

Educational Communication in Pondok Pesantren Jagasatru Cirebon as a Hadhramis Diaspora Community in Indonesia

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Abstract—*Pondok Pesantren (ponpes) Jagasatru Cirebon-West Java is a Hadhramis community in Indonesia which is applied a practical educational communication on their teaching method. Ponpes Jagasatru is one of the traditional ponpes in the middle of Cirebon city. As salafiah ponpes, Jagasatru does not apply strict educational system, considering that some of the santri are also a formal school students. Their recitation's schedule is well-adjusted so it will not bother the other schedule of the students which has a formal education at school. This method is quite influential for their social transformation process on their educational activities and spread their religious understanding. Qualitative approach has been used for this research with an open-ended interview as a collective data technique. Descriptively, this research have a purpose to find out the Islamic syiar mechanism which is carried out by the Ponpes Jagasatru Cirebon as one of the Hadhramis community in Indonesia. This research discover that Ponpes Jagasatru practiced their educational communication on their teaching method flexibly. This makes a balance in the intellectual level of santri between the academic field and in their religion field. The founder advised the santri to not become a preachers, but they should be intended to learn about how to eliminate ignorance. The alumni is also feel the benefits for mingle with the community instead of create the new one.*

Keywords—diaspora, hadhramis, educational communication, community, *ponpes jagasatru*

I. INTRODUCTION

Ponpes Jagasatru Cirebon-West Java is a Hadhramis diaspora community in Indonesia which is applied the practical educational communication on their teaching. Ponpes Jagasatru is one of the traditional ponpes which is located in the centre of Cirebon city. As a salafiah ponpes (traditional ponpes), Jagasatru does not apply strict educational system, considering their santri are also received formal education. Their recitation's schedule is well-adjusted so it will not bother their school's schedule. This method is quite influential for their social transformation process on their educational activities and spread their religious understanding.

Pesantren world, borrowing the framework of Hossein Nasr [1] is the traditional Islamic world that inherits and

maintains the continuity of Islamic traditions which are developed by the scholars periodically. Based on the research conducted by the Research and Development and Training Ministry of Religious Affairs, it was found from 14.656 in 2003-2004, the number of *pesantren* became 28.961 in 2014-2015 with the number of *santri* 4.028.660 people consisting of 2.069.029 or 51,1% male *santri* and 1.968.631 or 48,9% female *santri*. From those data, 2.516.591 or 62,5% of *santri* were stay overnight and 1.512.069 or 37,5% of *santri* were not residing. The number of educators was 333.795 people consisting of 208.108 or 62,3% educated under S1, 114.029 or 34,2% with S1 education, and 11.657 or 3,5% educated S2.

Running the educational function is the main task on the *pesantren*. The *pesantren* identity is an educational institution, even though there are also the other functions which has done by them. However, the priority role is as an educational institution. *Pesantren* is a place to learn about the Islamic principles which are still stand firmly on some places in Indonesia [2]. *Pesantren* is able to survive because of their existential character, not only as an Islamic purpose, but also implies the Indonesian authenticity/indigenous [1].

Qualitative approach has been used for this research with an open-ended interview as a collective data technique. Secondary data is obtained from literature study. Descriptively, this research has a purpose to find out the Islamic *syiar* mechanism, specifically the application of the educational communication in *Ponpes Jagasatru Cirebon* as one of the Hadhramis diaspora community in Indonesia. This research is expected to contribute in enriching historical references and the existence of the Hadhramis diaspora in Indonesia, also to add the cultural diversity in Indonesia.

Educational communication is the process of the message or information in educational section. The learning process itself is a communication process, the delivery of the message from the sender to the recipient. Delivered message is all about the teachings which are implied on the communication symbol, verbal or non-verbal [3]. The purpose of educational communication is to increase the value and literacy for educational purpose. Educational communication have an

important position, in the context of studies in the realm of communication and scientific education as well as practical skills that can support the educational process itself.

