

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

¹ Nurcholish Madjid, “Merumuskan Kembali Tujuan Pendidikan Pesantren,” in Kusnanto (ed.), *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), p. 3.

² T.H. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Descriptive List of Javanese Manuscript* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), p. 77.

³ Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Penerbit P3M), p. 17.

⁴ Madjid, “Merumuskan Kembali,” p. 3

⁵ Denis Lombard, *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1997), pp. 131-135.

assimilation of cultural elements of pre-Islamic education system with the *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.⁶

In addition to the continuity of dormitory and lodging system, *pesantren* is a continuity of social regulation called *perdikan*. Fokkens in "Vrije Desa's op Java en Madoera"⁷ reports the existence of *pesantren* that came from *perdikan* land, a sort of free land in which dormitories and lodges existed in the pre-Islamic period called *putihan* or *mutihan*.⁸

⁶ Regarding the spread of Islam in the area around Madison and Panaraga. See Poernomo, *History of Kiai Muhammad Besari* (1985), p. 15-17; and Purwowijoyo, *Babad Panaraga*, Panaraga, Vol I-III.

⁷ F. Fokkens, "Vrije Desa's op Java en Madoera," *TBG*, XXXI (1886), pp. 477-517.

⁸ *Putihan* or *mutihan* is staying local people called *wong putih*, which is the nickname for the santri. The reverse is *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 *ḥawāyih* 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’an are selected and Names of God are repeatedly uttered. The students simultaneously perform

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 *santries* so that *santries* are also called “*putihan*”. See Lombard, *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya*, p. 86.

⁹ C. Snouck Hurgronje, “Islam di Hindia Belanda” in Hurgronje, *Kumpulan Karangan C. Snouck Hurgronje X* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), p. 141

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 Dhofier, 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’i*. 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 Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), pp. 135-136.

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.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 *Shādbilīyah*. 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 'Alawī (the Prophet's descendants) family. Thus, without being a member of any mysticism sect, he might not be classified as the follower of 'Alawīyah family member.¹²

In the 19th 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.

¹² C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Jemaah Haji dan Pemandu Mereka," in *Nasehat-Nasehat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa Kepegawaiannya kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda 1889-1936*, (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), pp. 173-4

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 *Qādirīyah* Sufi order as elaborated above, *Shattārīyah* grew in Java that was believed to be able to endow spiritual power to someone. *Shattārīyah* 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 Klasik* (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), p. 111.

¹⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), p. 223.

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

¹⁶ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movement in Rural Java: a Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century's* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 80-94.

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 Kartasura 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 *riyadhab* (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 rituals, 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ According to Hurgronje, they were the

¹⁹ C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Politik Haji," *Kumpulan Karangan Snouck Hurgronje* (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), pp. 106-107.

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'ān recitation in prayer houses that taught their students in the way not more than reciting the Qur'ān 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'ān 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

²² Ibid., p. 106.

²³ Ibid., p. 108.

²⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, “Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning” *Ulumul Qur'an*, 3, 4 (1992), p. 79.

²⁵ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1984), p. 217.

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

²⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi menuju Millenium Baru* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), p. 95. See also Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), p. 63.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

rationality and advancement. Maintaining *pesantren* means maintaining the traditionalism and conservativeness of Muslims.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.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 *pesantrens* in East Java were 307, in 1977 amounted to 1051, in 2005 amounted to 3582, and in 2009 amounted to 6003 units.

²⁸ Azyumardi Azra, “Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan”, an Introduction in Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), p. xiv.

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

³⁰ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, Translated by Triwibowo Budi Santoso (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), p. 121.

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 (*tafaqub 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.

³¹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Essai-essai Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), p. 181.

³² Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*, pp. 108-109.

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-muhāfadhah ‘alā al-qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akbāb bi al-jaḍīd al-aṣlah*). 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

³³ Robert H. Lauer, *Perspektif tentang Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2001).

than three major *pesantrens* that maintain the *salaf* model, such as *Pesantren* Sidogiri Kraton, *Pesantren* Sunniyah Salafiyah Sungai 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 Sumbercangkriing 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-muḥāḥadbat ‘alā al-qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akḥdh 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 *pesantrens* 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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