

Increasing Social Class through Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia

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Abstract

To increase social classes in the society, this study describes the community living in *pesantren*, an Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. Three research questions to be sought include: (1) What social class of *santri* on *Pesantren* is viewed by society in the *pesantren* culture and in the social setting? (2) How is the cultural basis of *pesantren* as an entity legally perceived throughout the history of the *pesantren*? and (3) How is *pesantren* as a social agency transformed in the community environment were the research questions. This research used a qualitative approach to data analysis and described its style as ethnography. Ethnography allowed for direct observation in a natural setting and embedded the researcher in a specific group to study its attitudes and interactions. The research participants in this study were 5 *kiyai* and 2 senior *santri*. Data were collected through direct observation, diary studies, video recordings, photography, and artifact analysis. Results show that *pesantren* does a good job reflecting the socioeconomic status of students attending the seminary. The low social class shows that support systems help in the success of the learning process, while the role of *kiyai*, the saint people, is vital. Since the Dutch colony, *pesantrens* have acted as cultural foundations. The association is legitimized because historically *pesantrens* have been agents of changes, cultural legitimacy, and a religious center of the view. *Pesantren* is a social reformer, a critical educational institution that can serve as cornerstones for change in society and the university. Such change is supported by a new modern infrastructural foundation, one built using modern technology-based systems. Furthermore, a *pesantren* is not merely a religious school. Still, the population has modernized the school to an institution that gives competitive knowledge, science, attitudes, and culture rooted in Islamic values.

Keywords: *pesantren, transformation, cultural change, religious agency.*

Introduction

This study explores the new trend and demand in Indonesia regarding the issues on Islamic Boarding School (henceforth, IBS) and its role to increase social status. The growth of IBS in Indonesia in 2020 is truly remarkable, demonstrating that Islamic life in Indonesia is moving at a breakneck rate. *Pesantren* started as a traditional education based on a mosque or boarding school, but it is now growing into a modern institution that offers education at all levels, including primary, junior high, high school, and tertiary education. According to the Ministry of Religion,

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there were 28,194 IBS in 2020, with a total of 5 million students. There are 21,263 IBS in Java, which includes West Java, Banten, DKI Jakarta, Central Java, and East Java, with 1.5 million students (Ministry of Religion, 2020). The emergence of *pesantren* indicates a further expansion of Islamic study groups located in mosques or the houses of *kiyai* (Van Bruinessen, 1994) and a symbol of Islamic resistance and identity among the *santri* community (Isbah, 2020; Azra, 2006; Ismail, 2021).

The *pesantren* has now emerged as the epicenter of social transformation, and it is helping transform the competence of *santri* into something higher in quality (Isbah, 2020; Putro, 2021). In the history of IBS, they have proven to be a place where "care" is provided to disadvantaged children from socially and economically vulnerable families. It is through the *pesantren* that they are able to learn to become successful people in life (Ismail, 2021). The religious leaders and *ulama* from the *pesantren* education went on to do various things, from working in various professions to teaching in non-*pesantren* mosques and in other regions of the country (Hidayah, 2021). While a number of them have been able to start IBS and madrasas to meet the spiritual and academic needs of Muslims, not all have succeeded (Putro, et. al, 2021; Tahili et al, 2021).

The role of *pesantren* has become prominent to form the social status of the Muslim in the society in Indonesia that takes various roles in the country. Leaders and politicians that concern with *pesantren* are many. For example, KH. Nur Iskandar, SQ, caretaker of the Ash-Shiddiqiyah Islamic boarding school, was able to defeat the capital city of Jakarta with their information. Muhaimin Iskandar, the DPR-Deputy RI's Chairman, Abdul Azis, a member of the DPRD Central Java, and Imam Akhfas, a member of the DPR-D Banyumas, are among them. KH. Ma'ruf Amin, Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ida Fauziyah, Minister of Manpower, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, Governor of East Java, and Asip Kholbihi, Regent of Pekalongan district, are among the students who are currently executive officers. They are among hundreds, if not thousands, of *santri* who have been elected by Indonesians to different positions ranging from village head to president of the Republic of Indonesia (Putro, 2021). According to Asnawi, et. all. (2016), IBS have social resilience, are able to develop communities, build scientific and cultural traditions, as well as being economically independent. This level of competence places *pesantren* in the Indonesian social system between the upper- and lower-class categories. In agreement, Siswanto (2020) suggests *pesantren* parented students who received social welfare, protection, and the environment in line with the Child Social Welfare Institution standards (LKSA).

Pesantren education as a system for academic and personal growth has been studied thus far. Religious education, along with practical skills, enables *santri* to be useful members of society. Andiani & Putri (2019) find that social support is positively linked to *santri* adjustment. Siswanto's study (2020) shows that social welfare-based *pesantren* parenting develops well-rounded, capable individuals. Specifically, *pesantren* has performed as a class transformation force in which *santris* are raised from the lower social class to competence. *Pesantren* definitely proves to be an educational alternative for the poor.

