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FIRST EDITION OF MONOGRAPH BOOK

THE TITLE OF BOOK

DIALECTICS OF PESANTREN AND MULTICULTURALISM OF PESANTREN KYAI
A Historical Exposure of Pesantren with Special Reference to Kyai's
Perspectives on Multicultural Issues and Their Actualization
At Pesantren Sunni Darussalam and al-Imdad Yogyakarta Indonesia

By

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FOREWARD

This monograph presents as a respond of the writer's care to (1) the multicultural realm of society that has been arousing various opinions in the social elites, and (2) the existence of *pesantren* (Islamic traditional boarding school) with it's long history in the stage of educational and religious system in Indonesia has been "shaken" by a blame from many observers as a breeding ground of radicalism. The explanation of this monograph book affirms that the multicultural reality and the existence of *pesantren* are not two opposite matters, because the pesantren obviously has contributed in pushing affirmative efforts for facing any cultural variety and social diversity.

I want to expresses thankfulness to all directions that have facilitated a research being made for raw materials of this monograph book, especially to the guardians of Sunni Darussalam Pesantren, the guardians of al-Imdad Pesantren, and the managers of Institution for Research and Social Service (LP2M) of Islamic State University Sunan Kalijaga. Gratefully, I thank very much to Mrs. Karina Sabanova who has endorsed the publication of my research on Multiculturalism of Pesantren Kyai . Hopefully, the presence of this monograph will be able to be a window of meaningful information for many people in gaining a more balanced understanding about pesantren and "indegenous" Islam in Indonesia.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

With its long history, the existence of pesantren has been drawing much attention from the reseachers that had tried to discuss some aspects of its educational system and institutional one, like the leadership and modeling of kyai (Arifin Suryonegoro, 2015: 13) moderatism of pesantren (Syamsun Ni'am, 2015: 111), preservation of traditional system of education (Inna Muthmainnah, 2007: 11), dynamics of pesantren change (Marzuki Wahid, 2008: 51) , and "yellow books" (*kitab kuning*) of pesantren (Affandi Mochtar, 2009: 31). In general, those researches and discussions have appreciated the excellency and uniqueness of pesantren as an educational and religious institution that been able to survive until now fight to oppression of modernization of Indonesian educational system. Historically, success of Islam in stepping forward as a religion adhered by the majority of Indonesian people, especially in Java island, was not separable from the long islamization process in the past, with pesantren's involvement intensively (Hasan Mu'arif Ambary, 1998: 318). According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, the tradition of pesantren was avant-garde for developing Malay civilization in between XV and XVIII centuries. Without pesantren's tradition, the Malay people recently aren't Moslems (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 2009: 18). Based on this, it is an argumentative opinion that stated pesantren has become an one of the most important media for enlarging islamic influence broadly on nation character building. At least, that can be viewed from the long process of Islamization where pesantren with its cautious policy model has utilized an accomodation and transformation of socio-cultural steps in directing the surrounding social life.

Because of its strength and unique, the Founding Fathers of Indonesia Republic have proposed pesantren that closed with indigenous nuance as an alternative for national education system. According to them, the pesantren's strength consists of boarding system, personal intimacy, simplicity, ability in producing self-reliant alumnus (Dawam Rahardjo, 1985: vii). Such valuation indicates that at some aspects, pesantren was recognized as a potential institution to develop toward a religious, educational, and social institution that is suitable for Indonesian cultural context. Especially, a long time pesantren has been performing a good role in facing any type of dynamical change of society through (1) cultural pattern that enables pupils to study holistically, and (2) fullness of social participation (Husni Rahim,

2001: 150). So, it is a right if pesantren has become a model, at least in the beginning of Indonesia independence era, for being made as an alternative system.

In the book of *The Javanese Kyai: the Changing Roles of Cultural Broker*, Clifford Geertz called *kyai* as a liaison (broker) between the culture of *pesantren* and the outside world. What Geertz has noted implies that *Kyai* holds a vital role in educating people through the institutional base outside the *pesantren* and filter values so as not to contaminate the culture of the *pesantren*. The vital role has been also confirmed by the results of a study by Hiroko Harikoshi which concludes that a *kyai* has a creative role for social change (Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, 1999: vi). The thesis of Harikoshi and Geertz,*kyais* have proved to occupy important positions and strategic roles in directing the socio-cultural dynamics of the community, especially the traditionally religious communities. Currently, the important and strategic role of a *kyai* in the society cannot be separated from their leadership in the educational and religious institutions such as in *pesantren*, and in their active roles in the socio-religious organizations. It is commonly found that various studies on *kyais* are well attached to the educational/religious institution or socio-religious organizations that they manage, such as: *kyais* of tiny mosques (*langgar*), *kyais* of *pesantren*, *kyais* of NU, and *kyai* of Muhammadiyah. This shows that *kyais* and educational institutions or socio-religious organizations are like the two sides of a coin that make a single unit.

According to Hasan Mu'arif Ambary (1998: 318-319), the Indonesian Islamic history is the history of the expansion of the students (*Santri*) of *pesantren's* practices and their influence on the lives of religious, social, and political affairs of Indonesia. Hence, a *pesantren* in a social change always serves as a platform for the expansion and the dissemination of Islam. It is sufficient to say that *pesantrens* are seen as the main media of Islamic influence in the moral development of the Indonesian nation. The affirmation of the actual function of *pesantren* serves simultaneously as an affirmation of the strategic role of *kyais*. It thus becomes a very interesting academic study that would explore *pesantren* in the context of the actual issues of multiculturalism, knowing that this may serve as (1) the benchmark of, to what extent a *kyai* and his *pesantren* have stepped beyond the traditional roles, and (2) the standpoint of the contributing role of *kyais* and their *pesantren* in a broader spectrum, namely Islam that is expected to be a great opportunity to influence the social life and the nationalism in the country; Islam can be assessed as a unifying force amid differences. Associated with the Islamic spectrum, A. Syafi'i Ma'arif asserted that as

the majority of the population, Muslims should no longer be busy figuring out the relations among Islam, Indonesia, and humanity. These three concepts must be placed in a single breath that Islam is being developed in Indonesia as a tolerant Islam that is, friendly, open, inclusive, and able to provide solutions to the problems of the nation and the country (Syafi'i Ma'arif, 2009: 15). This then means that there is no point of worrying about colors of Islam found in Indonesia; Islam which is in fact characterized by the elements of local and global issues that cannot be avoided, so long as it is not carried away and drifted away within negative and puritan local elements neither swept away within a global wave that would invite a catastrophe for Indonesian Muslims.

As the reformation era unfolded, it has risen the awareness of the intellectual elite of the need to immediately organize the country and the nation that has been deteriorated because of the various "mismanagement" in the New Order era. On that basis, in 2000, about four hundred independent intellectuals, initiated by Prof. Nurcholish Madjid, Prof. Emil Salim, and others gathered in Bali to seek solutions to the total deterioration of the country. One of the recommendations made in the meeting was the importance of multicultural education. At least there are two things that should be underlined related to the recommendations. Firstly, they agree that the in-orderly life of this diverse community was worsened by the emergence of an escalating conflict, both vertically and horizontally. In this regard, the escalation is considered as a serious threat to the survival of the nation's integration within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Secondly, the education system over the years, including religious education in *pesantren* was considered not managed to foster tolerance and community wisdom in addressing the socio-cultural realities of the people. As a result, public awareness of the diversity and appreciation of differences as the basis of the national spirit increasingly faded away because of primordial interests, such as religious sects. Exclusivism, competition, and mutual suspicion are still the dominant issue in inter-group relations. In this regard, it is sufficient to say that religion cannot be regarded as a unifying force for the community (Paulus Wirutomo (ed), 2012: 166).

In the context of the nation and state life, it is obviously unfortunate to know the proliferation of conflicts or violence of racial and religious issues involving religious figures (*Kyai*); those that can tear unity, oneness and harmony of the citizens as well as the integrity of the Republic. This is what lies behind the urgency of the

socialization and the strengthening of the four pillars of nationality, the Pancasila, the Constitution 45, the Unity in Diversity, and the Unitary State of The Republic of Indonesia, especially when tensions perceived to increase regarding Pancasila ideology and Islam are present (*Kompas*, 2010: 2). This tension comes from, among others, the political aspirations of the majority of Muslims who continue to struggle to enforce Islamic law not only on the lives of Muslim individuals, but also at the system level and state institutions (Jajang Jahroni & Jamhari [eds], 2004), such as the agenda of the Indonesia Islamic State (NII) movement that recently has seemed to be worrisome. According to them, in the fight for the ideals of the enforcement of Islamic law, it is not justified to show intolerance to anyone, including to non-Muslims, neither for reasons of maintaining the unity of the nation. In addition to the political aspirations of the majority of Muslims, the conflict violence is indirectly supported by the attitude of endorsing by a number of residents those who are Islamic hardliners. This fact is supported by some survey results that the higher one's education is the more likely for him/her to agree with the activities of the radical Islam.

Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) has become the setting of research on multiculturalism of *pesantren kyais* because of the status as "Porch of Medina" that covers the diversity and plurality of the citizens. In addition, the academic climate and the socio-cultural interaction have given rise to the unique characteristics of the traditional *pesantren* in the middle of the insistence of Islamic modernism, the modernization of education and democratization. This in turn affects the appearance of varied typologies of *pesantren kyais*. Currently, DIY has been widely known as one of the intellectual and cultural meccas of the country. Therefore, reasonable *pesantren* leaders in this area are familiar with various actual issues like multiculturalism, both in the realm of thought, practice, or the realm inculturation. This at least is indicated by *pesantren kyais* in DIY that commonly have "campus insights" and half of the students at the *pesantren* are among the university students, and many *pesantren kyais* have been participating in various scientific forums and religious dialogues.

Based on the above background, the focus of this study is aimed at analyzing the problems of: (a) the views of *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam and al-Imdad Yogyakarta on the issues of multiculturalism; (b) the efforts to actualize the views into the educational process in both *pesantrens*; and (c) the extent of the impact of the

actualization of this view to the formation of multicultural awareness of *pesantren* community.

PART TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

A. Pesantren Kyais

The predicate of *Kyai* is usually given by the community to those who are rated as clergy, who has become the head of *pesantren* and has taught the classic books ("yellow books") (Ali Maschan Moesa, 2007: 56). As an honorific, people who earned *kyai* are required to meet the requirements (1) implementing the already acquired knowledge (2) passing the knowledge, (3) diligently worshipping, (4) having a congregation (followers) or students (in a *pesantren*), and (5) devoting knowledge and life for Islam teaching (*syiar*). Sociologically, the important role of a *kyai* could be examined through the function of his leadership namely (1) giving directions to the socialization process, (2) inheriting traditions, values, norms, and knowledge, (3) being able to unite groups or communities, and (4) promoting the monitoring and evaluation control so as to preserve or color people's lives (Dwi Narwoko & Bagong Suyatno [eds], 2006: 160). In the context of *pesantren*, the source of authority is influenced by many factors, among others: he is the leader even the owner of a *pesantren*, carries networking among *kyais*; and having authority in religious matters.

