

# The Socio-Cultural Resilience of Islamic Boarding School: Supporting and Inhibiting Factors

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## ABSTRACT

This study aims to explain the level of resilience of the *Salaf* Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*) in implementing the function of Islamic education in the era of society 5.0. and to identify the supporting and inhibiting factors. The research used a case study in a qualitative approach that consist of some techniques in data collection such as interviews, observations, and documentation. The conclusions of the research are the resilience of *Salaf* Islamic boarding schools in implementing the function of Islamic education in the era of Society 5.0 relied on the social capital of *Kiai*, the existence of *Kitab Kuning* study, the attachment of *pesantren* to NU organizations, a sense of attachment to the community, the affiliation of the *pesantren* with the government, and the participation of students in the community. These components were the factors that support the resilience of the *Salaf* Islamic Boarding School from the negative effects of the disruption era. Unfortunately, there were still inhibiting factors, such as the misuse of utilization in technical communication and social media that were used by the students. However, Gus Dur's thesis described that *pesantren* as a subculture was still relevant because *pesantren* was not easily influenced by the dominant culture that came from the outside.

**Keywords:** Resilience, *Pesantren salaf*, Islamic boarding school, Society 5.0.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The disruption era brought a drastic alteration in values. The dilemma that comes in this period, as revealed by Francis Fukuyama, included the willingness of the low public trust in established social institutions. The Signs of a decline in ethical standards become clearer after the merging of global territorial boundaries. The other sign is the value of kinship as the main characteristic of social institutions tends to decline [1]. On the other hand, disruption fundamentally changes the way people live and work. Humans are being replaced by artificial intelligence (AI), robotics engineering, the use of the Internet of Things (IoT), and cloud computing [2].

On the other hand, Indonesia is known for its strong base of Islamic education through *pesantren*. This great tradition is an instrument of transmission of knowledge that teaches noble values, such as religion, culture, socio-cultural transformation, and asceticism.

Anthropologically, *pesantren* has distinctive characteristics that distinguish it from the main culture. Gus Dur said that the uniqueness makes *pesantren* a sub-culture in society [3].

Unfortunately, instead of preparing for the era of Society 5.0. The learning process in Islamic boarding schools in general today is still considered indoctrinating [4], [5]. Islamic boarding schools are also not familiar with global issues such as issues of diversity and national identity [6]. Therefore, this study answers three fundamental questions: do Islamic boarding schools have resistance to the negative effect of the disruption era in Society 5.0? If the proposed hypothesis is resilience, then the next question is, what are variables that support the resilience of the *pesantren*? What are the obstacles that arise?

One of the *pesantren* that still carries out the function of Islamic education is the Salafiyah Safi'iyah Al-

Amin Islamic Boarding School in Ngasem Village, Batealit District, Jepara Regency, Central Java. Judging from the typology, this *pesantren* is included in the traditional category (*salaf*) because it insists on preserving the *yellow book* as the most essential instrument of knowledge. The learning curriculum has not prioritized subject matter outside the Islamic sciences, such as natural and social sciences. This is different from the type of modern *pesantren* (*Khalaf*) which is starting to open up to secular subject matter [7]. It should be emphasized here that the term *Salaf* is different from Salafi. Because in the lexicon of Islamism, the second term refers to the Salafi movement originating from the Middle East (Saudi Arabia). From the aspect of teaching, the Salafi movement is only guided by the legal products of the first three generations of the Muslim community after the Prophet Muhammad; the companions of the Prophet (around 690 AD), the *tabi'in* (750 AD), and the *tabi'it tabi'in* period (around 810 AD). While the term *Salafiyah*, although both refer to good practices that come from previous generations, the period extends to the time of the school of thought tradition, especially the thoughts of Imam *Shafi'i* [4], [8], [9].

The researcher uses social capital theory to distinguish it from symbolic and cultural capital [10]. If symbolic capital refers to the prestige, fame, and honor of certain figures, then social capital is a network relation of resources that influences the determination and reproduction of social position [11]. In this research, the writer tries to find out the relation of the *pesantren* network as social capital for the instrument of resilience to the challenges of the Society 5.0 era.