The emergence of muslim as minority and receives minor perception in education and social class has occurred also in other countries. In Denmark, the social classes of Muslim are perceived minority (Ismail, 2021), in Germany, education for Muslim is considered not satisfied. Regarding the issues on Islamic phobia, Muslim in Indonesia are regarded to some contexts as intolerance because of the conduct affiliated to terrors and misconception of jihad. There has been little exploration to what extent religious background influences perceptions and behavior regarding filial obligations. Now a substantial and growing proportion of social status, it is societal relevance to gain more advanced insight into muslim status in social and education that apply Islamic education practices.

The main goal of this paper is to supplement the shortcomings of prior studies by analyzing how the involvement of *pesantren* in helping students with different educational backgrounds to move up in their educational careers. In particular, this paper explains not only the potential of the *pesantren* in facilitating class change, but also the significance of the role of the *pesantren* for *pesantren* tradition sustainability. The researcher notes that *pesantren* institutions are not only places where students learn about religious values, but they are also places where students become empowered, allowing them to be more well-educated and prosperous. Although IBS provide an alternative education option for the lower classes of society, they also support the status of the *santri* through their efforts. *Pesantren* has established itself as a key institution, and as a result, class change is inevitable. Since community development is becoming increasingly relevant, the importance of *pesantren* will likely increase from time to time.

Research Questions

Initiated by the background of the social agency attached to the *pesantren*, the following three research questions were sought to answer in this research. They are:

- 1) What social class of *santri* on *Pesantren* are perceived by the society in the *pesantren* community and in the social environment?
- 2) How is the cultural foundation of *pesantren* as an agency legally perceived during the history of the *pesantren*?
- 3) How is *pesantren* as social agency transformed in the community environment?

Review of Literature

Madrasah

An Islamic school is referred to as a madrasah or a school in Arabic. In today's world, the term refers to any form of Islamic educational institution, especially primary and secondary education. The madrasahs started as lectures given at mosques on a regular basis. Princely and affluent families donated funds for the design of the building and student stipends. In the 12th century, mosques, madrasahs, and educational institutions became widespread in Damascus, Baghdad, Mosul, and many other Muslim cities. Madrasahs served as theological seminaries and law schools for centuries, until the 20th century. Islamic theology and law were studied in addition to Arabic grammar, mathematics, logic, and natural science in madrasahs. Tuition was free, along with food, lodging, and medical care. The course included primarily memorization of textbooks and lectures from the instructor (Bhat, 2019; Masud, 2020; Nasir, 2020; Silalahi, & Yuwono, 2018). The lecturer gave his students certificates giving them permission to repeat his words. According to Geertz (1960), in Indonesia *pesantren* was modeled after Javanese Hindu-Buddhist monasteries from the 7th to 16th centuries, but the content was replaced with Islamic content (Geertz, 1960).

The nature of *pesantren* and madrasah differs from the system of education. *Pesantren* refers to IBS whose core business was the provision of Islamic learning for Muslim pupils. *Pesantren* are Islamic educational institutions that share many common characteristics. Their physical and organisational structures commonly share several elements: mosque, dormitory, students (popularly called *santri*), and *kiyai* (Islamic scholar who leads *pesantren*). The central place is occupied by a mosque where the students and *kiyai* pray five times a day, and do other activities that involve a large number of people, such as public lectures, collective prayers, and public preaching. The house of the *kiyai* is commonly located beside the mosque and the dormitory where the students reside (Dhofier 1999). Today's *pesantren* also commonly have classrooms

and other school buildings. The other characteristic is the teaching of Islamic texts, organised mainly after prayer times. In a more formal language, *pesantren* are commonly called *pondok pesantren*. *Pondok* literally means a ‘hut’, while *pesantren* means ‘a place of the *santri*’. The term ‘*santri*’ denote ‘*pesantren*’s student’. In the past, *pesantren* was used only in Java, but today the term *pondok pesantren* is also commonly used in other regions of Indonesia as this term has been adopted by the central government to refer to IBS (Azra, 2006; Hidayah, 2021; Solikhah & Budiharso, 2019).

The development of *pesantren* is tremendous, showing a huge increase all over Indonesia. Table 1 shows the number of *pesantren*, *santri* and education units operated by *pesantren* in Java.

Table 1

Number of pesantren and its santri in Java by 2020

No	Province	Number of pesantren	Education unit	Santri staying in pondok	Non-staying santri
1	West Java	8343	5465	148.987	306.728
2	Banten	4579	2884	60.897	96.842
3	DKI Jakarta	102	28	17.355	6.568
4	Central Java	3787	1992	166.605	132.269
5	East Java	4452	794	323.293	241.006
		21.263	11.163	717.137	1.500.500

Pesantren as Social Agency

Since the founding of IBS, *pesantren* has become agencies that have the ability and capacity to encourage social changes and influence the lives of those they reach (Recht & Grynszpan, 2019). To understand the importance of *pesantren* in Indonesia, we must remember that Islamic values and traditions are an inseparable part of society. In turn, it enables *pesantren* education to directly influence people's mindset and social behavior (Mustafa et al. 2018; Ma'rifah, 2015). Because *pesantren* teaches and instills values and traditions that are seen as forms of authority and obedience, it is able to serve as a social control and influence in community development (Nasution, 2017).