B. Multiculturalism and Culturalization

According to Nurcholish Madjid, there are at least two perspectives to map Muslims in Indonesia, namely the political view and the perspective of their understanding of Islam (1997: 47-62). Viewed from the second standpoint, Muslims can be classified into traditionalists and modernists, even though in its development the differences tend to increasingly blur. Based on this, the multiculturalism of *pesantren kyais* can be seen as a review of the standpoint of *kyais* about Islam in relation to the plurality of the society, the interaction with other groups of Muslims, the openness to the outside elements, and the approach development that values diversity. *Kyai's* multiculturalism is a reflection of the three models of the strategy adopted by religion or religious institutions in a pluralistic situation today, namely (Mujiburrahman, 2008: 71-73): (1) the strategy of conquest or the religious revolution which seeks to unite the view diversity to cope with the pluralistic situation of today;

(2) the seclusion strategy which is trying to make walls and being exclusive in order not be carried away by the strong currents of plurality, and (3) the dialectical strategies which is open to sharing various ideas, thoughts and willing to interact with other groups. The last strategy can also be named after the multiculturalist approach, one that gives freedom to all socio-cultural elements to stay operating while developing cultural and mental attitudes of solidarity and mutual respect to be egalitarian (Wirutomo [ed], 2012: 5).

Referring to the Golden era of the Islamic history, multiculturalism at least can be extracted from the values of civil society that has contributed to the establishment of a cosmopolitan society which includes: (1) the inclusiveness, that is an openness to "external elements" through the ability to constructively appreciate and to select; (2) humanism, that is a perspective that treats human beings solely because of his humanity, not because of other reasons, such as race, caste, wealth, and religion. Included in the humanism here is the egalitarian nature that sees human beings as equal; (3) tolerance, that is their patience and greatness of the soul in addressing the differences; and (4) democracy, that is providing a space for freedom of thought and criticism (Mulyadhi Kartanegara, 2007: 80-91). In the context of social religious attitudes, values are seen in line with the theological basis that (1) plurality is the *sunna*[Usual Will] of God, (2) the recognition of the right of existence of other religions, (3) the intersection and continuity of religions, and (4) absence of compulsion in religion (Nurcholish Madjid, 2000: 177-196).

In addition to the historical argument, multiculturalism doctrinally is in conformity with the Islamic humanitarian vision demonstrated by at least three things (Zuhairi Misrawi, 2010: 52-55). Firstly, Islam is a religion which is based on the concept of nature. By nature, humans are ready to know God and to develop his humanity because the potential has been provided from birth. Secondly, Islam is a religion that has a high spirit of tolerance. Islam is moderate, fair, and the middle way. This principle should be the intra-religion and also inter-religion foundation of Muslims in order to build a harmonious life, both in the national and global context. Third, Islam is a religion that promotes welfare and avoids wrong-doings. This is the welfare for public order, the benefit for all men without discrimination, not the benefit of a handful people or groups of people.

Harmonious relations between religious communities in Indonesia have not yet been completed. Therefore, over time, the quality of better relations between

religious communities seriously needs to be attended (Tarmizi Taher, 1998: 50). Thus, such effort as a cultural-religious education through religious education is highly needed. In this regard, *kyais* are required to develop patterns of education that promote synthesis (combining materials with social realities), dialogues (developing the *santri's* ability to be a good listener, good at analysis and good at politely providing arguments) and care (*kyais/ustadz* should be a figure that is attentive, responsive to the needs and care about the fate of the *santris*) (Zamroni, 2007: 274).When the actualization of multiculturalism pursued through "educational orientation", then at least it would include (1) the orientation of the load, such as the integration of the value of multicultural into the educational material, (2) the orientation of learners, such as the implementation of pedagogical equality that encourages students to become more participatory; the process goes dialogically, and (3) social orientation [such as seeking social contributions, social harmony, contextualization, and sensitivity of the *kyai/ustadz* against biases within the multicultural society (Zakiyudin Baidhawy, 2005: 108-116).

C. Research Method

This research was an empirical study with a qualitative approach to the two schools and to the guardian *kyais* who represent traditional *pesantrens* in a suburb of the urban (rurban area when taken from the mapping of the qualitative research by Bodgan and Biklen). This research is then included into sociocultural studies by using a particular framework and theoretical assumptions that the world is not "something that can be known directly" (directly knowable) (W. James Potter, 1996: 109-110), because it requires emic approaches and depends on the perspective held by the researchers. As a form of socio-cultural studies, this study assumes that (1) all social relations are influenced by certain factors that need to be explained in a specific context, and (2) all research departs from the reference of theoretical understanding.

Having determined the informants (research subjects) of the two schools, namely: Pesantren Sunni Darussalam Maguwoharjo Sleman, of northern Yogyakarta and Pesantren al-Imdad Pandak, Bantul of southern Yogyakarta, the data collection was carried out through (1) interviews with the informants, especially the *kyais*, preachers, and *santri/pesantren* community, (2) observation; and (3) documentation,. The data analysis process went through the following phases: recording field notes, analysis of the field notes, and the movement toward results. Furthermore, in order to

arrive at the findings of the study and the construction of a theory, an analytic induction process was applied; that is a thorough testing process of the research data (essential-typologically characteristics) in the context inference (assigning meaning; transferability). The data obtained in the field could be: fact (objective reality), perception or opinion, feeling, behavior, and reasoning (David Silverman, 1993: 92). As a result of field notes, the data was then described and reflected through a process of mutually sharpening process between the data and the theory simultaneously.

PART THREE
PESANTREN IN THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF EDUCATION
A. Historical Overview

The dialectic of *pesantren* has lasted for a long time. The emergence of the reformers' ideals and assumptions with their modernization of education has contributed to the shaping of *pesantren*'s dialectical attitudes and tendencies described as "resisting and following" (Azyumardi Azra, 1999: 99). The *pesantren* world rejects the religious ideals and assumptions of the reformers. However, to survive in stemming the widespread influence of the reformers' religious belief, *pesantren* also undertakes a number of accommodation and adaptations that can support its continuity in order to preserve its traditional functions, namely (1) the transmission and transfer of religious knowledge, (2) the maintenance of Islamic traditions, and (3) the reproduction of *ulama* (Islamic experts; religious scholars). However, in the post-colonial period when the Indonesian government has implemented the national education system, the development of *pesantren* has not been in line with the age of its emergence and its role of social transformation that has existed for many centuries.

The dialectic of *pesantren* with the hegemony of the national education system has given rise to the convergence process that is the process where *pesantren* improves the weakness of the institution by enriching its curriculum of science and technology. Even for some *pesantrens*, this process is supported by the willingness to receive the helping hand of the government (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 2000: 221). Through *pesantren*, *kyais* and *ulamas* are at the forefront of preserving the intellectual treasures of Islam and guiding the religious and the civic life of the *ummah*(Islamic society) (Ahmad Baso, 2007: 12). They even initiate breakthroughs in order to confirm their work in the wider stage of competition. With dialectic, the reforms

carried out by *pesantren* proceed through a flexible and acculturative process. One of the underlying adages is "nurturing positive old traditions/values and taking better new traditions/values". On the one hand, the actualization of this adage encourages the reform process of *pesantren* to be very adaptive, but on the other hand, the reform process is considered less progressive. Although it is not a static system, it seems that changes in *pesantren* tend to happen slowly and through the stages that are often not easily observed (Dhofier, 2000: 1-2). This means that there are semi-paradoxical symptoms and uniqueness in the dynamics of *pesantren* worthy to be explored. One of them is the dialectic that has long colored the history of the development of *pesantren*, but it has not been able to accelerate the development of *pesantren* in the stage of educational competition in Indonesia. Is it related to its mystical-juristic tradition of studies? How is the tradition built to characterize the development of *pesantren*? Then how should *pesantren* conduct its dialectic process to accelerate its progress?

B. The Historical Background of the Cultural Formation of *Pesantren*

In preserving traditional Islam, at least *pesantren* takes the role as an Islamic educational institution that equips the students with Islamic materials and as a religious institution that places *kyai* as Sufi. The first role is related to the intellectual aspect, and the second role is related to the spiritual aspect (Latif Fauzi, 2012: 135). Through those roles, *pesantren* has supported the growth of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java so that it is imaged as an educational institution oriented to the scientific ethos with the basis of religious morality. The existence of *pesantren* is also supported by the strong bond of genealogy of educational philosophies among *pesantren kyais*, even the genealogy of their descendants that should lead to uniformity. From this genealogy, in its development, *pesantren* can be divided into: main *pesantren* and branch *pesantren* (Muhbib Abdul Wahhab & Suwito, 2001: 196). For main *pesantren*, the network of the *ulama* is on the national scale because it supervises many branches of *pesantren* scattered in various regions of the country, and it has emotional-educational philosophy bond of *kyai-santri*. Main *pesantren* also often serves as the reference model for branch *pesantren*. In that context, there is a signal that the continuity of educational philosophy networks among *ulamas* is strengthened by two primary elements, namely the teaching system and religious culture. With the development of *pesantren* into main and branch, the treasures of

pesantren become increasingly complex in which the scope of the study can include the internal side of *pesantren*, the chain relationship of *pesantren*, and the relationship between *pesantren* and the surroundings (See, Taufik Abdullah, 1996: 110).

The shift in the center of the Islamization process in Java from the coastal areas to the rural/remote areas and the intense penetration of Western colonizers are seen as having a close relationship with the growing process and the secret development of *pesantren* in the rural areas. For example, Tremas is a *pesantren* founded by the followers of Prince Diponegoro who fled for a long-term stronghold in Tremas, Pacitan, far from Surakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya making it difficult to be reached by the Dutch military technology (Yudian Wahyudi, 2013: 41-43). It marked the constellation shift in power in Java from the coastal areas to the remote areas along with the shift of its basis from maritime trade to agrarian agriculture and Islamic peripheralization. This was because Islam had lost its integrative element to be able to incorporate economic, political, and religious power under the state (A.E. Priyono, 1996: 27).

After the Javanese political hegemony shifted from the coast, Demak (one region in Central Java), to the remote areas, first to Pajang and finally to Mataram, Javanese tradition increasingly showed its form. One of the important consequences is the separation of the three main institutions that had supported Demak and other coastal *kadipatens* (areas in a Sultanate), namely *kraton* (royal palace) as the center of power, market as the center of trade, and *pesantren* as the center of religious matters (Taufik Abdullah, 1989: 88). The historical process was suspected as the end of the power of *ulama*-plus-king and the beginning of the process of *pesantren*-based traditional Islamic formation (Jajat Burhanudin, 2003: 11). In addition, the historical process was also judged as the cause of the transformation of the knowledge system and the deformation of the religiosity pattern, from a rational pattern to a mythical pattern. The transformation included from pluralistic urban culture into homogeneous rural culture and from open dynamic coastal-trader culture into static and enclosed rural-remote culture (Pramono U. Tanthowi, 2003: 109).