Ponpes is an Islamic educational institution in Indonesia which has a purpose to explore and practice the Islamic religion as a guideline for the daily life [4]. *Pesantren* educational system is a whole component that involve *kiai*, *santri*, the mosque, hut, and teaching classical Islamic book also the material and the method which is related one to another to achieve the *pesantren* educational purpose [4]. Historically, as an indigenous institution, *pesantren* appear and developed from the sociological experience of society, which means *pesantren* have a close relationship which is inseparable from the environment.

Pesantren's Curriculum consists of: (1) religion: *fiqih*, *aqidah* and *tasawuf*, (2) *nahwu-sharaf*: Arabic grammar, memorize the verse of *Awamil*, *Imirithi*, and *Alfiyah*, (3) religiosity: passion and sense of religion, (4) general knowledge, (5) not systematic graduation system, (6) intellectualism and verbalism which are driven by the strong memorization system and the lack of rationalistic subjects such as arithmetic, science, and the other exact science, so the *santri* will be more reproductive (recalling what is stored on their brain through memorization) and less creative (creating new thoughts which the result of self-processing of available material).

The *pesantren* alumni (1) are only suitable for people who adopted the values of the *pesantren* from the beginning, (2) alumni do not want to be a civil servants because the remaining of the isolation and non-cooperative attitude on the colonial era, (3) there are many of *pesantren* alumni who become an independent person by becoming an entrepreneur or a farmer, (4) *pesantren* alumni who give the service to groups and their own people generally are compromise, while on the other hands it is less adaptive, (5) in general, they teach or establish an educational institution on their living neighborhood and sometimes become bigger, (6) the participation in community development requires basic skills and knowledge, alumni are required to be flexible in developing human relations including the ability to cooperate with other people.

Statistically, right now in Java, there are six big Arabian colony, which are Batavia, Cirebon, Tegal, Pekalongan, Semarang, and Surabaya. In Madura, there is only one, which is Sumenep. The other Arabian colonies which have been settled should be considered to be one of the colony in Indonesia. Arabian colony in Cirebon is relatively new. On 1845, that colony was getting bigger so they need a leader for them and for all Arabian in Cirebon at once. The area which is inhabited by Arabians in Cirebon was originally at Benggali area, they builed a mosque which is known as the "Arab Mosque". Most of the Arabians in Cirebon live from the trade with Cirebon people and also with the East Priangan people [6].

At the beginning of the 20th century one of the key developments in the Southeast Asian diaspora was the founding of modern institutions that were mainly concerned with the education of young Hadhramis. They revived

Alawiyin scholarliness in Hadhramaut with the objective of educating the young generation, especially from Southeast Asia, a project resulting in the strengthening of Alawiyin religious institutions in Indonesia [7].

Ponpes Jagasatru was led by Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya (Habib Muhammad bin Syekh), then continued by his son, Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya (Kang Ayip Muh) who is the descent of Yemen (Hadhramis). Nowadays, *pesantren Jagasatru* is conducted by H. Hasanain Yahya, Lc who is the grandson of Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya. Aaal-Bin Yahya is a descent of Waliyullah Yahya bin Hasan bin Ali al-Annaz bin Alwi bin Muhammad Maula Dawilah. The title is carried out because he named his son Yahya, he hoped that his children would get the blessings like Yahya prophet who can light up the arid heart. Waliyullah Yahya bin Hasan was born in Tarim, he has three children, two of them pass on his descent, Hasan and Ahmad. Waliyullah Yahya bin Hasan bin Yahya passed away in Tarim city on 1549. [8].

The study entitled "Revealing Awareness of Educational Subjects: Study of the Education Paradigm in Cirebon City's Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah An-Nur" by Wiwin Wihermawati arguing that the main subjects or actors of education in MI An-Nur generally have two tendencies, (1) the conservative paradigm which is mainly revealed by the teacher and students, and (2) the critical education paradigm which is implied by the foundation and explicitly by the alumni/sympathizers. However, the paradigm differences that occur between these subjects are not explicitly dichotomized, because even subjects that tend to be in conservative paradigm, in some cases there are characteristics that indicate the existence of a critical paradigm, and the other way round. Practically, formal classroom learning in intracurricular activities tends to imply magical awareness in which educational subjects generally follow a fatalistic system. On the other hand, in the extracurricular education process, especially in training activities managed by alumni/sympathizers, the methodology of participation education seems to be practiced in every detail of the ongoing process [9].