The study of *pesantren* has long been carried out by scholars. After Zamakhsyari Dhofier introduced the *pesantren* tradition in the academic world in 1980, similar research emerged that strengthened the thesis that *pesantren* is one of the important pillars of the guardian of the tradition of the *ulama* [7]. Unfortunately, some *pesantren* in Indonesia are indicated to perpetuate the indoctrinatory tradition as a form of affiliation to a totalistic ideology [4]. However, these observations of the scholars are casuistic and cannot be generalized. Various studies have proven that Islamic boarding schools always educate the character of their students to be tolerant and uphold human values [15]. In contrast to the literature list revealed by previous scholars, this research wants to get out of the boundaries of radicalism and tolerance issues that exist in the world of Islamic boarding schools. Although these two issues are

important, there is still a literature gap that needs to be filled regarding *pesantren* studies, namely its resilience in facing the challenges of disruption in the Society 5.0 era. Not many researchers have specifically devoted their thoughts to this discourse.

## 2. METHOD

This research used a qualitative case study approach. Researchers focus on extracting the deepest meaning of the phenomenon of the *pesantren Salaf* tradition in responding to the current disruption in the era of society 5.0. Researchers involved themselves in the activities of research informants to track the perspectives of the *pesantren* community living in contemporary times with all the contexts that surrounded them so that they had a resilient character [12]. The research locus was centered at the Salafiyah Safi'iyah Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School, Ngasem. The field data collection process lasted for four months, from November 2020 to February 2021.

The data collection instrument used observation, interview, and documentation techniques. Observations were made by looking directly at the traditional practices of the *Salaf* Islamic Boarding School, Islamic boarding school infrastructure, and learning activities that took place at the Salafiyah Safi'iyah Islamic Boarding School Al-Amin Ngasem. The unstructured interview technique became the researcher's choice to obtain various important information from several informants, among them: 1) Chairman of the boarding school foundation, 2) Kiai, 3) Boarding school administrators, and 4) *Ustaz-ustazah*. Researchers used documentation techniques to complete the research data. Researchers collected authentic notes sourced from Islamic boarding schools, books, and articles from academic journals relevant to the topic of *pesantren* resilience.

All data were then analyzed in three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The three components of this analysis were interactive. Researchers did not generalize to research conclusions as it was usually the case with qualitative research. Researchers only accommodated the principle of transferability if there were similarities between symptoms and cases in other places.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The phenomenon of radicalism within the *pesantren* has existed since this Islamic educational institution began to accept reformist and Islamist thought from the Middle East in the 1980s and early 1990s [13]. Through

the *halaqa* and cycle methods (*daurah*), they recruited loyal followers and sympathizers into an exclusive circle of discussion [13]. The Salafi Jihadist group did not hesitate to develop the doctrine of jihad [8]. If examined more deeply, radicalism in Islamic boarding schools was not only caused by dogmatic Islamic teachings, but also contributed by other factors, such as poverty, low levels of education for students, and limited access to information due to living in remote places [14].

The claim of radicalism entering the *pesantren* did not necessarily eliminate the function of this institution as a place for transmitting Islamic knowledge, maintaining Islamic traditions, and as a medium for the reproduction of ulama. Kiai emphasized important lessons to students about moderation, *tasamuh*, and recognition of diversity [16]. The term jihad in their view did not always have to be interpreted negatively. Jihad was different from the concept of war, terrorism, and suicide bombing [17].

The values of multicultural education were also slowly entering the *pesantren* curriculum. Students were accustomed to understanding ethnic and cultural differences [18]. At least, the students were not easily prejudiced against other groups that are different [19]. *Pesantren* in this context was not only inclusive but also made an important contribution to the process of social and cultural transformation [20], [21].

### **3.1. Pesantren Traditions in Indonesia's Islamic Education System**

In the anatomy of the national education system, *pesantren* is a religious educational institution that moves on a non-formal path to distinguish it from school and family-based educational institutions [22]. The implementation of Islamic boarding school education may take the form of formal education if desired which includes basic, secondary, and higher education levels, as well as non-formal education that does not recognize class hierarchy because it focuses on learning the *Kitab Kuning* [23]. In addition to the educational function, in developing the Islamic values of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, *pesantren* are also required to contain the function of *da'wah* and community empowerment [24].

Islamic boarding school civilization, according to the veteran Indonesians, Clifford Geertz, has existed in Java since the Hindu-Buddhist period of the 16th century or even earlier. *Pesantren* or also commonly called Pondok is fully under the authority of the Kiai. This charismatic figure leads santri in various numbers, ranging from and

three or four, to a thousand. Traditional Islamic boarding schools (*salaf*) teach simplicity and independence [25].