Remote (rural) areas had strong roots sustaining the tradition of "Javanese religious tradition", a tradition resulting from a strong "syncretic" mix between the beliefs of Animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 102). Remote (rural) areas also relied on agrarian-agricultural livelihoods. Because the da'wah (preaching) mission was brought by Sufi *da'is* (preachers) from fertile agricultural

areas, in connection with *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) pattern attached to the initial process of Islamization, the tradition which was the result of the combination had become the part of the basic element framing the *pesantren* cultural formation. The high respect shown to teachers (*kyai*) and the figure of *kyai* who not only knew the intricacies of Islam but also deepened the "mysticism" was a historical indication of the tradition of *pesantren*. It served as the continuation of the acculturation of the rural "Javanese religious tradition" that had agrarian-agricultural livelihood with a strong pattern of *tasawuf* (See Zamkahsyari Dhofier, 1994: 6).In line with this view, there is an opinion stating that historically, *pesantren* was the result of the modification performed by the Muslimsby developing a Javanese religious education system (Manfred Ziemek, 1986: 2; Mastuhu, 1994: 3). This fact, among others, can be traced back from the pattern of leadership in *pesantren*: the pattern of charismatic leadership. The *santris* accept the leadership of the *kyai*, sometimes even without reserve, because of their belief in the concept of blessing (*barakah*) based on the doctrine of Sufi emanation. With such a leadership model, the leadership of *pesantren* is judged to have similar roots to the model of Hindu-Buddhist teacher-student relationship (Abdurrahman Wahid, 1988: 267) or the model of agrarian societies in general.

Based on that perspective, it is understandable why the process of *pesantren*-based Islamization does not lead to cultural discontinuity from the time before the arrival of Islam. On the one hand, because of the model of Islamization applied, many elements recognize Islam spreading rapidly in a relatively short period of time as an "indigenous" and acculturative movement, whose teachings have been "localized" (vernacularization). On the other hand, there is an assumption that Islam in Indonesia is not "true Islam". It is Islam that is completely different from Islam in the Middle East because it has been much interfered with its local culture and experienced least "Arabization" (Peter G. Riddell, 2001: 8).

The conversion of the people of the Archipelago into Islam, according to Azyumardi Azra, was not exclusive, so it was more appropriately called as "adhesion". This was because most of the Malay-Indonesian Muslims who just embraced Islam still kept their old religious beliefs and practices (Azyumardi Azra, 2002: 20). For that reason, what happened in the Islamization in Java was more like the "Javanization" of Islam rather than the "Islamization" of Java (Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, 1999: 32). This was highly possible since the Sufi teachers managed

to present Islam in an interesting form especially by emphasizing continuity rather than a change in the beliefs and the practices of local religious traditions (See Robert W. Hefner, 2003: 83). Thus, the model of Islam spread throughout this region during the early period of Islam in the Archipelago was a syncretic-mysticism model which in certain respects was incompatible with the *Sharia* teachings (Allen M. Sievers, 1974: 3-4). The Sufi teachers who generally had an inclusive view encouraged the development of the style of Islam that no longer appeared in its rigid exclusivity as a religion of revelation, but rather very accommodating to the established local value and belief systems. Moreover, the range of their *da'wah*(preaching) also managed to enter closed remote areas and those dominated by agrarian culture.

If analyzed further, beside being triggered by the style of *da'wah* successfully shown by the Sufi teachers, the acceleration of the spread of Islam, especially in the coastal areas, were also supported by the emergence of the "trading period" caused by the getting-more- dominant position of the Archipelago (*Nusantara*) in East-West trade. Azra mentions several important factors that have encouraged the Islamization. The first is the portability of the Islamic faith system. The Islamic faith system is ready for use and applicable everywhere so that it is suitable for the dynamic adherents. It is on the contrary to the local belief systems that centered on the worship of ancestral spirits. The second is the association of Islam with wealth. The preachers were wealthy merchants who were not only involved in trades but also in politics and diplomatic matters. The third is the introduction of the relatively universal culture of literary-civilization. This introduction succeeded in building the spirit of rationalism and intellectualism not only within the royal palace but also among the ordinary people (Azyumardi Azra, 1999: 21-23).

Indeed, in the context of Islamization in the coastal areas and outside Java, Azra's opinion is quite reasonable. However, if it is brought into the context of Islamization in the remote areas and in Java in which they have experienced "Indianization" deeply, Azra's opinion will still be debatable. The acceleration of the spread of Islam was also encouraged by the atmosphere of resistance of the indigenous peoples of the Archipelago (*Nusantara*) to the greed of the Western colonizers. From this point of view, some scholars see the presence of westerners in the Archipelago as mixed blessings for Islam. The reason is, on the one hand, that function as an ideological completeness was needed by the people of the Archipelago to face the westerners, the existence of the "*kafir*" (unbeliever) colonizers actually

accelerated the spread of Islam to almost all corners of the Archipelago. On the other hand, the direct involvement of Islam against the Western colonizers had made the perception of the most people of the Archipelago towards Islam tend to be very political, which meant in its function as a political ideology underlining the view of "friend-foe".

In the middle of the penetration of colonialism (with the superiority of its modern-secular education system), *pesantren* implemented a dual strategy to maintain its religious-cultural identity, namely hidden opposition and open resistance. The hidden opposition was actualized in the form of conservative, defensive, and isolationist attitudes, while the open resistance was manifested in the form of inflaming non-cooperative attitudes and anti-colonial spirits. These steps were motivated by the increasing penetration of modern Western culture and the discriminatory policies of the colonial government against Muslims had left a bitter experience. These issues built negative images of Western colonizers. As the spirit to struggle for independence was rumbling in various corners of the world and in the country, the backgrounds triggered *pesantren* to be actively involved in the struggle against the Western colonizers openly (Mu'arif Ambary, 1998: 318).

That involvement, in the end, shaped the consciousness of "protonationalism" among the community of traditional Islam oriented towards the creation and promotion of nationality vis a vis the colonizers. As a result, it could change the function of *pesantren* that was originally as an educational institution into a center of anti-Ducth sentiment (Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, 1998: 77-78). This militancy of cultural resistance policy had a double effect, like a double-edged knife. On the one hand, it succeeded in maintaining a high level of relentless heroism among Muslims and *pesantren* communities. On the other hand, it marginalized the world of *pesantren* from the mainstream of socio-cultural interaction and education which was increasingly surpassed by the modern interaction patterns so that *pesantren* lacked was not benefited by its participation and self-engagement in the militancy (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004: 25).

Meanwhile, the emergence of the reformers' ideals and assumptions with their modernization of education was considered to contribute to the shaping of the attitudes and tendencies that strengthened the solidarity and integrity of *pesantren* communities. Concerning the emergence and expansion of the modern Islamic educational system initiated by the reformists, the response of *pesantren* was

described as "resisting and following" (Azyumardi Azra, 1999: 99). *Pesantren* communities rejected the religious ideals and assumptions of the reformers. However, in order to survive in preventing the widespread influence of the reformers' religious belief, *pesantren* undertook a number of accommodation and adaptations to support its continuity. The implications of this view, along with the sense of "marginalization", were that *pesantren* became allergic and had suspicious attitude towards all new (modern) values originating from the West. It was normal if *pesantren* at that time was closer to conservatism because it was reluctant to move away from its old tradition that was closed and resistant to change (modernity). As a result, *pesantren* was imaged as the basis of the traditional Islamic world. It was a world that inherited and maintained a strong continuity of Islamic tradition that had been formulated and developed by the former *ulamas* so that the gap between *pesantren* and the outside world was created. As an educational institution, the pattern was still maintained by some traditional *pesantrens* insisting on being solely oriented towards preserving the functions of (1) the transmission and transfer of religious knowledge; (2) the maintenance of Islamic traditions, and (3) the reproduction of *ulama*.

As the consolidation of the "colonial state" grew steadily, *pesantren* tended to reduce the dialectical atmosphere in the dialogues. *Pesantren* gradually disconnected its communication with the centers of power and developed a counter-cultural attitude (reactive) towards modernity (Western colonials). With this attitude, *pesantren* actually intended to affirm a totally opposite identity compared to the Western colonial cultural identity so that an antagonistic and mutual-exclusive condition was created. On the one hand, the Western colonial government with its modern-secular educational institution taught general science. On the other hand, *pesantren* insisted on teaching only religious knowledge. Those were the reasons of the dualism-dichotomous education system in the country.Until now, the efforts to solve it still faces various obstacles, either political, philosophical, or institutional.

C. The Strong Mystical-juristic Orientation of *Pesantren* Education

According to A. Mukti Ali, there are at least two factors causing the religious teaching (Islam) in Indonesia not to develop well. The first is the mystical grass roots that make the pattern of religious life in Indonesia more concerned with "*amaliah*" (religious practices) than "thought". The second is the thoughts of *ulama* in Indonesia

about Islam that emphasize the field of fiqh with a more normative approach more (Mukti Ali, 1992: 19). Of course, *pesantren* which is claimed as one of the fountain heads of Islam in the country is considered responsible for the emergence of such educational philosophy phenomena. This is strengthened by Abdurrahman Wahid stating that the dominant position in the establishment of values in the *pesantren* environment is held by the law of Fiqh and followed by the tradition of the Sufis (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2007: 107). The dominance of the law of Fiqh and Sufism is a consequence of Sunni ideology and the tradition of Imam al-Ghazali's thoughts which have much colored the establishment of the values of *pesantren*.

As elaborated above, the background of the emergence of *pesantren* has a close relationship with the *mystical* style of Islam that firstly entered Indonesia. After being "ruralized" and experiencing the clash with "colonialization", in its struggle, *pesantren* absorbed a lot the static and the syncretic village culture which was far from the reach of the industrial revolution and poor in production technology. Therefore, *pesantren* can be viewed as the arena of the flourishing of the "knowledge system" resulting from a unique encounter between the vertical social category (*wong cilik or* ordinary people) and the horizontal cultural categories (*santri or religious people*) (Kuntowijoyo, 1987: 60), between the tendency of religious orthodoxy (*religious sects*) and cultural alienation. If it is interpreted by using the periodization paradigm of the Islamic development in Indonesia, as proposed by Kuntowijoyo, there are three periods, namely the period of myth, the period of ideology, and the period of ideas/knowledge (Kuntowijoyo, 1994: 29).Thus, with such a system of knowledge, *pesantren* is deemed to still not fully depart from the "period of myth". It is because its intellectual consciousness is still influenced by religious-mystical belief and is still experiencing serious discrepancies with the fulfillment of scientific-technological demands. In addition, the social structure of *pesantren* is a reflection of the concept of education as the path to wisdom (in the Sufism sense) rather than the path to knowledge (in a scientific-philosophical sense) (Benedict Anderson, 1996: 128). The *kyai* occupies the top hierarchy followed by the assistant to the *kyais*, senior *santris*, and junior *santris* based on their piety and knowledge level. It is believed that the higher the hierarchical level of a person in a *pesantren* community is, the better the charisma and other abilities are.