In *pesantren*, we have everything from social resources, including various models, to ensure that our practices and the practices of others both support social change (Busyairi, 2017; Bano, 2010; Garibay, 2018). Pedagogies that emphasize human values taught by the Qur'an and Hadith (known as Hadith pedagogies) are created and fostered by *pesantren*, whose goals include encouraging creativity and promoting social justice (Ma'Arif, 2018; Awabien, 2020). According to Abu-Nimer

and Nasser (2017), IBS have come to function as institutions that serve to promote peaceful values and harmony within the community.

Pesantren have been viewed as intermediaries that help to both spread knowledge and generate progress by encouraging resources, empowering development in all areas, and developing scientific and technological advancement (Usman, 2013). According to Abdelnour et al., (2017), the formation of *pesantren* as a catalyst (agent of change) is also influenced by the support of the *pesantren* leader actors. Likewise, the most important actors in educational policymaking are the *ulama*, whose efforts, include significant participation in making education policies (Abdelnour et al., 2017). It is vital that actors play an active role in school initiatives, as they possess significant agency power and influence student education objectives, especially by fostering positive character development and development of competency (Parag & Janda, 2014; Fata, 2014).

For years, IBS have served as leaders in the push for a new form of education that focuses on learning and development from a holistic perspective while also incorporating customs and values found in the local community (Abubakar, 2018). Rokhman et al. (2014) report that *pesantren* could shape attitudes, behaviors, and mastery of technology. In addition, *pesantren* act as information transfer hubs as well as molders of attitudes, character behaviors, and mastery of technology. Despite its success, however, Heriyudanta (2016) identified there are also failures of *pesantren* education to fulfill its role in birthing students who possess the aptitude and mastery of technology in Islamic sciences which can aid in the transformation of society.

Social Responsibility *Pesantren*

A *pesantren* is an educational institution that is responsible for both its functions and objectives in society. *Pesantren* also has a social responsibility that consists of two essential components, namely theological responsibility and management responsibility. In addition to their roles as messengers of truth, spreaders of goodness, and agents of change, Syahrul (2017) identifies the theological responsibilities seen in the role of *pesantren*. At the same time, management responsibility can be seen in implementing policies and decisions that benefit society. In agreement, Hedblom et al. (2019) stated that a *pesantren's* social responsibility is based on spiritual values aimed at maximizing Islamic teachings by ensuring that the school avoids behavior that deviates from religion so that the *pesantren* has a strong influence on shaping values in their students' daily lives. Also part of the concept of *ukhuwah Islamiyah* is the concept of *pesantren* as

an institution that produces students with good spiritual and spiritual capacities, and as an entity that is able to apply Islamic values in society (Arpanudin, 2016; Fadhli, 2018; Subagja, 2016). The Tebuireng Islamic boarding school employed social response in a very straightforward manner, such as during the Khadratussyaikh KH era. Some others also offer their services in order to serve the needs of other students. For example, they will help cook or wash clothes in exchange for having an opportunity to be included in meals or a small amount of money (compensation) (Mansur & Karyadi, 2010). For as long as the *pesantren* tradition has existed, the exchange of mutually-beneficial social interactions such as this has continued. As a religion-based educational institution, *pesantren* not only have a spiritual responsibility in practicing Islamic values and traditions, but are also socially responsible because as an institution, they empower their students (Thahir, 2014). Zaki et al. (2020) demonstrate that the responsibilities of IBS for empowering their students are demonstrated by increasing the potential that students have through provision of numerous types of disciplines and life skills.

In compliance with the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith, demonstrating commitment to developing long-term sustainable resources uphold good morals and ethics (Patriadi, 2017; Fua et al., 2018). IBS emphasize Islamic values in their curricula and instructional methods, as evidence by the application of curricula and instructional methods that include texts from the Qur'an, helping students understand their religion (Hussain & Read 2015; Amin et al. 2019). Developing competence and character based on Islamic religious values and laws was the concern (Hayah, 2017). Students learn many life skills in the process of having sex and in everyday life. Cleanliness, security, and repair of facilities or pre-IBS also work to improve this competence.