Salaf Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia are characterized by moderate religious understanding based on *Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah*. In the aspect of the socio-religious organization, *pesantren salaf* is affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) which adheres to Ash'ariyah-Maturidiyah theology, the fiqh of the four priests of the schools (Syafi'iyah, Malikiyah, Hanbaliyah, and Hanafiyah), and the mysticism of Ghazali-Junaid al-Baghdadi. The most influential NU cleric who is considered by *nahdliyyin* residents to be successful in connecting the dimensions of tradition with modernity is KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah [26].

The Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School Ngasem is an Islamic boarding school in Jepara Regency, more specifically in Ngasem Village, Batealit District, Jepara Regency. This Islamic boarding school was founded by KH. Muhammad Romli and assisted by his students from the Kajen area, Pati, Central Java in 1990.

At the beginning of the establishment of the *pesantren*, Kiai Romli faced a tough challenge from the Ngasem community, who generally liked to gamble and drank liquor. Once upon a time, the local community threw stones at the cottage environment. It's just that, gradually over time, the surrounding community began to accept the existence of *pesantren*.

With the vision of "becoming a center for strengthening and developing scientific, Islamic and national insights within the framework of *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* congregation *aqidah* which is imbued with *akhlaq al karimah* based on *salafiyah*", Al-Amin Ngasem Islamic Boarding School carries three major visions, namely: 1) Organizing a cottage-based education system *pesantren salafiyah*, 2) organize *salafiyah* book-based education, and 3) organize education and training to develop the interests, talents, and skills of students [27].

In recent developments, the Salafiyah Safi'iyah Al-Amin *pesantren* cannot avoid the era of Society 5.0 or the society of intelligence. In any aspect, this *pesantren* is "forced" to strengthen the integration between physical space and cyberspace. Like it or not, the Kiai as the central figure of the *pesantren* must carry out scientific and technological innovations that are oriented towards overcoming social problems and economic development

[28]. As a result, all elements involved in the *pesantren* tradition, such as teachers and students, are also required to have adaptability, agility, mobility, and reactivity as the main characteristics of Society 5.0 [28].

### **3.2. Resilience of Islamic Boarding School in Society 5.0**

The concept of community resilience has been used in several scientific and institutional, social disciplines, such as psychology, ecology, public health, development, politics, and disaster management. In psychology, resilience is defined as a person's capacity to endure life-shaking events without experiencing significant difficulties. In disaster management, resilience is defined as the capacity of individuals, communities, and systems to survive, adapt, grow, and change various stresses. Likewise in ecology, resilience is defined as the capacity of a system to withstand shocks and rearrangement while changing to maintain its function, structure, and identity [29].

A community is considered resilient if it can respond to any changes and pressures that arise. The resilience of the *pesantren* community means the resilience of the *pesantren* in facing all kinds of disruptive vulnerabilities in Society 5.0 [30]. In defining resilience, Van Metre prefers the term "capacity" to "asset". Community resilience, for him, is one of the capacities shared by the community, the state, and society at large. With this capacity, the community can adopt new processes, norms, and strategies for living and new social relationships. Referring to the definition above, the study of "*pesantren* and resilience" is more focused on the concept of resilience as a prevention capacity rather than resilience as a post-violence recovery capacity. In a fairly broad sense, *pesantren* resilience is the ability of this Islamic educational institution to rise from various difficulties and adapt to various difficult conditions. Two critical aspects represent the condition of resilience, namely self-readiness to respond to threats and positive adaptation achievements [31].

*Pesantren* is a great tradition in Indonesia that has been going on for centuries has enabled this community to adapt to the challenges of Society 5.0 by rejecting or maintaining the noble values it adheres to. Based on the typology, *pesantren* have different social capital. The social capital of traditional *pesantren* is the existence of the Kiai and the *Kitab Kuning*. Meanwhile, the modern type of *pesantren* (*khalaf*) maintains its identity through curriculum updates, learning methods, and supporting

facilities. Likewise, with the mixed type of *pesantren* (*Salaf-Khalaf* convergence). On the one hand, it continues to preserve its traditional domain, while on the other hand, it begins to open itself up to new elements that come from outside the *pesantren* [32]. Community resilience departs from *pesantren* as a bulwark against various social innovations in Society 5.0 which works in tandem with three critical elements, namely data, information, and knowledge [33].