Around the twentieth century AD, a network of *ulamas* from the Middle East and from the Archipelago (*Nusantara*) that had "intellectual content" of Neo-Sufism

was formed. Somewhat different from the previous *mystics* ideal, neo-mysticism put a greater emphasis on the loyalty to Sharia (Fiqh) (Azyumardi Azra, 1995: 294). At the end of the eighteenth century AD, Islam in the Archipelago could be considered to have reached the peak of geographical expansion and enter the consolidation phase in various regions as the result of the formation of the network of *ulamas*(religious scholars) and the institutions of Islamic studies centers, such as *pesantren* and *madrasah* (Islamic school)(Riddell, 2001: 168), with the affiliation to the intellectual center of the Islamic world in Haramain. Started from here, the tradition of *pesantren's* educational philosophy shifted to the tradition of mystical-juristic as a new "synthetic" formula between Islamic exoterism and esoterism. Consequently, in addition to the mysticism or *tasawuf* tendencies that were increasingly directed towards their widely recognized or non-deviating features, Fiqh was used more as a benchmark in determining a behavior (Affandi Mochtar, 2009: 32). However, it did not work with the puritanic style that was less tolerant towards the "local" or formalistic traditions emphasizing more on the formalization of the religious law because its concern was mainly aimed at a ritual activity and spiritual purification.

The tradition of *Kitab Kuning* educational philosophy of *pesantren* was allegedly derived from the "*Jawi ulama*" (Javanese religious scholars) who succeeded in studying in Haramain (Middle East) and even became a Grand Master there, especially after the opening of new sailing routes and the emergence of new economic power among Muslim *santri* farmers. It enabled them to do *rihlah* (religious travels) to the Holy Land for hajj to deepen their religious knowledge (Abdurrahman Wahid, 1999: 11). This tradition of educational philosophy has underlain the traditional Islamic intellectual development of *pesantren* whose main content ranged from Ash'ari's *aqidah* (creed), Shafi'i's Fiqh Madhhab (school of Islamic jurisprudence), and al-Ghazali's *akhlaq* (ethics)/mysticism, and the author of similar books, along with the instrument of traditional Arabic grammar. There is indeed a paradox in the tradition of *pesantren*. On the one side, the tradition of *pesantren* is firmly rooted in the Archipelago (*Nusantara*) with its indigenous patterns. For that reason, although it serves as a traditional Islamic educational institution, in some aspects it is different from any traditional institution in the Islamic world. On the other side, with the tradition of *Kitab Kuning,* it is "internationally"oriented to Haramain (Mecca and Medina) as the center of the orientation, not Indonesia. *Jawi ulamas* (Javanese religious scholars and great *kyais* of pesantren) can be regarded as a bridge between

the great tradition of Islamic educational philosophy which is internationally oriented with the simple Islamic variant of the country.

The strong combination of mystical-juristic (Sufism-Fiqh) affects the "culture of life" of the *pesantren* world. It has triggered the mindset and behavior of *pesantren* communities regarding the treasures of Islamic knowledge that is always in the "normative-mystical" formulation path. One obvious implication is that the teaching-learning process in *pesantren* appears to be dominated more by the deductive-dogmatic religious model of thought rather than the factual inductive-rational model (Mastuhu, 1994: 69). It is the legacy of the exclusion of science, experimental knowledge, and philosophy from the curriculum of educational institutions par excellence since the end of the Golden Age of Islam and the impact of the strict control of the colonial government on religious activities and all forms of Islamic educational institutions organized by indigenous peoples in the XIX/XX centuries. There are many analyses of the causes of the exclusion of science and philosophy, and one of them is from Fazlur Rahman and Aydin Sayili. They claim that the causes include (1) the spread of Sufism which is generally hostile to the rational sciences and the whole intellectualism, (2) the classification of academic disciplines which leads to the dichotomization, (3) the establishment of *madrasah* meant to the development of the Islamic philosophies and not meant for the teaching of science, and (4) the disharmony in the interaction among theology, philosophy, and science, which is even mutually exclusive (Fazlur Rahman, 2000: 39; Aydin Sayili, 1994: 85).

Because of the dominance of the deductive dogmatic religious model through the curriculum of *Kitab Kuning* which was well established in the XIX/ XX centuries, the pattern of text reproduction (*istithmâr al-naş*), borrowing the term from M. Abid Al-Jabiri, is considered to be very prominent as the paradigm of reasoning and learning in *pesantren*, instead of the empirical-experimental or rational-critical reasoning pattern. Therefore, the mastery of *santris* of the academic discipline underlying the ability to dig and formulate the *dalîl* (proof) of a text becomes the main characteristic of the curricular program of *pesantren*. The *sorogan* (individual) and *bandongan* (collective) learning system prevalent in *pesantren* with the provision of *gandul* meaning along with the grammatical explanation of "*utawi iki-iku*" (translation by word) emphasize the linguistic analysis with less attention to the context/historical analysis. The reproduction pattern is deemed to be increasingly empowered in the transmission process of the educational philosophy because this

learning system describes more of the form of face-to-face, oral, and personal-monologue communication (A. Saeful Muhtadi, 2004: 85).The problem is that with an unequal position in such a *kyai-santri* interaction, the learning also tends to be performed in a take-and-give manner, one direction: the *kyai* gives, and the *santris* receive. Moreover, related to the Sufism which demands the full submission of the *santris* to the *kyai* (teacher) which is also seen as an important part of the *pesantren's* education program, it is necessary for *pesantren* to "be taught" to increase the intellectuality and morality of the *santris* who have mastered advanced religious knowledge (Dhofier, 1995: 27).

With the characteristics of such a tradition of *pesantren's* educational philosophy, it is reasonable to classify it into the normative tradition. According to Kuntowijoyo, the tradition of normative educational philosophy has two possibilities, namely the declarative and the apologetical (Kuntowijoyo, 2001: 102-103). The declarative normative tradition leads to the orientation of *dakwah* and the spirit of desire to show the glory, excellence, and truth of Islamic teachings with their doctrinal-theological arguments. Meanwhile, the apologetic normative tradition maintained certain aspects of Islamic teachings discredited or suspected by the outsiders. This tradition of educational philosophy aims to confirm the understanding of Islam by the outsiders although it is often trapped in the "romanticism" of the history of Islamic glory and the inability to distinguish between teachings or doctrines and understanding or interpretation (M.A. Sahal Mahfudh, 1999: 233). Internally, such criticism has risen in pesantren community. Nowadays, it has been rising the agenda of "social Islamic law (*fiqh*)".

In the Sociology of knowledge, the strengthening of the normative tradition among Muslims was motivated by the threat of Western civilization and the pressure of colonialization. The tradition of the normative educational philosophy can be observed also through the "reproductive" pattern in the paradigm of *pesantren's* educational philosophy. This pattern is represented by the conceptualization of knowledge as something that can only be obtained by way of transfer, inheritance, transmission, not as something that can be created as Western experimental science. Thus, the idea of "cultural preservation" is trully reflected in the intellectual tradition of *pesantren* (Abdurrahman Mas'ud, 2004: 11). This can be seen from the decodification of the educational philosophy in *Kitab Kuning,* as the realization of the explanation and preservation of the content of standard texts (*babon* books), which

has led to the involution process of the development of religious studies to be more detailed academic discipline that is more detailed (Kuntowijoyo, 2004: 6-7).

With the pattern of epistemic-ethical preference above, it suffices to say to state that the dominant position in the establishment of values within *pesantren* is held by the law of Fiqh and followed by the tradition of Sufis (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2001: 19). The dominance of Fiqh is supported by the characteristics of Islamic teachings which require practical actions related to the behavioral norms and the rules of worship that should be physically measurable and the general presumption that Fiqh (Islamic law) is a concrete manifestation of Islamic Sharia and the benchmarks of piety. For example, the understanding of cleanliness in *pesantren* is when a person is free of place containing *najis* (unclean) which may hinder the person from the acceptable worship. This understanding which is derivid from Fiqh has a different connotation with the daily sense in the society about cleanliness that emphasizes the neatness and the cleanliness from physical dirt. Furthermore, if the dictum laid by Fiqh has been accepted, to perfect its practices, it must be adjusted to the deeds that are deemed noble by the Sufis in order to obtain the title of "great deed". This is connfirmed by the *Ta'lîm al-Muta'allim* book stating that the fundamental reason for the nobility of knowledge is when it becomes the medium of self-God fearing (al-Zarnuji, tt. : 6-7),which is often understood narrowly only as the earnestness in the practice of ritual worship.

D. The Unique Intellectualism of *Pesantren*: Continuity and Change

In the sociological perspective of knowledge, the structure of consciousness is always placed in the context of specific social situations. Changes in social context are believed to lead to the changes in the structure of consciousness. Similarly, the change in rural culture, where *pesantren* grows and develops, from agrarian to industrial form has caused the changes in the structure of consciousness of *pesantren* communities. This structure of consciousness is construed by "reason" and "ethos" as an epistemic-ethical insight that builds the view of *pesantren*. It is recognized that the tradition of *pesantren* has created a sub-culture, but it does not mean that it is an "isolated entity" that is completely untouched by the shift and change (modernization) of the outside world. This is because the existence of *pesantren* clearly has an interest to obtain sociological-contextual relevance in order to remain survive and exist. Due

to the rapid flow of global change, *pesantren* is required to accept the "logic" of change, yet still firmly hold its tradition without being traditional.

Tebuireng *Pesantren*, for example, has reformed its education system but not by leaving its traditional system neither as a medieval Islamic reformulation (Dhofier, 1994: 135). In fact, the educational reform in this *pesantren* had started since the era of Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari who pioneered the classical education through *madrasahs* in 1919, and the reform continued until the next leadership period (Salahuddin Wahid, 2011: 41-42). Not far different from Tebuireng *pesantren*, Lirboyo *Pesantren*, Kediri, also does the same thing such as the reform in the institution, management, and the aspects of its education (Ali Anwar, 2011: 73-74). Similarly, other *pesantrens,* even including those which in fact, are considered very traditional, also have accommodated the demands of change, rationalization, and technicalization.The educational reform of *pesantren* is considered to be highly correlated with the result of the 27th NU National Congress in Situbondo on the need for a new orientation in education to trigger the awareness of *pesantren* communities to organize their education system to respond the demands of modernity (A. Syafi'i Ma'arif, 2009: 235-236).

Pesantren is generally viewed as the basis of traditional Islam with its *Kitab Kuning* (Yanwar Pribadi, 2013: 7). It is Islam that is still strongly bound by the thought of the *ulamas* of the Classical-Medieval period of Islam, especially the X-XV centuries AD. The development of Islamic thoughts in the Classical-Medieval period, as described by George Makdisi, was marked by two movements, namely humanism and scholasticism (Makdisi, 1990: xix). The humanism movement gave rise to the "orthodoxy" (official-dominant ideology) in the humanistic-linguistics. This way, the study of Arabic then gained the intellectual supremacy in the discourse of Islamic educational philosophy. Meanwhile, the scholasticism movement led to the birth of the "orthodoxy" of religion together with the acquisition of Fiqh (read: Fiqh experts) of intellectual-political supremacy in the religious consciousness of the *ummah*(Islamic community). In addition, generally, the works produced by the Arab thoughts of Islam at the end of that period, as inherited a lot by the tradition of *pesantren's* educational philosophy, were strongly attached to one of the following typologies, namely (1) the completeness of incomplete texts, (2) the correction of texts containing errors, (3) explanation of vague texts, (4) the merging of separate but interrelated texts (but without any synthesis effort), (5) the structuring of confusing

written texts, (6) the drawing of the conclusion of approved premises (Bruinessen,1999: 31). From the condition of such intellectual traditions, it can be predicted that products of ideas that emerged from the traditions would obviously be dominated by the textual, theological, and reproductive patterns. Therefore, it is also very reasonable if there are opinions that the contact between *tasawuf (mysticism)* and orthodoxy, considered as the mark of the transformation phase of the tradition of *pesantren's* educational philosophy in the history of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, was basically a battle of two movements that had lost their critical-rationality dimension (Affandi Mochtar, 1999: 231).