The research conducted by Mufid Ali entitled "Islamic Boarding School Education System According to Nurcholish Madjid" shows the elements in the *salaf pesantren* education system that need to be adapted and developed in the realities of the life of globalization as it is now. These elements contain *kiai*, *santri*, huts, mosques, and discussion group of classical books. *Kiai* as a charismatic figure who is the main pillar of the *pesantren* must have a legitimate attitude and have the skills to lead the *pesantren*, so that they can facilitate all the affairs in the *pesantren*. Equally important on the *pesantren* is that *santri* must also capable to maintain their health and also have a competition distinguish between clothes to study, to sleep, and to leave the hut, so *santri* will not seen as those who cannot adapt to the environment. The hut or dormitory is the second pillar that needs to be considered equipped with sufficient facilities as a place for the *santri* to live according to the needs of the *santri* today. Similarly, the mosque which is the main place in the activities in the *pesantren* must be adjusted to the needs and

comfort in teaching also learning activities of classical books or other activities. If we associated the relationship between *kiai*, *santri*, *ustadz*, and the approval of classical books and curriculum in the *salaf pesantren*, it will be seen that the *kiai* is the center of orbit for the circulation of educational activities carried out by religious teacher and *santri* in guide books based on the specified curriculum by *kiai*. It is necessary for the existence and dynamism of the *pesantren* as an institution which is born from Indonesian culture that are different from other in Islamic educational institutions [5].

From the research conducted by Nurhadi Prabowo entitled "The Leadership Model at *Ponpes* Al-Baqiyatush Shalihah Kuala Tungkal in Jambi" it is known that (1) the implementation of *Ponpes* Al-Baqiyatush Shalihah is substantially based on the development of integrative Islamic education, namely the development of educational patterns integrating the traditional education system (*pesantren*) and the public education system (government). The implementation of this education system is intended so that the *pesantren* education system remains in demand by the community without losing its traditional identity. In addition, the purpose of *ponpes* activities is directed at the formation of values and characters that reflect human knowledge, faith, and devotion, (2) the leadership model in the *ponpes* Al-Baqiyatush Shalihah appears in the model of leadership that is individual-collective. It is known on the implementation that the leadership in *ponpes* is still oriented to *kiai* individually. On the other hands, this *ponpes* is under the foundation as an institution. However, scholars at the *ponpes* dominate their roles over the foundations. In addition, the type of leadership of the *kiai* in this *ponpes* is spiritual-charismatic, this is based on individual *kiai* who are not only understood as leaders of the *pesantren* but also the leaders of the *tarekat*. Therefore in policy making, scholars there are more flexible, it means they are adapted to existing conditions. Furthermore, the transition of leadership in this *ponpes* still holds tradition and leadership systems that are hereditary, kinship systems, (3) looking at the management structure in *Ponpes* Al-Baqiyatush Shalihah, their leadership use a model of individual-collective leadership. While the *ponpes* is under the foundation. But the type of leadership that is applied looks like more to the individual leadership model, because the role of the *kiai* who occupy a central position contradicts the collective leadership model which places more emphasis on shared leadership. This type of leadership indicates that there are still authoritarian nuances which held firmly by *pesantren* until the role and initiative of the subordinates is being minimal. The character and charisma of the *kiai* are still strong, especially in the relationship between the *kiai* and the teachers, *santri*, administrators, and the community. It is based on deep respect, reverence, indisputability, and the other reasons. The pattern of relations on one side has strength, but on the other side has weaknesses, because everything is always resolved in a family way, not through procedural way. This is clearly seen in the system of delegation of authority. Whereas from the management pattern, it is still closed and has not carried out management functions optimally, which requires the regulation and mechanism of good performance, strategic planning, accountability, and transparency [10].

