\) The expansion of modern education system caused the demise of the institution of traditional Islamic education in Indonesia such as *surau* in Minangkabau. In encountering the challenge of modern education system, Minangkabau community had given a good response and shown enthusiasm towards modern education system. Consequently, many *suraus* were formally transformed becoming state schools.\(^{27}\)

Similar to *surau*, *pesantren* also encountered a big challenge in facing modernization of education in Indonesia. In the beginning of the 20th century, a few education figures of Indonesia blamed the existence of *pesantren* and viewed the *pesantren* as identical with the traditionalism and were not relevant to the expansion of era. Therefore, *pesantren* should be transformed into modern education system, namely school. This perspective was supported by Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana. As an exponent of the Netherland education system, Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana argues that *pesantren* should be left behind or at least being transformed, so that it is able to bring the Muslims to the gate of


\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 98.
rationality and advancement. Maintaining pesantren means maintaining the traditionalism and conservativeness of Muslims.\textsuperscript{28}

Ki Hajar Dewantoro, a national education figure and also the first Minister of Education, Instruction and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia argues that pesantren is a foundation and source of national education because it is relevant to the spirit and character of Indonesian people. The government also recognizes that pesantren and madrasah are foundation and source of national education; therefore they should be developed, directed and assisted. The authority of direction and development is under the control of Religious Affairs Ministry.\textsuperscript{29} The exponents of pesantren tend to be mindful in responding to the transformation around them. They do not transform the pesantren as a complete modern Islamic education, but in a limited scale, just for necessary adaptation so that they are considered to be able to support the continuity of pesantren.

The rapid change brought by modernity stream of Islamic education cannot change the pesantren institutional system, not like the surau system in West Sumatera that is not able to survive after having been in contact with modernization of Islamic education system. Day by day, the number of surau is getting less, and even today, the term surau is mostly renamed with the term pesantren. This action, by Steenbrink, is called as “rebuff but follow”. The pesantren community has rejected various concepts and assumptions of the faction that adopt modernity. Yet, on the other hand, pesantren should follow their policy if pesantren wishes to survive. Therefore, pesantren should conduct adaptation and accommodation toward numerous elements of modernity. The ongoing adaptation and accommodation is the mechanism of pesantren in order to maintain stability, so that the pesantren stays alive. The ability of pesantren to exist can be seen from the development of pesantren that steadily increase particularly in East Java; in 1942 the number of pesantren in East Java were 307, in 1977 amounted to 1051, in 2005 amounted to 3582, and in 2009 amounted to 6003 units.


\textsuperscript{29} Departemen Agama RI, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Ditjen Binbaga Depag RI, 1986), p. 64.
In short, pesantren in Indonesia develops very rapidly. It is one of the educational institutions in Indonesia that transforms quickly and widely within the past two decades. This kind of Islamic school transforms not only in terms of its institution, but also in the field of sciences. The rapid development of pesantren from the institutional side can be seen from its capability in performing diversification of models and types, so that it is able to adapt to any progress of modern education. Many types of pesantren can be found in Indonesia such as salaf, modern, and neo-modern models.

In addition of the diversity and heterogeneity of its model, the pesantren in Indonesia is also very dynamic. In this era, in which people value science and technology, religion becomes increasingly relevant to the people’s life since religion offers values that create a social harmony and eliminate any forms of hostility, hatred, anarchy and human exploitation. The importance of religion in the 21st century becomes the strength of pesantren. The spirit of pesantren as a fort of moral and culture of Indonesian Muslims is highly relevant to the vision of national education development, namely creating faithful and productive persons. The pesantren can perform this mission, presenting itself not only as a “culture shield” or a moral-spiritual basis, but also as an “agent of change”. This causes the pesantren as preferable choice and alternative for Islamic education system that is relevant to Islam, Indonesian culture, and the current era.

The strategic position of pesantren in the global era supports Muslims to have an extraordinary resistance to maintain and develop this kind of Islamic school either in the aspects of function, education quality, and quantity. The development of pesantren’s function takes a part in the development of social issues, politics, and economics, such as the participation of pesantren in the politics and socio-religious sectors.

The development of education quality is in the form of effectiveness of the teaching methodology improvement as frequently found in the pesantren’s education tradition, particularly the so-called pesantren salaf. Here, it is necessary to harmonize the tradition and modernity within the pesantren life. In this case, pesantren needs reformation, particularly with regard to the teaching methodology, yet the reformation should not leave some other parts of the traditional teaching practices. What needs to be done in this regard is to create a systemic and well-managed configuration of traditional methodology
and innovative-modern methodology. Thus, the implementation of modern teaching methodology and the development of dialogic-emancipatory learning culture can be in line with the real character of pesantren culture.