Class Mobility

Pesantren are involved in various aspects of their students' development. In discussing the role IBS play in facilitating students' ability to take part in dominant national discourses and influence discourse on Islamic religious values. Baba (2011) stated, "These institutions play a role in promoting students' skill in adopting the dominant national discourse, with regards to Islamic religious values." Hefner (2016) feels that religion-based education emphasises leadership training and *da'wah* training for students so that many of them will attain well-paying jobs with the aim of helping them climb the social ladder. *Pesantren* provide opportunities for students to develop their life skills through the *pesantren* business, as explained by Isbah (2016).

Considering that the majority of students are from impoverished families and have a hard time financially, *pesantren* enriches students by letting them take part in businesses according to their skills where the profits from the business are used to cover education and living expenses for students in the *pesantren* (Isbah, 2016). Hasan (2012) believes that the rising use of *pesantren* (the type of boarding school often with higher levels of student participation) has given rise to a new social class of students that adhere to Islamic values but which is separate from the traditional Muslim class.

IBS helps students master Islamic disciplines. It helps foster financial independence for the community and self-sufficiency. *Pesantren* had a notable shift in their positioning and focus on issues like economic, social, and political issues (Ma'Arif, 2018) when developing, IBS provide not only Islamic education but also social mobility (Nuha, 2016). Finally, to conclude, Lazuardi et al (2017) indicated that *pesantren* contributes significantly to social change, mobility, and the emergence of democracy, work ethic, and sustainable education.

This definition suggests that IBS have a role to prepare students to explore and master Islamic science, also known as Tafqquh Fid Din, which results in *da'i* cadres who study religion and give fatwas (Istikhomah, 2017). Muhammadiyah organization sees *pesantren* have a strategic position in the process of using Islamic principles to build science and in the betterment of the *ummah*. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for Muhammadiyah to have IBS to raise *ulama* who are capable of organizing, defending, and supporting Muhammadiyah activities to make their dreams a reality (Lazuardi et al., 2017).

Methods

Design

This study used an ethnography that used qualitative approach (Holroyd, 2001). Ethnography is a study through direct observation of users in their natural environment rather than in a lab. As a qualitative research, an ethnography immersed the researcher in a particular community or organization to observe their behavior and interactions up close (Caufield, 2021). Ethnography is flexible to gain a deep understanding of a group's shared culture, conventions, social dynamics, and ethical challenges (Lester, 1999). The study focused on the exploration of *pesantren* community as an agent of struggle for social progress, the *kiyai penderek* or *santri kamil* which are members of the low socioeconomic class. Specifically, this study examines the phenomenon

of the increase in students who while at the *pesantren* develop the qualities of a *khadim* or *kiyai* and *khidmah* lecturer and give *khidmah* lectures at the *pesantren* due to their parents' financial constraints. Relying on a qualitative approach, this study implemented thematic analysis model from Miles and Huberman (1994). Ethnography methods include direct observation, diary studies, video recordings, photography and artifact analysis such as devices that a person uses throughout the day. The study took place in Central Java Indonesia.

Participants

In this study, the participants included 5 *kiyai* and 2 senior *santri*, each of which holds a position of status within society their exposure to *pesantren* education had an impact on their social standing. The *kiyai* were aged between 55 to 65 years of age and the *santri* aged 50 years. Each participant had been living and involved in the *pesantren* for more than 35 years. The participants were recruited using snowball sampling technique, which starts out small but increases in size because of the incorporation of certain factors (Sugiyono, 2010). The snowball technique was used to gather new information from each individual informant, so that the information becomes more and more comprehensive and in-depth. The *kiyai* were those who are senior and their teachings have been maintained as the exemplars. In addition, the two senior *santri* had dedicated their entire lives, telling their stories to the *santri* and students.

Data of this Study

Primary data for an in-depth investigation were provided by the interviews of the next three students, who spoke about their time serving as leaders at the *pesantren*. The investigation discovered the students' motivations, educational process, and hidden aspects such as their experiences and what socioeconomic conditions were like when they were students. Data of ethnography centered at the social interaction of users in a given environment, providing an in-depth insight into the user's views and actions along with the sights and sounds they encounter during their day. It provides the researcher with an understanding of how those users see the world and how they interact with everything around them.

The data from the interview was original as the first hand sources, either as a separate object or as the raw material of the perpetrator, which is referred to as first-hand information (Silalahi, 2012). As a result, they are analyzed based on secondary data, such as research or findings, which have

been studied with the results of different references, all of which form a foundation for this theory. Second-hand information (i.e. data that was already acquired before the research was done) is data collected from other sources or second-hand information that has previously existed. The second source includes information regarding the primary sources' comments, perspectives, or discussions (Bungin, 2006).

Data Collection

Data of this study were collected through an in-depth interview. The researcher interviewed and recorded via audiotape the participants regarding their experience of 'being-in- community' of this research. Each participant needed 45 to 50 minutes for the interview. The interviews were unstructured and proceeded with the question: *What was your experience of being-in-pesantren community?* This facilitated a free dialogic flow between co-researchers, which allowed other open-ended questions to be asked during the interview based on the emergent data. The interviews were transcribed verbatim. However, the procedure for the one of the transcripts was subject to modifications.