### **3.3. Social Capital of Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School**

#### **3.3.1. Kiai's Social Capital**

Headings may be numbered or unnumbered ("1 The concept of commu, the social capital of the Kiai in the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school is based on the results of an interview with KH. Muhammad Romli is supported by leadership skills. Kiai in Islamic boarding schools in addition to fostering students and the people, also act as communication intermediaries between the government and the community. The role of this kind of Kiai by Geertz is referred to as the cultural broker [34]. In an interview with the researcher, one of the informants, Ustaz Ahmad Zubaidi said:

The leadership of KH. Muhammad Romli at the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school is very concerned about the development of students and the progress of the Islamic boarding school. Students are also guided. Until the Kiai decides for himself when to ask, even in matters of choosing a mate, the Kiai is determined. KH. Muhammad Romli has a very strong personality both in character and self-control [35].

Another informant from one of the students of the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School, Bagoes Ilham explained Kiai Romli's policy in leading the *pesantren*.

Kiai's leadership in the *pesantren* is very authoritative and wise. Kiai pays attention to how the condition of his students. KH. Muhammad Romli also really maintains friendly relations with alumni of Islamic boarding schools. Naturally, every time there is a big event at the cottage, many alumni take the time to come even though their homes are far away [36].

In educating his students, Kiai Romli also prioritizes sincerity and patience. In terms of appearance, Kiai Romli behaves modestly and avoids glamour.

### 3.3.2. *The Existence of Kitab Kuning Study*

*Kitab Kuning's* learning method at the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School does not recognize tiers and time limits. Hierarchy is only measured by the books that have been studied.

In learning the yellow book, *nahwu* and *fiqh* materials make up the majority portion. Because the science of *nahwu* is the key in reading books, while the science of *fiqh* is a science that has a lot to do with society. So that the learning of *nahwu* and *fiqh* is prioritized both at the cottage and the madrasa [37].

The *Kitab Kuning* taught in Islamic boarding schools based on the results of interviews with KH. Muhammad Romli is classified into three levels, namely basic level, intermediate level, and major books. *Ustaz* Ahmad Zubaidi also conveyed about the entire the *Kitab Kuning* that was studied in Islamic boarding schools and madrasas including *nahwu* and *shorof*, *fiqh*, *tashawuf*, morality, interpretation, hadith, monotheism, and *tarikh*. Among them are *Ta'limul Mutaalim*, *Arbain Nawawi* hadith books, *Matan Safinatunnajah*, *Aqidatul Awam*, *Amsilah Tashrifiyah*, *Al-Jurumiyyah*, *Imrithi*, *Alfiyah* and major books such as *Jalalain*.

### 3.3.3. *The Attachment of Pesantren to Islamic Organizations (Social Bridging)*

In terms of coordination, Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School has a cultural attachment to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) mass organization. The reason is that NU has a big vision of preserving the teachings of *Ahlussunnah wal jamaah (Aswaja)*. This affiliation becomes a significant social capital in maintaining the identity of the *pesantren*. Furthermore, the majority of the people in the vicinity of the Islamic boarding school are NU students.

In the field of practical politics, Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School is not tied to any particular political party. It is feared that relations with political parties will create a negative impression in society towards *pesantren*.

### 3.3.4. *Feeling of Belonging to the Community (Social Bonding)*

The relationship between students with one another, especially the inner bond of students with the *Kiai*, at the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School is very strong. This cannot be separated from the *Kiai's* strong advice and message.

On the occasion of the Fajr study, KH. Muhammad Romli conveyed a message about the attachment of this community. He said:

*The students must obey all the rules of the pesantren. Maintain the good name of the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School alma mater. Anyway, if the students want to obey the rules of the Islamic boarding school, don't leave studies, don't hurt the teacher, and don't leave congregational prayers, surely the knowledge is useful and a blessing.*

Indirectly, what was conveyed by KH. Muhammad Romli above contains elements of community attachment between *Kiai*, *ustaz*, and students at the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school. Everything must be of one taste in maintaining the good name of the *pesantren* alma mater.