The following subsections discuss the transformation within pesantren as a basis in responding to modernity. A particular attention is given to issues of how pesantren executes adaptation and accommodation activities. The analysis of pesantren’s execution of adaptation and accommodation mechanism helps to understand its responses towards modernity, and these responses are important part of the subject of analysis.

**The Development of Pesantren’s Function**

Understanding the transformation of an education system in pesantren, in which it has conducted an adaptation to fulfill its necessity to experience the transformation, can be seen from the function approach. Function is a compilation of activities that is directed toward certain fulfillment or system requirement. Function in the social system is system of action for survival mechanism or defense strategy so that the social system to be kept in existence.30 Action system is conceptualized based on four imperative functions, namely adaptation, goal achievement, integration, and latency.

Adaptation refers to the function of education system in the pesantren to get sources that is required for achieving the goal. For instance, pesantren executes adaptation with a school or formal Islamic school to get sufficient funding sources, so that the pesantren is continuously supported by the community. Pesantren that is affiliated with formal education system is an adaptive mechanism to keep its existence. Although the pesantren salaf does not adopt the formal education system, it still appeals the interest of the wider community; the number of its scholars, nevertheless, is getting bigger, so that it should prepare sufficient facilities and qualified human resources. The charisma of kyai in the pesantren tradition is a main factor behind the popularity of pesantren. The fact that many pesantrens are remarkable is commonly due to the charisma of kyai. Pesantren will undergo the decreasing number of scholars and the lack of devotion if the pesantren is left by kyai and is not able to prepare a substitute that possesses a

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strong charisma. Indeterminacy of the pesantren development is emerged because it depends on the sole decision of kyai. The process of pesantren development that is consciously planned should not be terminated without any complete accomplishment as a result of the absence of creativity and charisma among the pesantren leaders that have energy to survive, or due to other personal causes.³¹

The goal achievement in the pesantren requires the pesantren to be able to define and achieve its main objectives. The existence of pesantren is shown by the pesantren ability to realize the goal of pesantren to understand the religious knowledge (tafaqquh fi al-din), yet still relevant within the modernization wave. Although the pesantren has adopted the modern education system such as school, Islamic school, and even university, that directly requires the pesantren to review its goal, the community expectation toward the pesantren is getting higher, so that the role of pesantren is expanded. With regard to Azra’s explanation, pesantren does not only have its traditional roles (socialization, schooling, and education), but also becomes a center of social-economic empowerment of the community, even becomes a social rehabilitation center.³²

Integration in the pesantren education system is shown by the pesantren ability to manage the relationship of each division that belongs to its components. The system also should manage the relationship of the three other important functions, namely adaptation, goal achievement and latency. Integration is important to manage various sub-systems in the pesantren such as symbols, ritual, social and physical buildings, ideology, and system of value. With all aspects owned by the pesantren, it has shown uniqueness in the community. As frequently discussed, pesantren is a sub-culture because the pesantren has a lifestyle that is followed, world-view and value system that are accepted, and internal power hierarchy that is wholly obeyed. In a long term, pesantren can exist within a cultural basis that is stronger than surrounding community. Pesantren is even able to conduct total transformation toward the lifestyle of the surrounding community without sacrificing its identity. This existence lies at the pesantren ability in conducting integration.

Latency is maintenance of system, so that the pesantren should improve, maintain and correct the system. Pesantren is known to have a mechanism to maintain the system with the principle “maintaining an old good tradition and take a new better one” (al-muḥāṣṣadhab ‘alā al-qādim al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhīḍ bi al-jādi’d al-aslāḥ). According to Robert H. Lauer, mechanism of latency and integration is the mechanism to maintain and to adjust internal problems, meanwhile adaptation and goal achievement deal with the environment of the system.33

**Differentiation**

Differentiation in this discussion is employed to observe the transformations that gradually and progressively occur in the pesantren. Differentiation is a process that causes variety of transformations that are appropriate with the pesantren values. Differentiation emerges new different units, both its structure and its functional sense.