Thus, it cannot be negated that the structure of the Arab logic of Islam, as stated by George Makdisi and M. Abid al-Jabiri above, has much influenced the tradition of *pesantren's* educational philosophy and morality since its transmission of the system of values and its universal educational philosophy are derived from the product of thoughts from the Scholastic era of Islam. There are at least two arguments supporting this assumption, namely: (1) the opinion of Martin van Bruinessen stating that the principal reason underlying the emergence of *pesantren* is to transmit the product of traditional Scholastic Islamic thoughts (Bruinessen, 1999: 17) and (2) the opinion of Abdurrahman Wahid confirming that educationally, the role of the classic books, commonly called *Kitab Kuning*, is to provide information to *santri* not only about the inheritance of the jurisprudence in the past or about the light path to reach the essence of 'ubudiyyah (self-servitude) to God but also about the roles of life in the future for a society (Wahid, 2001: 175).

One of the prominent features of the epistemic insight developed in the structure of Arab logic of Islam that serves the historical root of the *Kitab Kuning* tradition is the orientation of morality to knowledge (*al-ittijâh min al-sulûk wa al-akhlâq ila al-ma'rifah*) (al-Jabiri, 1991: 30). The characteristic of this epistemic insight or orientation can be seen from the dominance (hegemony) of the "good-bad" ethics-practice, not the scientific view of "right-wrong" towards *pesantren* community, even in their academic activities. For instance, if it is examined closely, at the end of each study of topic of *Kitab Kuning*, there is the phrase "*wallâhu a'lam bi al-sawâb*" (Allah is Omniscient) teaching the concept of theocentric-relativism. It is the concept that claims the absolute truth exists in the revelation of God, while human understanding is relative. However, in reality, such a concept is often not well appreciated. As a result, *pesantren* that should always be open to be "critical"

becomes "finalistic" and "taqlidiyah" (based on the existing thoughts). This attitude is supported by rural milieu that in the colonial penetration. They tended to be *nrimo* (submissive/obedience). This means that the relativism-theocentric concept only underlies the ethical view of *pesantren's* educational philosophy and has not yet touched its epistemological domain. As a result, this concept then has experienced the deviation of meaning because it is appreciated as a form of passivity and submission to literalness of texts, not as the encouragement of curiosity to dare explore the "depth" and "breadth" of the contents and go beyond their historicity and limits.

In addition, based on the opinion of Makdisi and al-Jabiri, the linguistic studies of Arabic get a higher portion and appreciation because they are considered by *pesantren* communities as academic provisions needed to increase their level of being *santri*, given that the mastery of the linguistic studies of Arabic allow them to interact directly with the reference of universal educational philosophy standards of *Kitab Kuning*. From this perspective, *pesantren* as an educational and religious institution can be considered to have been able to prove itself as the conservation institution of Classic-Medieval Islamic tradition through exposures of the original language to Muslim communities from generation to generation. As evidence, the roles of *pesantren* have made the treasures of thoughts of early Muslim leaders, such as those of Muhammad bin Idris Al-Shafi'i, Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali, and Ibn Hajar al-Haytami that are still known and studied until now. However, from the point of view if the teaching of *Kitab Kuning* as a product of the intellectual tradition of madhhab, the development of *pesantren's* educational philosophy still goes around the frame of madhhab reasoning (Ahmad Zahro, 2004: 269).In this context, *taqlîd*(blind following) can be regarded as the lowest level of manifestation of the intellectual tradition of madhab. In addition, *taqlid* can also be seen as the implementation of Sufism prescriptions based on the spirit of patron-client relationship and modeling. There are at least three basic values supporting the continuity of patron-client relationship in the tradition of *pesantren*, namely (1) the *kyai-santri* relation that is unequal and with different statuses, (2) the personal relationship tends to be individualistic, and (3) the relationship that is dispersed, pervasive, and indefinite (Sukamto, 1999: 79-80).

In addition to the achievements and uniqueness in absorbing the universal values of *Kitab Kuning*, in pesantren's history until now, it is also considered quite successful in obtaining its achievement and uniqueness, especially related to (1) the religious spiritual mental appreciation and *tafaqquh fi al-dîn* (deepening the religious

knowledge) (2) the preservation of religious values, such as simplicity, sincerity, *ukhuwah* (bond), devotion, and self-reliance (3) the tendency to social effects than civil effects, (4) the birth of both formal and non-formal leaders who have an influence on the communities of the surroundings, and (5) the propagation of Islamic *da'wah* that has resulted in Muslims as the majority in Indonesia (Abdul Rachman Saleh, 2000: 225). Most of the achievements and uniqueness of *pesantren* are now starting to be questioned because many *kyais* of *pesantren* involve themselves in the area of practical politics and make *pesantren* as part of a political vehicle to gain power. Because it is considered to be out of the *khittah* (path, way), the fact is seen as a phenomenon that *kyais* are"jumping the fence" by involving themselves in politics. According to Djohan Effendi, it is associated with the curriculum of *pesantren* that frequently produces *ulamas* with intellectual excellence, but they are very weak in the resistance to economic matters. They cannot resist the temptation of politics and power (Djohan Effendi, 2003: xviii). Indeed, in the ideological political climate and the culture of the politicization of religion, the status of *kyais* with their large numbers of followers (*santri* and *ummah*) is considered to have a high "selling value". They will be highly recognized by politicians. Here, the dialectic of *pesantren* has resulted in the shift of orientation, one that becomes very pragmatic-functional which is strongly driven by the consideration of economic calculations.

In fact, the phenomenon of "jumping the fence" in the broad sense can also be attached to *kyais* or alumni of *pesantren* who have succeeded in becoming intellectual pioneers in the country because they have made *pesantren* widely known as "the village of civilization". They play an important role in many areas of contemporary life, such as education, politics, economics, and socio-cultural arena. It is named as "jumping the fence" because they have made a leap that transcends (read: break) the divisions of *khittah* of traditional *pesantren* by renewing the intellectual and cultural spirits. That is the leap in the the dynamics of *pesantren* through the process of giving meaning to the adage of "nurturing positive old values and taking better new values" as a reflection of "neo-modernist"*pesantren* by integrating the roots of tradition and modernity (Mujammil Qomar, 2005: 74). Thus, the accusation that the *pesantren* world is closely related to the image of intellectual retardation is worth being criticized because many of the alumni today have proven to be able to compete not only in Indonesia but also in the heart of the contemporary civilization (Yudian Asmin, 2009: xvii).

The reform of the spirit has changed the understanding of the *Salafiyyah* ideology (the concept of idealizing the former generation) of *pesantren* which in the colonial era was manifested through the non-cooperative and full of rejection attitude towards the modern-colonial education system. However, in the present era, *pesantren* must be integrated into the national and international education because *Salafiyyah* is *mu'âshirah* (contemporary system) in which one of the important elements is in the form of courage to learn from "others" (Yudian Wahyudi, 2013: 43). This means that *Salafiyyah* is understood as an ideology that not only inherits the product of thoughts of the previous generations but also their religious ethos of educational philosophy and religious morality which is indispensable from the progress. In the Reform era, the existence of *pesantren* increasingly gained the attention of the government, so it is possible to integrate it into the national education system, and this demands the restructuring of curriculum and identity (Lukens-Bull, 2004: 150). The enactment of Government Regulation (PP) Number 55 of 2007 concerning education on religion and religious education and its standardization requires *pesantren* to improve itself. Here, *pesantren* is recognized both as an educational institution and educational provider as well. Meanwhile, as an educational institution, *pesantren* can still maintain its traditional curriculum, although not "exclusively", in order to gain equal recognition from the government, while as an educational provider, *pesantren* can facilitate the implementation of education by following the national education system from the elementary level to the university level.

The Sufism-Fiqh tradition is the main dimension of the realization of the *pesantren's* culture pattern in the discourse of its educational philosophy and religious morality. Any reform generated by such a tradition and development in it is always full of "normative" and "moral-religious" frameworks. In other words, the image of *pesantren* seems difficult to be separated from the normative and moral-religious framework because to be the change or the reform of *pesantren* that leads to the separation of the framework (tradition) is like the separation of a living thing from its habitat. On the one hand, if it is examined from the internal aspects of the institution, the sustainability of the paradigm of thought is conditioned by the interrelationships of the elements of *pesantren* covering the boarding, the mosque, the teaching of classical Islamic books, the *santris*, and the kyais, along with the interiorization of the three main cultural elements of *pesantren*, namely the pattern of leadership in it, the

universal literature that has been maintained for centuries, and the uniqueness of its value system separated from the one followed by the society.Thus, there are at least two main factors that support the paradigm of thought of *pesantren* thinking, namely the institutional factors and the *pesantren's* cultural factors. On the other hand, in terms of historical aspect, the "character" of *pesantren* has sustained with its discourse of educational philosophy and social-religious movements initiated by *Jawi ulamas*, most of whom almost entirely are experts in *sharia* and *tasawuf*. In addition, they also give birth to the teacher-student network (intellectual-genealogy) and the *mursyid* (advisor)-*khalifah* (caliph) network (mystical genealogy) that spread to the Islamic educational institutions such as *surau* (small mosque) and *pesantren* and are strongly attached to the existence of various *tariqah* (orders) of Sufism in the Archipelago (*Nusantara*).

PART FOUR

VIEWS OF PESANTREN KYAIS ON MULTICULTURALISM:

A Case of Two Pesantren in Yogyakarta

A. Pesantren Kyai of Sunni Darussalam

With a long historical existence, *pesantren* has been spreading into many regions in Indonesia, including Special Region of Yogyakarta. According to the aforementioned, in a *pesantren*, *kyais* are the most influential figure and became the central figure. This at least can be seen from the fact: (1) the birth of a boarding school cannot be separated from the initiation and the struggle of a *kyai*, one who establishes it, (2) development of the *pesantren* is supported by the leadership of a *kyai*, and (3) the scientific tradition and religious views of a *pesantren* is determined by the "ideology" of the *kyai*. If the notion that a *pesantren* is an educational institution with the color of being "nativist" is accepted, then discussing the issue of multiculturalism in the context of the actual *pesantren* is something familiar. This is because the historical development of a *pesantren* has commonly been found familiar within the socio-cultural setting of the Nusantara pluralistic society. The accommodative tendency towards pluralism has been shown by *pesantren* as far as the era of Wali Songo. *Pesantren* is capable of mixing various elements of culture: Islam, Javanese, Hindu and Buddhist, resulting in a unique process of acculturation of Islam with the local culture, even though it varies across regions.