### 3.3.5. *Pesantren Affiliation with the Government (Social Linking)*

Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School, to form a resilient character, builds a vertical relationship with the structure of the Village Government. The trick is to place alumni to fill strategic positions in government structure positions at the village level. As stated by the Head of the Islamic Boarding School, *Ustaz* Zuhdi Ihsan below:

One of the alumni of the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school is a member of the Village Consultative Body (BPD) in Ngasem Village, namely *Ustaz* Sodik. Apart from being a cleric and speaker at the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school, *Ustaz* Sodik is also a speaker and religious leader in the village. Whenever there is an appeal from the government regarding Islamic boarding schools, *Ustaz* Sodik always provides information first. On the other hand, if there are things that are not good from the community regarding the Islamic boarding school, *Ustaz* Sodik always provides information to the Islamic boarding school.

Then *Ustaz* Ahmad Zubaidi also conveyed the relationship between Islamic boarding schools and the government in other forms.

The relationship between Islamic boarding schools and the government is that the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school has registered in the basic data of Islamic education, or what is known as EMIS data so that teachers at the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school who initially only received honoraria are now able to receive the salaries of Islamic boarding school teachers from the government.

### 3.3.6. *There is Civic Participation*

*Based on the delivery of Ustaz Zuhdi Ihsan, it can be seen that the Al-Amin Islamic boarding school has large civic participation in society.*

Many students at the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School are involved with the activities of the surrounding community. Such as attending death celebrations, community service, flying invitations, invitations to the completion of the Qur'an, invitations to install stages, sound systems, tents, and so on. On the other hand, if the cottage is carried out construction, the surrounding community will help a lot in the form of material, energy, and food.

This statement was reinforced by one of the students of the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School, Qomaruddin, as follows:

Many people offer jobs to students according to their needs, such as finishing furniture, cutting grass, building houses, painting houses, digging wells, building bridges, picking *durian* and *rambutan*, cleaning houses, and many others according to the needs of the surrounding community.

### 3.4. *Supporting and Inhibiting Factors of Islamic Boarding School Resilience in Society 5.0*

The resilience of the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School in the Society 5.0 is supported by the social capital of the *Kiai*, the work of students and alumni, and the study of the *Kitab Kuning* that is still sustainable.

Students in Islamic boarding schools are recognized for their expertise in the field of religious knowledge, even though they do not have a formal education diploma but can become educators of religious education subjects in all lines, levels, and other types of education [38].

While the inhibiting factor for the resilience of the Al-Amin Islamic Boarding School comes from the field of internal security of the lodge, specifically the security of students in the use of communication tools and social media. Students' use of smartphones and social media frequently interferes with their learning process. Even though there are often raids on devices, they have been confiscated many times, and have even been subject to sanctions. However, there are still students who conceal their gadgets.

On the input side, the majority of students who attend Islamic boarding schools have no religious background. The quantity of *Ustaz* is also still limited so that it is not optimal in monitoring the daily activities of students.

As a consequence of the various findings above, theoretically, this research proves the thesis that *Pesantren Salaf* has resilience in the Society 5.0 era through the support of social capital. The priority of *Pesantren Salaf* is to maintain traditional values are derived from the products of medieval scholars' thought. Mastery of digital-based information technology is not the essential choice, but only a tool to explore the treasures of *Kitab Kuning*.

## 4. CONCLUSION

*Pesantren Salaf's* resilience in the Society 5.0 era was supported by solid social capital, such as *Kiai* figures, *Kitab Kuning* study, *pesantren* attachment to NU, a sense of belonging to the community, *Pesantren Salaf's* affiliation with the government, and civic participation with the government, and civic participation. The findings of this research confirm the theoretical claim put forward by Gus Dur regarding *pesantren* as a subculture. *Pesantren Salaf* has a distinctive character and is not easily influenced by a mainstream culture that comes from outside, including the culture created by Society 5.0. The researcher admits that the scope of this research is still limited because it only elaborates on the type of *pesantren Salaf*. Meanwhile, modern (*Khalaf*) and semi-modern of *Pesantren* have not become the domain of study at all, thus providing an opportunity for other researchers to take the topic as a comparison. In the future, *Salaf* Islamic boarding schools need to adapt to the development of information technology tools to help students find references to the *Kitab Kuning* in a practical way.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors conceived and designed this study. All authors contributed to the process of revising the manuscript, and at the end all author have approved the final version of this manuscript.

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