The research entitled "The Concept of Islamic Education According to Mohammad Natsir" by Mahfur aims to answer the concepts, conceptual basis, and relevance of Mohammad Natsir's thoughts on the thinking of Islamic education in Indonesia nowadays. With literature research, this study shows that Muhammad Natsir's concept of Islamic education is that education must be able to bring people to achieve their life goals, which is to devote themselves to Allah, to have moral character and to get a decent life in the world. While Islamic education is knowing God, monotheating God and not associating partners at all. Mohammad Natsir's thinking about education in Indonesia is now relevant, it is evidenced by the existence of formal schools and *madrassa*, even *pesantren* that combine general education and religious education. Likewise with coordination between schools with the holding of national examinations together [11].

The research which is conducted by Abdul Kafi Munajat entitled "Ethics of Students in Islamic Education According to KH. Hasyim Asy'ari: Study of the Book of Adab Al-A'lim Wa Al-Muta'alim" conducted with literature studies using descriptive qualitative approaches concluded that KH. Hasyim Asy'ari believes that as students must be knowledgeable and also being right, which means having attitudes that are in accordance with the rules or values in ethical education in Islam. There are more specific concepts about ethics that must be possessed by a students to themselves, to their teacher, to his lessons and the ethical concepts of students towards the books. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari has not revealed scientific specifications that should be given according to the talents, interests, and abilities of students [12].

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research used constructive paradigm with the qualitative approach and descriptive type of research. Primary data was collected using open-ended interview with two selected informants, (1) Habib Humed, his full name is Ahmad Humed Yahya is the grandson of Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya, the caregiver and founder of *Ponpes* Jagasatru who is also known by Kang Ayip Muh, (2) Wiwin Wihermawati, teacher of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) and Madrasah Aliyah (MA) An-Nur under *Yayasan Pendidikan dan Dakwah Islam Jagasatru* (YPDIJ). Secondary data on this research was collected from various literature. This research used open coding and axial coding analytical technique.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *Hadhramis Diaspora Community in Cirebon*

The first informan explain that Hadhramis is an Arab people who come from the city of Hadhramaut, a relatively fertile valley of South Yemen. This area has already been a cosmopolitan. Therefore, residents of Hadhramaut have a diverse background. Not only Arab from Yemen. Meanwhile, many people is not familiar with Hadhramis, they are more

familiar with Arabian, “it looks like there is a special agenda from Wahabi which has an importance to make Hadhramis not popular.”

“So, there are someone who prunes it and do not let Indonesia know about Hadhramis. Even though, the roots of Indonesia are Hadhramis. Just like the *pesantren* in the world, it is only in Yemen and Indonesia, Mecca does not have it, they just have a *halaqoh*, just meeting, no system, the one that has a system is Abu Yahya. Now it is influenced by Saudi culture.”

The Hadhramis came from Yemen, precisely from Hadhramaut. Nabi Muhammad was also a descendant of the Yemen people (much of the literature mentions that Nabi Hud and Nabi Saleh came from this city). Therefore, Nabi Muhammad was referred as an expert on Medina, the city resident (Yemen). Most of the Arab descendants of Nabi Muhammad in Indonesia are also come from Yemen.

Hadhramis in Cirebon barely invisible because it has already been mixed with the society. Start from the Hadhramis passion to be mixed with the society, for example the developed tradition, the society is not aware that it is a middle east tradition, Yemen’s tradition. The recitation which is contains of memorization, *wirid*, and read the books instantly without awareness that they gain the lesson from Hadhramis descent. Likewise the other tradition such as *syawalan* and *rajaban* which is originally comes from Hadhramis.