Before reading the transcripts, the first stage of the phenomenological procedure were considered the 'phenomenological attitude'. This is a two-fold procedure consisting of the epoché or bracketing and the eidetic reduction. Both steps are essential to phenomenological methodology. Bracketing consists of suspending ones 'natural attitude', or our taken-for-granted approach to everyday living informed by culture and education, including our "past knowledge of the phenomenon encountered" (Giorgi, 1997). Bracketing requires a rigorous reflection on one's bias, opinions, and cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. McKenna (1997) suggests that epoché is a way of making the transition from our more normal way of considering consciousness and the world to the properly phenomenological way of considering them. Following epoch comes the eidetic reduction which "involves the movement from objects as facts to objects as exemplars (essences). In this process, particular features of a phenomenon are reduced or set aside so that note can be taken of that which shows itself as universal" (Ehrich, 1999).

Data Analysis

The analysis model of this study was thematic analysis that focused to map the analysis domains as a single or multiple domains (Mungin, 2006). When the domain is a single concept, a case study may be done describing the domain in terms of vertical phenomena (such as history, development of phenomena, structure of phenomena), or horizontal phenomena (such as dynamics and changes of phenomena, the transfer between statuses that occur from the people in this case study). Case studies can be carried out alongside explaining a single phenomenon, as well as explaining the relationships between the different phenomena. For instance, a case study could look at how the structural characteristics of the phenomenon connect to its change, like how the way the phenomenon is structured impacts how it evolves.

Analysis was emphasized to find pattern tern recognition, describe and explore aspects of the subject. In addition, data tracing in the form of field notes (note taking) to find cultural patterns were used. Accordingly, data analysis encompassed analyzing data, organizing it, searching for patterns, and discovering what was important and what was learned. According to Miles & Huberman (1994), three stages must be followed in the analysis of qualitative research data, with the first stage, data reduction, being especially important. Removing unnecessary data was meant to summarizing, looking for themes and patterns, and focusing on the important aspects. This means that reduced data helps to produce a clearer picture, allowing researchers to collect more information.

Results and Discussion

Social Class of Santri

The *pesantren* becomes an agent in the class struggle. It is more than a place for children to learn about religion and/or grow. Instead, it has become a place for combating "poverty" or "deprivation" and transforming these negative characteristics into something better. Because the majority of students at the *pesantren* are typically also from the lower class of society, they will see the *pesantren* grow and develop in the lower-class community, and to bring down the economic and social standing of the lower classes. Though there is an above-average percentage of *santri* (nontraditional village priests) who have parents who are farmers, small traders, or village officials, it has also been found that some of the *santri* are children of broken home families, neglected children, destitute, or lost, whose families are no longer able to care for and educate

them. The fact that in this latter case parents only view *pesantren* as capable of restoring their children to a straight and moral path highlights the significance of *pesantrens* in Muslim society. *Pesantren* students who are from lower- or struggling-class families have greatly benefited from the concrete figures, positive motivations, and nurturing models that they have received. Parents believe that IBS best prepare their children for success in modern society, and this motivates them to select that education path for their children.

One of the *kiyai* said:

“Our *santri* came from various cities all over Indonesia. At normal, the *santri* are from lower social classes who access to social economy and linkages are restricted.”

Care Patterns

In *pesantren*, the concept of the process of seeking knowledge (*thalabul ilmi*) and worship to serve and seek the pleasure of Allah SWT is acted out in the following ways: (1) through the unity of the *kiyai* and *santri* who are accommodated in the boarding school complex with the same intention (namely, to research and worship to be subservient and supplicate to Allah SWT), and (2-2) through the optimal use of time allocated for studying various fields of science, most importantly Islamic sciences. Finally, the Duha prayer, with the exception of *kiyai* tow students who get additional tasks for cooking, caring for livestock, or other various jobs, is done by implementing and applying knowledge in worship and social life and exemplifying this knowledge through *kiyai*. Additionally, it also includes demonstrating knowledge through one's actions by performing tasks that assist people and livestock, thus practicing it naturally, utilizing the facilities and media are both useful methods for this project.

The Role of Kiyai in the Care of Students

As is seen in the *pesantren*, the role of the *kiyai* is central in the practice of the five nurturing patterns. Designing the process and the method of teaching knowledge, as well as their practice, is an attempt by successive generations of *kiyai* to reproduce the educational model of the Prophet Muhammad. The *kiyai* positions themselves as a central figure like the Prophet who must be followed and appreciated by students as friends in various areas of life, from waking up to sleeping, by repeating the same procedure of going to sleep and then waking up. In daily life, students focus on studying the classical Islamic literature (also known as the yellow book), on religious practices,

and on learning everyday life skills. He then shouts *kiyai* (a Muslim term of praise or exultation) before going outside to worship, recite verses from the Koran, and offer prayers. Afterward, he often invites his students to the fields to farm, raise livestock, and even learn to become craftspeople and to build ships as taught by Abdul Ghofur at the Sunan Drajat Lamongan Islamic boarding school in East Java.