However, parallel with the increasing globalization and diverse development of the ideology of religion in Indonesia, *pesantren* is considered no longer to display a monolithic face. Various typologies have been commonly found. On the one hand, many *pesantrens* no longer maintain their being traditional; but on the other hand, there are also schools that are open to modernization or highly critical to modernization along with the development of certain religious militancy. In short, it is highly possible to find *pesantrens* with a traditional system, a modern system, or one being exclusive, all with varied levels. *Pesantren* intersection with university life has been more or less encouraging the continuing scientific and religious dialectic which in turn will display shades of certain "Islamic" levels. In this regard, schools/*pesantrens* are then required to change their pace to respond either positively or negatively to the pressure of the campus (university). The intersection of *pesantren* and campus can occur through many ways, among others: *kyais* of *pesantren* are both graduates and faculties at the same university; the majority of students in *pesantren* are among the university students; *pesantren* invites university alumni to teach and to serve as educational staff in the schools; and *pesantren* opens a level of education service of Ma'had Aly program (advanced level).

One of the problems that emerges in the intersection of *pesantren* with the campus and with the impact of globalization is the issue of multiculturalism. Pesantren Sunni Darussalam and al-Imdad as the objects of the study are highly involved within the intersection, for their *kyais* and *ustadz* are university graduates; they also actively participate in the academic life on campus; and another fact shows that most of their *santris* study in the universities. As a central figure, the view of a *kyai* on the question of multicultural is worth analyzing because it could be an interesting point of view regarding the extent of interrelation between *pesantren* and campuses especially regarding its role in the creation of transformative thoughts. In general, *pesantren* is so familiar with the academic issues of multiculturalism, even though the views of each *kyai* about it can be quite diverse. Kyai Abdul Fattah (hereinafter referred to as Kyai AF), the head of *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam, interprets multiculturalism as appreciative awareness of diversities and differences in the community. He said, "There is an interpretation that we hold dearly, but we still appreciate the points of other arguments. As much as possible, we will not judge that other opinions are wrong. When we are dealing with a heterogeneous public, we more intensely emphasize on the delivery of moralistic materials" (*Interview* with AF).This

statement implies that in many occasions, kyai AF tends to abandon the single perspective of *fiqh* (Islamic law) that is highly loaded with *khilafiyah* and promoting more moral perspectives. When the delivery of *fiqh* materials is required, he would not explain using a single perspective. There is an opinion that he strongly follows, but he admits that another opinion may also deserve to be followed.

That perspective shows at least two things that should be underlined concerning multiculturalism, namely (1) *kyais* avoid exaggerated truth claims, and (2) *kyais* appreciate moral paradigm/perspective. Excessive truth claims (claim to truth) tend to negate the possibility of truth of the opinions of others and to "force" people to follow the opinion of his own. Knowing the reality in a diverse community, in presenting his material Kyai AF would attempt to explain the existing diversity of opinions along with their respective arguments. His audience is given freedom to choose one opinion without blaming another. However, Kyai AF would explain the opinion he personally chooses. With this attitude, Kyai AF teaches tolerance in his firmness of his opinion. Regarding this issue, Imam Abu Hanifa said, "My belief is correct but may contain the possibility of any other one that also contains the possibility of truth", the tolerance which is held persistently is needed to build patience to support an opinion by always remaining open to learning from other opinions. The truth of an opinion is relative and consequently it does not need to be fanatically and finalistically taken.

Next, the moral perspective taken by Kyai AF, not the perspective of *fiqh* (Islamic law), indicates that serious obstacles of multiculturalism often arise from the strongly remaining of *fiqh*-based perspectives in the realm of religious communities. This is motivated by the belief that *fiqh* is directly related to a variety of everyday practical actions of a person. *Fiqh* serves as a kind of practical guide of one's act and attitude "from wake-up time to bed time". Even sometimes *fiqh* is positioned as a major parameter in assessing a religious level of a person, whether he can be considered virtuous or not. If it is the case, then *fiqh* has functioned as a paradigm (perspective), and it determines what is to be believed and, in turn, determines what is to do.[23] In short, a paradigm or a perspective is not only cognitive, but also normative. Paradigm/perspective not only influences the way we think about a reality, but it also affects the way to approach and to act on the reality. The plurality of our society is a reality, and if *fiqh* has become a paradigm, it will greatly affect judgments, attitudes and actions toward the reality in the community.

According to Jalaluddin Rahmat, making *fiqh* as a paradigm (perspective) is not considered favorable since it will easily make someone get trapped in a formalistic attitude and get fragmented by particularistic issues. He then ignores the moral dimension which is more fundamental in Islam. For this reason, it is important to change the *fiqh* paradigm, from being formalistic towards being ethical that is by integrating the wisdom of the law (moral dimension) into the *illat* (origin) of law.[24] In this context, one manifestation of ethical *fiqh* is the paradigm of social *fiqh* that departs from the view to address complex social problems that should become the major concern of the Islamic law. Solving social problems is an effort to fulfill the obligation and responsibility to realize the common welfare. Yet, it has not met the demand required by the social *fiqh*. However, Kyai AF's efforts to promote moral perspectives to deal with the plurality of the society have proved to be useful to serve as an effort to build a social harmony. Therefore, the teachings of moralistic material are usually more readily accepted by all groups.

In line with the moral perspective, Kyai AF stated further, "The need to be firm, not to be harsh against another group or non-Muslims when needed; should not be in the form of a vigilante in solving a dispute as indicated by the group of Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) against the Ahmadiyah congregation; it needs dialogue opportunities regarding the delivery of content in the learning/teaching; critical attitude towards the militant religious movements such as ISIS-radicals and liberal Islamic movements" (*Interview* with AF).Kyai AF's statement confirms the importance of a non-violence and dialogical approach without losing critical and firmness in resolving differences. These are the two sides of an active tolerance, which is tolerant to various disagreements, able to work together in diversities, and have the determined attitude to argue about what she/he believes. With the two sides, the active tolerance that underlies multiculturalism is not the same as the permissive attitude to all forms of irregularities under the freedom of speech recognition.

Within a wider spectrum, socio-religious attitudes as exemplified by Kyai AF actually represents the basic attitude of the majority of Muslims in this country (Madjid, 2000: 179); perhaps as a silent majority, therefore they are able to peacefully coexist and cooperate with other religions on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual respect, and mutual trust. The socio-religious attitudes equip the readiness of Muslims to live in the global village with all of the opportunities and challenges. According to Nurcholish Madjid, the basic attitude is considered in line with the

theological basis that (1) plurality is the *sunna* of God, (2) the right of existence of other religions is recognized, (3) it serves as the intersection/continuity among religions, and (4) there is no compulsion in religion.[27] The normative basis which can be mentioned to strengthen it, among others are Quran Chapter/Surah (Qs). Yunus [10]:19, Qs. al-Baqarah [2]: 62, 112, 213, 256, Qs. al-Ma'idah [5]:48, Qs. al-Nisa [4]: 125, Qs. al-Nahl [16]:36, and Qs. al-Kafirun [109]:6. The inclusive religious attitudes have a solid basis; however, efforts to realize them in the real life have not taken place smoothly. The ideology of "return to the Quran and the Sunnah" as adopted by most contemporary religious movements who endorse a number of violence-nuanced campaign, whether in the form of apostasy, assault, and terrorism is one of the toughest challenges for those inclusive religious attitudes against the establishment of a cosmopolitan society. Therefore, a group of contemporary religious movements have identified the West, non-Muslims, and the Muslims who are considered not in line with their ideology as opponents or enemies (Misrawi, 2010: 15).In here, the inclusive-tolerant religious attitudes seem to be forced to deal with the attitude of exclusive religious-radicals that leave no space for dialogues and compromises in solving the problems together, both nationally and globally.

In addition, another challenge the inclusive religious attitude is the teaching of *fiqh* that is still strongly focusing on a less positive outlook towards people of other religions. Some *fiqh* tends to contain ideas that discriminate people of other faiths (Moqsith Ghazali, 2009: 9-10). In the tradition of *fiqh*, relations among religions, Muslims and non-Muslims, presumably has not obtained a fair solution for several reasons, namely (1) *Fiqh* was written in a time when relations between Muslims and non-Muslims were not so conducive, (2) *Fiqh* was written in a situation when the internal Muslims were not so solid, and (3) the presence of religious symbols which implicitly advocate a radical stance towards other religions (Mun'im Sirry [ed], 2004: 143). Jamal al-Banna termed *fiqh* with such a *fiqh* with degradation (conservative) dimension that is not in line with the paradigm of the community revival (Jamal al-Banna, 2008: vi).

Regarding the religious freedom, the model of a conservative *fiqh* also carries double standards. Religious freedom is only recognized for other faiths who want to convert to Islam. As for Muslims, there is no freedom of religion, staying in Islam or converting to another religion. Therefore, Muslims converting voluntarily may be given capital punishment, death penalty (Jabir al-Ulwani, 2003).Conservative *fiqh*

tends to prevent themselves against liberalism, pluralism, and secularism. According to al-Banna, the declaration by the conservatives that the three paradigms are forbidden is an attitude that is not wise (al-Banna, 2008: xi-xii) and is against the principles of human rights, those that are continually fought for in the global stage. In fact, the three paradigms have conformity with Islam; Islam as a religion that upholds freedoms (such as freedom of religion and freedom of thought), Islam that values diversity as a human need and the destiny of God, Islam that rejects the domination in the realm of religion and the need for an Islamic state.

Borrowing the term by al-Banna, Kyai AF seeks to steer clear of conservative *fiqh* when addressing diversity issues even though he still appreciates the normative dictum of the traditional *fiqh*. The books of the traditional combined with those of the contemporary, current issues, and the use of academic reference from campuses have affected the views of Kyai AF resulting in his moderate and inclusive standpoints as revealed in his statement: "In particular, we have not prepared a program for multicultural competence to equip the *santris*. However, we often associate it with the learning materials, those that are relevant with multicultural issues to foster their moderate attitude" (*Interview* with HS). Pesantren Sunni Darussalam does not have any special curricular programs oriented to equip its *santri* multicultural competence, but because multicultural issues already are so familiar with the mindset of *santri*-university students, Kyai AF is seeking for a learning process for his *pesantren* to be possibly responsive to the question.

Kyai AF highly stresses moderatetism (*tawassuthiyah*) and tolerance (*tasamuh*) still by adhering to the normative dictum of traditional books that normally become the teaching/learning materials at various *pesantrens*. Serving as a *kyai* of a traditional *pesantren* along with a faculty member of a university (lecturer at a university), Kyai AF is open to the actual demands even though he would still keep a cautious policy in articulating his thoughts and in running a leadership role. This cannot be separated from the religious "ideology" that he follows and the socio-cultural context of the rurban (town edge) society that he is dealing with.