The resistance does not only make the pesantren exist, but also serves as an indication that pesantren education system has experienced institutional diversification into various models. According to Affandi Mochtar, any four models of pesantren, namely full integration model, selective integration, instrumental integration, and minimum integration. Affandi’s classification is based on the unification of formal and non-formal education that generates integration within the pesantren. As Affandi, Maghfurin also identify four models of pesantren with the criteria of curriculum, institution, and completeness of facilities. Those four models are model 1, model 2, model 3 and model 4. Those four models will be elaborated as follows:

The first model is commonly called the pesantren salaf, which only teaches religious knowledge that is derived from Arabic books of the middle Age. The orientation of students is absolutely to study the religious knowledge. As other models, this model of pesantren is highly diverse and is hard to generally determine its characteristics. Some of them are conservative and the rests are highly developed. It only teaches the religious knowledge up to preparing ulama candidates, not for worldly objectives such as to fulfill the job market. This model can be found in some areas in East Java. In Pasuruan, there are no less

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than three major pesantrens that maintain the salaf model, such as Pesantren Sidogiri Kraton, Pesantren Sunnayah Salafiyah Sungi Wetan Kraton, and Pesantren Besuk Kejayan. In Kediri, there are Pesantren al-Falah Ploso Mojo, Pesantren Mahir al-Riyadhi Ringinagung Kepung, Pesantren Darul Ma`rifat Sumbercangkring Gurah, and Pesantren Darun Najah Botosari Tarokan. In Surabaya there is Pesantren Sidoresmo that still maintains the salaf model and has no formal education institution.

The second model is the pesantren that follows formal education system, but it establishes its own curriculum as per necessity and does not follow the curriculum established by the government. This pesantren adopts the grade system and grants certificates in the graduation day. The certificates issued by the pesantren are nevertheless not recognized by the government, accordingly the students who want to continue to higher education level must follow equivalent exam in the formal schools. This model of pesantren can be seen in Pesantren “Maslakul Huda” in Kajen Pati, Central Java led by K.H. M.A. Sahal Mahfudz and Pesantren Gontor Ponorogo.

The third model is pesantren that is completed with the institutions of formal education starting from elementary school up to university level. This model of pesantren also integrates formal and informal education; accordingly it has skill development program, farming and handicraft business including commercial activities, like cooperative. Education programs that have orientation to community development are prioritized, in which pesantren takes a part and guides autonomous groups in its environment. This model of pesantren is commonly found in every place.

The fourth model is pesantren that provides a dormitory for the students and they study in the schools or universities outside the pesantren. The religious education in this pesantren is given out of school hours; as a result, it can be followed by all students. This model of pesantren can be found in the urban areas.

Differentiation of pesantren is also in the form of expansion of units besides educational institution, such as cooperative and pesantren’s enterprise. For instance, in Jombang there are at least two pesantrens that possess cooperative, five owning fishery enterprise, three with farming businesses, three having machine shop businesses, three having livestock businesses, three having shopping complexes, two having supermarkets, three with telecommunication booths, six with
medical clinics, one hundred twelve with canteens, and two having food enterprises.

The development of new units in the pesantren system shows adaptation ability of pesantren to effectively conduct its function rather than the execution of functions in the old units. This ability is called “adaptation enhancement” that may be followed by the elimination of old traditions in mobilizing resources and components that are previously left but should be included to reach integration.

Conclusion

Observing the pesantren development from time to time, it shows that pesantren has adaptation ability toward development of era. Pesantren has shown its ability to creatively and attractively perform the transformation and continuity, thus it does not only serve as a source of religious knowledge in Islam but also the “local genius” of Indonesia. Through pesantren, Javanese community in certain boundaries could maintain its local authenticity, such as dormitory system, teachers and students relations, and charismatic and descending leadership system.

Interaction of the indigenous institution with the outside culture enables the pesantren to make an adjustment between tradition and new development. The pesantren responds to possible confrontation between the so-called local Islam and the source of Islam in the Middle East by actively adopting elements of Islamic education system of the Middle East and being vigorously involved in intensifying the Islamism.

Pesantren community is known with their mindful attitudes in encountering the outside culture that comes from non-Islam by conducting gradual adjustment. The gradual adaptation and accommodation are mechanisms of pesantren’s community in keeping stability, thus the pesantren continuously survives and exists. There are at least two mechanisms of pesantren to adapt with a new development from the outside culture, namely mechanism of function development and differentiation.

The function development shows the ability of four imperative functions of pesantren, namely: high ability to adapt with the externals, diverse goals achievement, integrative ability by unifying the aspects of pesantren that show uniqueness as sub-culture, and latency in preserving the pesantren’s prototype with a principle “al-muhājādat an-ʿalā al-qāḍīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdh bi al-jadīd al-aṣlah” (maintaining the old good tradition
and gaining a new better one). Meanwhile, differentiation is a process of gradual and progressive transformation of pesantren that emerges new different units, both structure and its functional sense. Mechanism of pesantren creates pesantren’s self defense mechanism. As a result, four models of pesantren grow, including pesantren salaf, pesantren with formal education system but out of government system, pesantren that is completed with formal education starting from elementary level up to university, and campus-based pesantren. []

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