Two elderly *kiyai* from Banyumas state have shared their experiences while attending the Islamic boarding school, and later returning to their hometown, of serving or helping the *kiyai*. After their return, they worked their way up the social hierarchy, becoming major *kiyai* in the community. Furthermore, Muhammad Hidayat Sokaraja Banyumas, who has served KH. Maksum Lasem, father of KH. Ali Maksum Krapyak Yogyakarta, a Rois Am PBNU after KH. Bisri Sansuri Denanyar Jombang, was also with KH. Maksum Krapyak on that day. After having a family and residing in Sokaraja, Kiyai Hidayat founded a *pesantren*. In his philanthropic work, he served as a *rois syuriah* PCNU of Banyumas regency, where he was the regency's *rois syuriah* PCNU for two periods. The existence of proof recognizes the quality of science and social communication as having an impact on the greater public.

Numerous Bahtsul Masail (involving current problems) result in fresh ideas such as bribery and political money; however, truth may be defended or power seized, all of which helps to avert corruption in the religious order. It is an admirably charismatic leader. In the district, Kiyai Hidayat is a role model and reference for both lawyers and organization managers. KH Second, Sobri Tinggarjaya Jatilawang Banyumas is a charismatic *kiyai* who cares for the al-Falah Islamic boarding school, also, A'wan Syuriah PWNU Central Java *mustasyar* PCNU Banyumas. This shows that this person is known for his scientific quality and social interaction. He is a well-known *pesantren kiyai* and, as such, regularly offers advice and lectures on the Haj and Umrah pilgrimages. As a boy, Sobri did [that] KH. Jazuli, the boarding school caretaker, serves his sons, such as KH. Zainuddin Jazuli, KH. Hamim Jazuli, and others.

His reputation as a scientist and his authority within the scientific community was confirmed, and he became a respected and respected individual. Although villagers like him might not make as much money as people with more favorable economic and social statuses, they believe it is their responsibility to change their destinies by continuing to study and recite the Koran. Both Hassan and Hassan felt that given the limited funds, the best course of action was to serve the Scholars, and that would enable them to continue to learn and receive blessings from Allah SWT while also

bringing them knowledge and pleasure. This reality is in agreement with what KH had previously stated. Malaysian scholar Hasyim Asy'ari (2001) describes this practice in his book, *Adab al-'Alim wa al-Muta'allim*, where he writes that students must serve the *kiyai* with the intention of worship in order to receive the reward of Allah SWT. There is no doubt that having an authentic goal will direct students to acquiring knowledge of *dhohir* and an awareness of their inner nature, and will ensure a higher degree of future life.

Other than *khadam kiyai*, three other students, namely Mudatsir, Ulul Huda, and Najmuiddin, experience the same thing. The first is Mudatsir (a student from a poor family in Bungingsubo Pajangan, Bantul, Yogyakarta), who taunted the *kiyai* from 1989 to 1999 at Mrs. Nyai Rosyidah's *pesantren*, al-Munawwir Krapyak. So it is known as the *santri* DPR members for the simple reason that their tasks mostly consist of running a kitchen. Studying religion and the blessings of life was why he studied and taught *kiyai* and *ndalem*. His parents and he both felt that the *kiyai* deserved the insults. He decided to join the Krapyak lodge because his family had already been there and they were motivated by his parents and *kiyai*.

Simbah Nyai wakes him up for midnight prayers every night, but I sleep through it most of the time. Sometimes, when she hears *Mbah Nyai* approaching her room, she pretends to be awake. Immediately putting on his complete prayer garb, he faced the *Qiblat* and appeared to be awake and praying. Even though at first he was only able to go to grade 2 of Madrasah Aliyah, he was able to go to high school while memorizing the Qur'an. At the end, smart, beautiful, and rich female students still loved her, and formed a happy family. His wife teaches at ISI Jogjakarta while he is a teacher at Madrasah Tsanawiyah in Pondok Krapyak.

In addition, there is a lecturer at Jenderal Soedirman University (Unsoed) in Purwokerto named Ulul Huda, S.Ag. M.Si. This (interview that will take place on 10 February 2021) originated in Banyuwangi in 1982. He is the son of a village chief elder and is employed as a village teacher at a *pesantren*. Starting in 1996, she held the title of *khodam*, or Lady, of Nyai Robiah, wife of *kiyai* Iskandar, and at some point thereafter she assumed the position of *khidmah*, or housekeeper, to *kiyai* Ghozali with the added responsibility of cleaning the *kiyai's* house and surroundings, cooking, and doing laundry. Her parents totally surrendered to her mother when she was in her early teens in order to allow her to attend MTs school, which allowed her to save money and pursue her education. After graduating from Madrasah Aliyah (SMA), he completed his *khidmah* and received a masters in KH. Dr. Noer Iskandar al-Barsani in Purwokerto.