B. Pesantren Kyai of Al-Imdad

Among traditionally religious communities, a *kyai* has an important role and his *pesantren* institution also serves as an acculturation basis. *Pesantren* al-Imdad is located in a rural area with people of a religious-traditional character. In addition,

pesantren al-Imdad has a network of intellectuals and quite extensive cooperations with several *pesantrens* in Bantul, Yogyakarta. This *pesantren's* Kyai has an active role in the network of Forum Kamunikasi Pondok Pesantren (Communication Forum among Pesantrens) in the district of Bantul. This *pesantren* is coordinating dozens of *pesantrens*, both small and large ones, those located in the southern part of Yogyakarta. With such an active role, Kyai Habib Syakur (hereinafter referred to as Kyai HS), the leader at *pesantren* al-Imdad, is not only a central figure in his *pesantren* but also a figure of considerable influence in the region of Bantul, particularly through the networking among the *pesantrens*. With this network, Kyai HS who serves as the chairman of the Forum of Communication among Pesantrens (FKPP) often holds activities at the district level and coordinates *kyai pesantrens* from various areas in Bantul.

Kyai HS interprets multiculturalism as a willingness to work together with various groups without any segregating attitude. He says, "I assist Islamic study groups with backgrounds as diverse as: NU, Muhammadiyah, Javanese, and Tafsir Al-Qur'an Organization (MTA), held at the Village Hall every morning of Sunday Legi (Legi: the 4th day of the 5-day week of Javanese calendar). The study material that I give has to be general [across groups], such as morals. Even when I have to talk about problems of *khilafiyah* (different opinions), I would attempt to clarify all various options/opinions" (*Interview* with HS). The statement implies that Kyai HS prioritizes moral issues and responses to *khilafiyah* of religious issues using multi perspectives, given that the audience comes from diverse backgrounds and *ulama's* opinions about the issues are also various. In terms of multiculturalism, Kyai HS chooses an approach necessary to (1) avoid excessive truth claims, (2) avoid all black-or-white perspectives, and (3) appreciate moral paradigm/perspectives. Excessive truth claims (claim to truth) tend to make one's own opinion absolute, negating the possibility of correctness of the opinions of others and tend to require others to follow the opinion they hold. Truth claims usually originate from the absolutist attitudes which tend to monopolize the truth. Recognizing the realities of a pluralistic society, in delivering religious issues Kyai HS, and also Kyai AF, as much as possible tries to explain the diversity of opinions that exist along with their respective arguments. The audience is given some sort of flexibility in choosing one opinion without having to downgrade another. However, Kyai HS keeps trying to explain which opinion he personally holds.

In line with the moral perspective, Kyai HS also stated, "I do not agree to in-the-name-of-religion violence; violence (the right to force) is the domain of the state. Caring about the society is given to the *santris* by alternately assigning them picketing along the roadside to help push bikes of local residents with heavy loads when they go up a steep road" (*Interview* with HS).Kyai HS's statement confirms his stance against in-the-name-of-religion anarchy and violence, and highlights the importance of *pesantren* to train students to build concern over the community without noting the "color of the shirt". In the view of Kyai HS, multiculturalism is demanding concern for the marginalized groups, one that has to be carried into real actions. In fact, the concern regarding the people's culture is also shown by Kyai HS, one which has been "shunned away" by the *santris*. The hostility (competing) posture shall not be highlighted, but the ability to live together is the one that has to be nurtured so that some sort of colorful culture can then be build. Kyai HS has displayed a harmonious attitude that seeks to appreciate or embrace tradition that has lasted for generations, namely the tradition of *Nyadran* at Makam Sewu (name of burial place).[37] Slowly, Kyai HS is entrusted to be the chairman of the committee of the *Nyadran*, an event that incorporates Islamic values (or minimize the values that are less Islamic) into *Nyadran* activities. In multiculturalism, one of the pillars is cultural integration. With this approach, Kyai HS has applied the "integrative" approach by building the willingness to sit together, to blend, and to unify in the cultural diversity to integrate Islamic values into an acculturative manner. This is the embodiment of a cultural approach "*ngeli ning ojo nganti keli*" (let one drifted along the water but never get swept away); and this, in the cultural interaction, requires a tolerant attitude towards various cultural differences. They also need to be able to work together in diversity, able to adapt to the environment, not applying manner of segregation, and keeping appropriate firmness of attitude regarding their belief.

Kyai HS seeks to avoid the standpoint of the conservative *fiqh* in addressing diversity, even he is able to transform the dictum of the traditionally normative *fiqh* into "peaceful teaching *fiqh*"; the text of the *fiqh* is discussed with the reality of the socio-cultural community through the wisdom of the cultural approach to building harmony in the plural community. The books of the traditional combined with the contemporary ones, current issues, and the utilization of campus life references has affected Kyai HS to show moderation and inclusive standpoints, even the integrative manners (never take a distance). Multiculturalism by Kyai HS is demonstrated by his

willingness to become familiar with the culture of the pluralistic society and his efforts to negotiate with all parties to build a "cultural identity" with which he believes is more in line with the Islamic values which is *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (for all mankind). Conceptually, there are three kinds of strategies/approaches in addressing the plurality, namely: (1) the strategy of conquest or religious revolution which seeks to unite the diversity in the views considered true, (2) strategy of seclusion that is trying to make barriers and be exclusive so as not to drift away with plurality issues, and (3) the dialogical strategies which is open to sharing various ideas, thoughts, and willingness to interact with other groups. In this context, Kyai HS takes the third strategy which is also called the multiculturalist approach that gives freedom to all socio-cultural elements to stay alive while developing cultural and mental attitudes of solidarity and mutual respect carried out in an egalitarian way (Paulus Wirutomo, et. al., 2012: 5) .

Kyai HS strongly criticized the emergence of Sharia regulations in some regions. He said, "I do not agree with the emergence of local *Sharia* regulations because this will only trigger similar reactions which are political in other regions with non-Muslims as their majority" (*Interview* with HS).In the public domain (politics), religious articulation should attend plurality issues. Therefore, the majority should not just show its dominance in a discriminatory measure against minorities. And it is highly possible that it would provoke similar actions in other regions. Kyai HS's outlook is in line with a multicultural vision that requires the importance of equality in the governance of mutual relationships, including the relationship between the majority and the minority.

Pesantren al-Imdad has a vision of *Santri Salih* (Courteous, Religious, Nationalist, Skilled, Friendly, Innovative and Environmentally Conscious). This vision is in line with multicultural insights, which are translated into its curricular program, in both its content and process, oriented to equip students with multicultural competence, given the multicultural issue has become so familiar with the thinking of the *santri* and the congregation members. And the learning process in the *pesantren* is also employed as much to be responsive to these issues. With that vision, Kyai HS intends to make explicit its ideology, blending the Islamic outlook, the Indonesianism, and humanity.

The role of its *kyai* is not only carried out within the scope of *pesantren* al-Imdad, but also on a wider scale. This is to participate in coloring the socio-religious

life of the general public, the real people instead of the *santri* only. Thus, from the beginning the *kyai* would assume that indeed the society he is dealing with is multicultural in nature and it requires willingness and ability to value diversity, equality, and respect. According to Kyai HS, religious scholars should not be merely running a traditional role in *pesantrens* because the *pesantrens* are supposedly able to actually pioneer the transformation of socio-cultural community in general. A Kyai is expected to be able to portray leadership out of the box, the bold leadership out of the traditional mainstream for pioneer community development outside the *pesantren*.

The reality among the *jama'ah* (followers) and the pluralistic society require the wisdom of Kyai HS when making responses. The text to be read by the Kyai is not "the yellow book" alone, but also "the people in general". Reading the text of a wider community would find complexities because they require a *kyai* to be able to adapt, to go down the mountain, and to change the look of the traditional posture of a *kyai*. Kyai HS's multiculturalism has been demonstrated by his willingness to become familiar with the culture of a pluralistic society and trying to negotiate with all parties to build a cultural identity which he believes is more in line with the Islamic values which is *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (made for all mankind).

PART FIVE

THE ACTUALIZATION OF VIEWS OF THE KYAI ON MULTICULTURALISM INTO PESANTREN EDUCATION PROCESS

A. The Actualization of Kyai's Perspective in Pesantren Sunni Darussalam

As confirmed by many research results, with his *pesantren* a *kyai* plays a strategic role in transforming religious values to the *santris* and to the surrounding community (Ali Maschan Moesa, 2007). The curriculum of *pesantren* and the socio-religious activities led by *pesantrens* are the main means of a *kyai* in actualizing the "ideology" which would become the basis or the framework of the teaching administration. Pesantren Sunni Darussalam has walked a long enough history up until the present conditions. This *pesantren* can no longer be claimed as fully *Salaf* (traditional), because it has incorporated elements of *khalaf* (modern or contemporary) in its curriculum development. Kyai AF's qualified academic background regarding traditional Islamic studies, Arabic linguistics, and contemporary Islamic discourses has influenced the design of Sunni Darussalam Islamic boarding school curriculum, which includes: Arabic linguistics, traditional

Islamic studies, and contemporary Islamic studies. The pattern is still based on books, both the yellow books and the modern books, with the field of study of: (1) Arabic/Arabic Grammar using the book of *Qawa'id Asâsiyah* and *Alfiya Ibnu Malik*; (2) *Fiqh* and *Usul Fiqh* using *Safinatun Najâh*, *Taqrîb*, *Fathul Qarîb*, *Fathul Mu'in*, and *Kifâyatul Akhyâr*, (3) *Akhlak/Tasawuf* using *Irsyâdul Ibâd*, *Nashâihul Ibâd*, *Bidâyatul Hidâyah*, and *Qâmi' al-Tughyân*; (4) *Tarikh* using *Nûrul Yaqin*, (5) *Tafsir* using *Tafsir al-Jalalain* and *Ibn Katsir*, and (6) *Hadith* using *Bulûgh al-Marâm* and *Riyâdlus Shâlihîn* (*Interview* with AF). The learning activities in the *pesantren* is carried out in the evening after *Maghrib* (sunset) and in the morning after *Subuh* (early morning). This is because all the students go to formal educational institutions in the afternoon.