In traditional case, Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya close by the Kanoman Palace because his first wife is the daughter of Patih Kanoman. Kanoman Palace’s tradition is very Hadhramis. Every religious tradition in Kanoman Palace which is still exist actually have the same thing with the *Ponpes* Jagasatru tradition. From the *nisyfu sya’ban* tradition, then *rajaban* tradition, *munggahan* tradition towards Ramadhan, *syawalan* tradition, until *khatam awal* and *khatam akhir* tradition. Then, the music and dance like *topeng* dance on Kanoman Palace is also an acculturation culture with the Hadhramis. Even though it is not close to the religiosity, Kanoman Palace art product is a spiritual product. On the educational section, from the teacher to the material is from Hadhramis.

Ponpes Jagasatru (PPJ) Cirebon is one of six institutions under YPDIJ. The five other institutions are MI An-Nur, Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyyah (MDA), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) An-Nur, An-Nur Women's Madrasah (MAP), and Majelis Taklim. However, YPDIJ was only formed after the formed and running of several institutions such as PPJ, An-Nur MI, and PPJ Madrasah Diniyah (MD). YPDIJ was officially established on June 20, 1989 to accommodate these various institutions.

YPDIJ was established long after MI An-Nur which was founded in 1962. MI An-Nur was accidentally founded, driven by the many children who came to recite in *musholah-musholah* (Madrasah Diniyah/MD) until Juz 30 Al-Qur’an which is developed then. The An-Nur MI was located at the point of the Jagasatru market nowadays. The establishment of

YPIDJ was urged by the government to regulate that private schools should be sheltered by a foundation. While the level of further education, MTs An-Nur was established long after MI An-nur was established which is on the 90s.

Ponpes Jagasatru was established in 1920. This *ponpes* is located at Jl. Jagasatru No. 58, Pekalipan, Cirebon, West Java. The number of *santri* in the *Ponpes* Jagasatru was 275 with the details of 100 male *santri* and 175 female *santri*. *Santri* who stays overnight is 270 people in total and who doesn’t stay overnight is 5 people. The teaching staff is 27 people.

Ponpes Jagasatru was unintentionally formed because in the 50s there are many people came from various sub-districts in Cirebon Regency such as Sumber, Plered, Megu, Weru using carts since Saturday night to attend recitations on Sunday morning to evening. They also stayed overnight to attend the recitation of Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya on Friday morning and Saturday morning. Seeing the large number of participants who are want to stay, finally the Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya family made two rooms for lodging (reciting and staying) and then formalized in the 1990s. The learning activities took place from the mosque to the mosque which lent the place, until a rented one next to the pig slaughterhouse was given so it smelled to the class.

B. Educational Communication in Pondok Pesantren Jagasatru Cirebon

In most *pesantren*, being a *santri* is usually accompanied by an education in a formal school. In the *Ponpes* Jagasatru, *santri* were allowed to just be the *santri*, they were also allowed to become *santri* while taking formal school outside YPDIJ. The benchmark for graduating the *santri* is not finished from the MA school, but after reciting the Al-Qur’an or khatam Juz Amma, then goes home and does not become a *santri* anymore, but there are also those who have studied and have graduated MA and are still living in *Ponpes* Jagasatru. Many of those who were not accompanied by formal schools and chose to become *salaf santri* only.

The Alumni will receive a report for *banat* (girls *santri*), besides that they also receive a *khatam* diploma. While there is no report card for *salaf* because it is not structured. *Salaf* graduation standards are seen from *banat*, declared to pass if they have reached fourth class. Parents often consult verbally with hut caregivers, to inquire about the development of their children, whether they have been able to care or not.

The *ponpes* system is only owned by Yemen and Indonesia. While Indonesia itself only knew Arabic, even though initially it was Yemen. In Jagasatru there was a forerunner to the *pesantren* from Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya’s father, namely Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya. Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya, a son of Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya is one of the teachers at An-Nur, at that time it was not yet an MI, it was still a children’s recitation. The institution is there but it has no place until finally it becomes MI. It is difficult to find the writing about education

system that took place at YPDIJ. It is because they have the principle that the recite is dealing with teachers, so it is still *kejawen*, lacking on scientific tradition. Seeing the vacancy, the second informant compiled a thesis about YPDIJ.