During his time in Purwokerto, he simultaneously functioned as the mayor of the city and a student at STAIN (now State Islamic University (UIN) Prof. K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri) Purwokerto, utilizing STAIN officials' educational aid in the process. On his own, he performs duties such as domesticity, together with his usual studiousness, sometimes by getting involved in menial tasks such as peddling goods on the side. The important thing is to make money. As of this moment, he is employed as a permanent lecturer at Unsoed (Universitas Jendral Soedirman) and a lecturer at LB (Extraordinary) at IAIN Purwokerto. He is involved in the Forum for Religious Harmony, especially when the issue of religious intolerance arises (FKUB). His current position has helped him move up in socio-economic status, and he is currently considered a young leader in Banyumas. In addition, Najmudin (interview on 11 February 2021) Dr. Najmudin, SE., MSi was born on April 10, 1977 in Pelamunan Village, Kec. Kramatwatu Kab. Serang Banten Province, and currently lives in the Sokaraja Lor, Sokaraja District, Banyumas Regency. First lecturer at Al-Hidayah Islamic boarding school, Purwokerto from 1995 to 2000 are motivated by two main factors: spiritual training and being a good person, so they could study their life closely; they wanted to gain direct knowledge and ask for their blessings and prayers. Their desire for a unique experience encourages them to join, and influential for this time. They are disciplined in praying five times a day and in congregation, and teach organization (often friendship). The current social (economic-political) condition is felt, because of their upbringing or the blessing of giving their talents to the *kiyai/pesantren*.

Cultural Foundation of *Pesantren* as an Agency

Historical Legitimacy of Pesantren

Javanese Islamic educational institutions are established by people known as *santos* (guardians) and early Islamic scholars on the island of Java and its surrounding islands. Some Muslim boarding schools trained pupils who became religious scholars in Mecca, and these men would go on to be leaders in the Holy Land of Mecca and national figures as well (<https://era.id/nasional/41391/hari-santri-nasional-berikut-tokoh-nasional-yang-berlatar-rear-santri>). If it is traced all the way back, it can be mentioned, and it includes other things. See table 2.

Table 2
The history of pesantren in Java

No	Initiator	Competence	Year
1	Sunan Ampel dll. (nine saint)	Multitalenta ulama	1500
2	Syekh Mahfudh al-Tamasi, Syeh Khotib as-Sambasi, dll.	Famous ulama Haramain (in Saudi Arabia)	1800
3	KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, KH. Ahmad Dahlan,	Ulama, founder of NU-Muhammadiyah	1900 to independence 1945
4	KH. Idham Kholid	Ulama-politician	Old order
5	KH. Prof. Said Aqil Siroj, Prof. Din Samsuddin, Hidayat Nur Wahid	Ulama, head of Islamic organization	New order and reform era
6	KH. Mustofa Bisri	Ulama and sastrawan	Reform era
7	KH. Makruf Amin	Ulama, politician	Now vice president

Pesantren people who are now viewed as having diverse and extensive professional, economic, and socio-political capacities have had dramatic effects on the *pesantren*, which is now able to rise to greater heights (stories of successful *santri*)

Cultural Legitimacy: IBS as Cultural Institutions

It is in this academic culture that one can see the seeds of such powerful figures as Julius Caesar, Genghis Khan, and many others. A *pesantren* has established a subculture that encourages self-improvement and in which it is practiced. Many IBS include Islamic education as part of their cultural approach because they fuse traditional Islamic values with the country's indigenous culture. Several cultural traditions were founded in *pesantren*, among them being *pesantren* literature and eventually, as Islam Nusantara, which is the term used to describe the shades and strategies of the *da'wah* of Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

Religious Legitimacy: Religion as a "way" out

IBS demonstrate a friendly version of Islam with a message to the community. In order to thrive, local culture is constructed so that it serves as a way out for itself. Islam's continual efforts to convey that it is a lively, living religion are aided by boarding schools offering classes in Islamics such as *istiqamah* (religion studies) in a cheerful, entertaining environment with comfortable seating. Islam which has been implanted in this *pesantren* is anchored in progressive Islam, as it takes on a different shape while the pupils are eating. The structure of progressive Islam changes

when they eat. Islamic *pesantrens* aim to uphold a respect for history while also striving to establish modern and better influences.

***Pesantren* as Social Agency: Transformational**

An important part of a *pesantren's* mission is to transfer knowledge and values at the same time. The offer of change is bolstered by strong science and sound ethics. knowledge and moral ethics which are packaged with attractive material as wisdom (*hikmah*), *mau'idhah hasanah*, and stories that inspire *dhikr (mujadalah)*. *Pesantren* have become social actors as a result of their prominence in both exoteric and esoteric aspects. *Pesantren* alumni appear accepting, malleable, and pliable in diverse social contexts.

IBS in Modern Era

Science and morality are upheld in the *pesantren*, both *kiyai*, *santri*, and alumni. As a result, public appreciation grows from time to time. Scholarly expertise can be counted on in important positions in government, the media, and academic staff. *Hafidzliqul Qur'an* such as Mudasir above ridiculed at the Krapyak lodge because of his persistence in memorizing the Koran and obtaining the wife of a *santri* who went on to be a lecturer at ISI. There were also politicians clerics like Muslih Ilyas and *Kiyai* Krapyak, and Islamic boarding school principal KH. Ahmad Sobri Tinggarjaya Jatilawang Banyumas, all of whom mocked at the Krapyak lodge because of their focus on memorizing the Koran. As a result, the level of commitment from parents to placing their children in IBS has increased. New *Pesantren* Law regulations, infrastructure development assistance in the form of boarding school dormitories, and stimuli to *ustadz-ustadzah* have been distributed as well.

***Pesantren* Popularization (not only religious schools)**

As well as a growing number of people, both in the community and in the government, providing more support, the *pesantren's* popularity has skyrocketed. Although opportunities for *pesantren* education are growing more diverse, they are still often met by real people's needs. It's not only that the *pesantren* offers open religious studies along with classical book studies, but also open education models of madrassas, schools, and even religious and public colleges. Even in this new era of global expansion, the spread of information and communication technology (ICT) has somewhat decreased the popularity of *pesantren* among cyberspace users. Today, it can be said that there is no community in the Western Hemisphere that cannot access *pesantren* information.

This study shows that *kiyai's* nurturing is able to alleviate children from lower-class communities from moving up to the middle class and to the upper class. They gained better human qualities because of their relationship with the *pesantren's kiyai*. *Santri* have obtained strategic roles using *Pesantren's* social and cultural capital. *Pesantrens* have an influential role in society because of this. Alumni achievement has a profound impact on the *pesantren's* development.

The phenomenal success of *pesantren* as a way to empower children into the social class is due to the fantastic care, experience, assistance, facilities, motivation, and prayers provided by the caregivers. In the *pesantren* education process, religion has become the cornerstone and foundation, and so also combines abilities that exist in the physical and the mental worlds. On the other hand, the *pesantren* classroom is also an open space that accommodates the needs of those who are economically disadvantaged, so that they can take advantage of *pesantren* educational opportunities.

Pesantren education is said to be effective because of the *kiyai's* elevated status within society. Trusted and believed to protect the community, *kiyai* is found in the upper social strata. The symbolic legitimacy of the *kiyai* and the *pesantren* he serves has now become the primary community focus, bringing solutions for both religious and moral problems as well as economic and political issues. Orphanages and dormitories have outdated care models, while *pesantren kiyai* show authentic care.

The strategic roles of *pesantren* and *kiyai* have been widely studied, as seen in the study of Horikoshi (1987) who conducted research in several IBS in Indonesia, which stated that *kiyai*: 1) don't hinder change but rather aid it, 2) provide fresh perspectives, and 3) come up with social change on their own. Previous studies have highlighted the role of *pesantren* as a moral fortress, but this role has not been examined in terms of how it shapes society's social class. This study shows that *pesantrens* are the solution to issues of poverty and income inequality in the community. This study shows that the agency has become a force that facilitates the growth of *pesantren* institutions.

The *kiyai* of this *pesantren* model is capable of acquiring or duplicating the type of care and attention given to children who live in the community or in the community. Daily activities exhibit an integrated approach to parenting and education when strong totality is part of the design. Additionally, this *pesantren* education tradition can be used as a model for other educational institutions to develop educational institutions that strive to improve the structure of society in a

way that transforms social classes that are widely needed in countries with an unbalanced character structure.

Conclusion

This finding is that IBS outside of their traditional roles in religious, social, and moral education are found to be capable of being social agents capable of increasing the social class for "short" *santri* or *santri* who serve *pesantren kiyai*. *Santris* who come from poor, disadvantaged families are delegated to *kiyai* and students who dedicate themselves to the cause without the knowledge of their parents. He ends up having "social, intellectual, and spiritual competence needed by society." And when he returns to society, he will hold a higher social status either as a *kiyai*, religious leaders, lecturers, or government officials. The expressiveness of *kiyai* in the process of education and the total harmony of students can deliver success. Students from the lower classes can be served by *pesantrens* thanks to *pesantren kiyai* serving as social agents. This in turn increases public recognition of all *pesantrens*.

Because this study is not based on a case study that focuses on a specific *pesantren*, its conclusions must be taken with a grain of salt. To conclude, then, this paper is unable to present a specific historical process that took place in a *pesantren* education institution. To have an in-depth understanding, you will need comparative and in-depth case studies. In order to overcome these shortcomings, it is suggested that further research is required to conduct a comparison of several *pesantren*.

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