Regarding the vision and mission, it is also not written in writing. Based on the explanation from the second informant, both *pesantren* and formal institutions under YPDIJ, Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya has a mission to provide good basics in various fields.

"Vision and mission does exist, at that time I was interviewed, then I wrote, it is not done in the foundation, and indeed we do not have the tradition of writing it, even if it is formal, in An-Nur there is a vision and mission when there is a need from the government, which when we arrange ourselves, structurally, we cannot verbally hereditary, people can interpret it differently, finally this must be confirmed, it must be written, but yes, how come, the culture is different, the scientific tradition here doesn't exist."

There is no core teaching in the *Ponpes Jagasatru*, they only have a routine program like the one done at the girls' house, Monday to recite a certain book, Tuesday the other books, then at 2–4 P.M. for *banat*. There are classes such as preparation classes 1, 2, 3, 4 which are in a separate structure, under the girls' hut, but the headmaster is separate, the teachers are separate, the curriculum is also separate. The girls' house is chaired by Annisa Yahya and represented by Syaikhoh Yahya, the sister of Habib Humed who was the first informant of this research. The lessons in the girls' hut consist of *fiqih*, *aqidah*, and Arabic. The books which are read or taught are usually the *salaf* hut curriculum, but if the standard is based on the *khatam* Juz Amma and the Qur'an.

The point is Juz Amma, then the Qur'an, it takes place after every maghrib, the others are additional. The *salaf* recites the ears. Reciting the *salaf* consists of *bandungan* (in Cirebonese and Sundanese term) or *bandongan* (in Javanese term) it means reciting collectively, read the *qasidah* verses, and recite the books. While *banat* in the afternoon was classical, sometimes reading books.

In terms of leadership, based on the story of the first informant, Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya advised that "cover your charity as you close your disgrace", because the risk is big, the responsible on the community is also heavier. Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya himself does not want to be called 'Habib', but just 'Kang'. To Habib Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya, people call 'Abah Syekhoni', as in Cirebon when we call our parents as 'Abah'. In other places this has been considered a problem. Many *santri* who came from Central and East Java saw *santri* in Jagasatru as uncivilized because they did not call 'Kiai' to the leader of the *pesantren*.

Parents trust their children to stay at *Ponpes Jagasatru* because of a personal approach. They saw Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya figure. There are even parents who come to help in the kitchen, then their children

are placed in the *ponpes*. So the orientation of parents is not academic.

In *Ponpes Jagasatru*, *santri* can come and go at any time. *Santri* is allowed to no longer be able to stay even though it is not yet qualified because the purpose of the program does not have to pass. 75% of *santri* are also formal school students, then they are also a *santri*. *Salaf* is only 25%. If the *santri* has graduated from the formal school, they will be allowed to move to a place unless they want to continue to the *khatam* Al-Qur'an. So it depends on each *santri*.

Habib Syarif Muhammad bin Syekhoni bin Yahya gives an advice to the *santri*: "don't desire to be a preacher, but intend to eliminate ignorance". Many alumni felt the teachings of the *Ponpes Jagasatru* after being far away, that they were taught to mingle in the community, not to become a new society.

The teachers who taught at YPDIJ were also a freedom fighters, so in the 1960s, around 1962-1964 many students were left to war, but the learning process still continued. Nowadays, the teachers consist of families and students who are considered qualified.

The organizational structure of the girls' hut consists of the chairman and vice chairman of the family. Whereas secretaries, treasurers, and other administrators were taken from senior *santri* who were already qualified, they were collected in one room side by side with the administration office.

Santri came from area III Cirebon, Bekasi and Jakarta, the majority of their parents had been *santri* in *Ponpes Jagasatru*. In quantity, the *salaf* *santri* are getting smaller, but in the study, the *salaf* is still ongoing. All *santri* also attend formal school. *Salaf* *santri* is also the same, except for the morning recitation schedule. 10 A.M. began to recite up to 12 o'clock, it means that students who go to formal school cannot take the *salaf* recitation once a day. Especially for female students who want to go to formal school must go to An-Nur starting from MI, MTs, to MA. While male students can go to formal school outside An-Nur.

TABLE I SCHEDULE

Time	Activity
07.00-13.00	formal school
13.30-15.30	recitate <i>barnah</i> by <i>banat</i> (girls <i>santri</i>)
15.30-17.00	recitate <i>salaf</i> , depends on the book, the book is different everyday with <i>bandungan</i> or <i>sorogan</i> (reciting individually in line with the mechanism for <i>santri</i> to go forward one by one to the <i>ustadz</i> with the books based on syllabus) and read <i>qasidah</i> or <i>burdah</i> verses
After maghrib	read Al-Qur'an, there is <i>santri</i> who still recitate using <i>qira'ati</i> method, the other is using Juz Amma, or already to Al-Qur'an.
After isya	<i>bandungan</i> until 10 PM, even they can start the recitate on 9.30 PM

Santri rarely return to their homes, at least once in three months. Parents are more often to visit the *santri* at *Ponpes Jagasatru*. Holidays are given during Ramadhan and Maulid

Nabi. The duration of the longest holiday is given after the *khatam* when entering the month of Ramadhan. On the month of Ramadhan holidays, the *pesantren* opens the *pasar* for public and for *santri* who want to recite for 20 days or 3 weeks. *Pasaran* is recitate tradition in *salaf pesantren* all over the Java. *Pasaran* is an optional syllabus. Kiai on the *pesantren* put up a list of books to be read at certain times during the month of Ramadhan and anyone or public citizen may follow them. When formal school is not yet for referral the report card, most students who attend the formal school are also attend the *pasar*.

Ponpes Jagasatru and YPDIJ provide their financial operations independently. Beside from *santri* contributions by the registration fees for *salaf santri* and female *santri* for IDR 400,000 a monthly fee for IDR 35,000 (for electricity and water), MD fees and *banat* for IDR 10,000 they also receive assistance from the giver selectively, for example to repair damage in the female *santri* classroom. The givers are alumni of the *Ponpes Jagasatru*. The principle is that you can accept assistance as long as you do not propose it. Based on the explanation from the first informant, the *Ponpes Jagasatru* had received assistance from the government for IDR 40,000,000 but had to be deducted for stamp duty and administration for IDR 25,000 so that only IDR 39,975,000 was received. Kang Ayip ordered to return the money because he said "oh, it means the money is not for *Ponpes Jagasatru*. The money for *Ponpes Jagasatru* is 40 million, this is not 40 million." Then they say: "it's a common things to be happened". But, still the money is have to be returned. On another occasion, *Ponpes Jagasatru* also received rug assistance, but the carpet was arrived, then it was also returned because of the thick rug, not as thin as a carpet. The female hut does not receive assistance from the government, but receives assistance from the givers such as ceramics for the cubicle floor.

IV. CONCLUSION

Ponpes Jagasatru runs educational communication on its teachings with a very flexible considering that the students are also students from formal schools. This makes a balance in the intellectual level of students between the academic field and in their religion field. There is no core teaching given. Even the founders did not teach their *santri* to become preachers, but intended to learn to eliminate ignorance. The alumni also felt the benefits of being taught to mingle with the community, not to become a new society. That explicit message is much more relevant to the conditions of Indonesian Muslims and the Indonesian people these days which tend to be exclusive and diminish the social cohesion. Studying at the diaspora of Hadhramis in Indonesia means learning from history that *ponpes* is indigenous to Indonesia.

The discovery of this study could be a model for *pondok pesantren salaf* in Indonesia, that *santri* should mingle with the community and not create any exclusivity by forming a new society. Academic advice for the next researcher is to elaborate on the other Hadhramis communities considering that the literature on this diaspora in Indonesia is very minimal, as evidenced by researchers who have difficulty in

finding literature on Hadhramis in Indonesia. In addition, specifically for the Hadhramis community in Cirebon itself, there have been no studies exploring *Ponpes Jagasatru* beside one thesis that is not widely publicized. Further research can also be done using other concepts than educational communication.

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