With the structure of the curriculum and the field of the study, Kyai AF adds reinforcement to the preservation of the traditional Islamic literatures hat is incorporated with contemporary Islamic studies, either through the study of the book (by content) or via the instructional processes (by process). The characteristics of the *santris* and the surrounding community to a large extent still value more traditional Islam. This helps Kyai AF to play his role in transforming his ideas. Bahtsul Masâ'il activities (forum for discussion of various issues of *fiqh*), which is regularly organized have become a medium to prove the success of Kyai AF in forming the path of their religious thoughts. This is because the problems studied together by the *santris* in the forums is always approached with a "*mazhab* (sect)" followed by Kyai AF. Referring to the past history of Islamic thoughts, Kyai AF's *mazhab* looks like the system *ta'lîqah* (reference) in the teaching of religious issues. This way, he has managed to condition certain works (yellow books) to be programmed in the education system of *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam. That is semi-canonical in its nature. With this system, students are successfully directed to reason in a frame of mind that has been pre-formulated, although he was given the freedom to refer to various other sources. Naturally, the religious teachings taught by Kyai AF has become some sort of norms that guide or at least inspire the academic activity in the *pesantren* and perceived as something that "should" or "must" be accepted, for it comes from the authority that has been well attested for several generations, not as something that each person can simply decide for themselves according to their ability and thinking (Syafiq A. Mughni, 2002: 55).In this regards, Kyai AF said, "The theme or issue being studied is the actual things, the daily issues in the *fiqh*. In this activity, the process and the

results of the study are still within the framework of the traditional *pesantren* embraced by *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam (NU/Salafiya). So there is no such thing as liberal discourses or deconstruction of thoughts as those promoted by contemporary Muslim thinkers. The yellow books studied remain to serve as references in assessing the actual issues of the practical *Fiqh*. They also become a reference in resolving religious issues in the society". From the perspective of multiculturalism, strengthening the preservation of the traditional Islamic literatures or disclosure is intended to modernize itself against outside elements. This is not to make students uprooted from their cultural roots. Kyai AF regards Islam to carry traditional Islamic cultural roots of *santri* and the surrounding community. This is because *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam has the primary responsibility to provide the introduction of the traditional Islamic literatures, without closing themselves from Islamic treasures of modernistic and actual or current issues.

Most people around *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam that becomes the target of assistance of Kyai AF are a traditional Islamic society. Based on the normative dictum of the Yellow Book, Kyai AF has put back in track the religious practices considered less appropriate. Nevertheless, he is trying to avoid giving a judgment regarding the issues still in dispute. With this approach, on the one hand, Kyai AF has managed to open a space for minority communities to adapt and to blend in with the majority even though in certain cases they stay firmly to the opinion they have adopted; and at the same time Kyai AF has also succeeded in showing his strong belief in his own opinion amidst a wide selection of other opinions. He also managed to convey his critical opinion to any deviation of religious practices in the community still with an acceptable language. Giving an equal space to the minorities in the society shows a form of acceptance (in recognition). Through this equality, the majority and the minority both recognized and pursued patterns of fair relationship/interaction. Fairly, Kyai AF imposes opinions on the issues that are still in dispute only to those who would receive it (exclusive locus); he would not force other groups to apply. This is found valid as long as the core values (universal) and the differences in values in particular are something tolerable (can be tolerated) and there is no obstacle for people to accept them. According to Kyai AF, we will not say that it is "wrong". This is one of the parameters of moral perspectives that consider the truth is pluralistic in nature.

Accordingly, Kyai AF assumes that *pesantren* as "the mecca" of religious communities should not monopolize the exclusive control of all religious activities without the community's willingness to share them with other socio-religious institutions that have first existed. The rejection of the *Kyai* of the proposal to move the sacrificial activities (*qurban*) from the mosque to *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam, for example, can be interpreted as willingness to share and as recognition of the function of "local wisdom" in maintaining social harmony. The long history of the community life certainly has a variety of wisdom for building and maintaining unity. Therefore, it would be naive if the wisdom would be simply negated since we are always excited to transplant new things to organize the life of the society.

B. The Actualization of the Perspectives of *Kyai* in Pesantren al-Imdad

One of the functions of education is socialization. This means that *pesantren* as an educational institution is required to manage to well portray these functions. With the functions, a *kyai* would serve as somebody who stays forefront in transforming religious values and in encouraging the process of socialization of the *santris* with the surrounding community. The curriculum of the *pesantren* and the socio-religious activities led by the *pesantren* are the main means of the Kyai to actualize the transformative vision that has become the basis or framework of the teaching administration. *Pesantren* al-Imdad has walked a long enough history to arrive at the current level. This *pesantren* can no longer be said to be fully *Salaf* (traditional), for it has incorporated elements of *khalaf* (modern) in the curriculum development. This *pesantren* has also adopted a national curriculum used in formal education institutions. Kyai HS's academic background that is not only qualified in the traditional Islamic studies, but also in Arabic linguistics, and contemporary Islamic discourses has inspired the structure of the curriculum of the *pesantren* of al-Imdad, which includes: Arabic linguistics, studies of traditional Islam, and other contemporary Islamic studies (*Interview* with HS). Kyai HS runs routine congregations provided for the surrounding communities in the form of TPQ (Qur'an School) *sorogan* nights and in the mornings and *madrasah diniyah* (institution for teaching merely religious knowledge) in the afternoon. In addition, he regularly [every *selapan* (Javanese: five weeks)] holds Quran recitals in as many as 30 mosques, one at a time.

Kyai HS and pesantren al-Imdad have handled many activities of religion education, both in and outside the *pesantren*. With a curriculum that covers the field of the study, Kyai HS also provides some reinforcement of the preservation of traditional Islamic literatures through the incorporation of the yellow book and the contemporary Islamic studies, either through the study of the book (by content) or via the instructional process (by process). The characteristics of the *santris* and the surrounding community to a large extent are still valuing the traditional Islamic values more. These characteristics then help optimize the efforts of Kyai HS to realize his ideas. As a field operator, Kyai HS has been trying to reach many parties, including the public of *Kejawen* (Javanese beliefs) or *Abangan* (Moslems not practicing the teachings). The work has helped him appreciate the tradition that has lasted for generations, like the tradition of *Nyadran*(religio-cultural tradition celebrated in the month before Ramadan) at Makam Sewu. Kyai HS said, "Slowly, I will be entrusted to be the chairman of the committee of *Nyadran* activities that can incorporate Islamic values (or minimize the values that are less Islamic) in the activities. Now the local government activities of *Nyadran* have gained recognition for being one of the religious tourisms in Bantul celebrated with festivals and *sema'an* (recital) of al-Qur'an" (*Interview* with HS). This statement reflects optimism in repairing the having-degraded culture. According to Kyai HS, initially, the tradition of *Nyadran* was actually richly loaded with the Islamic values, but since it is mixed with many interests, this tradition is slowly deviating from the spirit of the original ancestors. It is now considered to just being a fun event and even close to immoral practices. This fact has helped Kyai HS to continue to watch the procession of *Nyadran* activities despite the negative opinion of many parties who consider his work as "too much". With his Kyai status, in fact HS is considered unduly to pioneer *Nyadran* activities where many sinful doings are committed. In this context, Kyai HS can be seen as a person who seeks to perform the role of a "culture broker". This is because he dared to jeopardize his reputation for involving the culture of *Abangan* and providing further added values to the culture which is then sold with some profit since he has managed to polish the event to become more attractive. This is the excess of the cultural approach compared to other approaches, just time consuming and takes a long process.

Kyai HS' progressive vision has been demonstrated by his development strategy to build the image of a particular advantage with *pesantren* al-Imdad. The

excellent performance in the Book recital has helped promote this *pesantren* to the local and even the national stage. Kyai HS has created the "Method 33" to help students quickly able to read the Book, one that is printed with no accentuation marks. This method has been tried out in various places through trainings. The progressive vision has also been demonstrated through his strong commitment to promote formal education institutions (*madrasas*) under the auspices of al-Imdad. Periodically, he would make a pact of integrity with all managers of the *madrasas*. With this integrity pact, Kyai HS tries to build a joint agreement to promote the institution. After successfully advancing MTs (Madrasah for Junior high), Kyai HS takes a further step by establishing *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA/madrasah for High School) al-Imdad, and in the near future he plans to open *Ma'had Aliy* (Islamic boarding schools for higher education studies) al-Imdad. This is what he has revealed, "The development of *pesantren* al-Imdad is designed through strengthening the image (branding) of excellence in the Book reading, through character development (the integrity pact), and through a partnership network. We are planning to establish Ma'had Aly in *pesantren* al-Imdad". The progressive vision of Kyai HS has triggered innovative thinking; he dares to deviate from the traditional *pesantren* mainstream of the traditional *kyais* and traditional society. With the progressive vision, Kyai HS would easily appreciate the multicultural insights applied in the teaching in the *pesantren*, integrated into the curriculum, and disseminated to the *pesantren* community. According to Kyai HS, *pesantrens* are required to equip *santris* with multicultural competence, from awareness training regarding social problems to training students to be critically open-minded. Kyai HS's program requires that the students do picketing to guard in the street to help the local communities, to directly practice to get familiar with *Nyadran* cultural traditions, to be committed to together promote education institutions, and to plan that in the near future Ma'had Aliy is concretely open to prove the actualization of multiculturalism in *pesantren* al-Imdad.

Apart from that, Kyai HS when in charge of delivering religious studies for the general public is also trying to be responsive to the diverse opinions and put forward the clarificative approach to clarify the matter of *khilafiyah*. He said, "We have built a religious study with people of various backgrounds as diverse as: NU, Muhammadiyah, and the Majlis Tafsir al-Qur'an (al-Qur'an Studies Organization; MTA), held in the village hall every Sunday *Legi* (Legi: The fourth day of the five day week of the Javanese Calendar) morning. The study materials are general in

nature. Even if they are offensive problems of *khilafiah*, we would attempt to clarify various existing choices or opinions".

Similar with Kyai AF, the majority of the congregation of the religious studies being trained by Kyai HS is from the traditional society. Nevertheless, he kept trying to open up a space for the minorities to mingle with the majority through the recognition of the equality provision (in recognition). Kyai HS would avoid conveying a judgmental view, especially regarding issues still in dispute. And at the same time, he would impose an acceptance of the views only to the parties who embrace them (exclusive locus) and not imposing them to other parties, as long as the core values (universal) and the differences in value in particular are something tolerable (can be tolerated). This is one of the parameters of moral perspectives that consider that truth is plural, truth is not always black and white, or at least truth should not be monopolized.

PART SIX
THE IMPACT OF THE ACTUALIZATION OF THE KYAI'S PERPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY AWARENESS

As a subculture,*pesantren* creates its own culture within the internal environment. The rhythm of activities, values, environment, and climate display special characteristics that are not found outside the *pesantren* environment. The similar is found in the *pesantrens* that serve as the setting of this study: Sunni Darussalam and al-Imdad. As a subculture, it does not mean that *pesantren* is isolationist-exclusive. *Pesantren* is an instrument of a *kyai* in conducting the transfer of knowledge, transfer of value, and character building to the public. Therefore, there is no doubt when a *pesantren's* existence is acceptable to the society, it will significantly affect the life of the people, those who are living in the surrounding area.

A. The Impact on the Community of Pesantren Sunni Darussalam

Pesantren Sunni Darussalam has been growing with the support of the surrounding community. There is a mutualistic symbioses relationship between the *pesantren* and the community. In addition, the number of students at the *pesantren* has also increased over time until at least 100 people. Judging from this perspective, the existence of the *pesantren* carries a significant effect on the *pesantren* community both internally and externally, that is on groups of people who are related to the

pesantren. The forms of engagement with the *pesantren* can certainly vary, such as formal engagement as students or administration staff of the *pesantren*; and informal relations such as being the *jama'ah* (participants/followers) of recitations held by the *pesantren*.

The data collected has indicated at least four kinds of empirical evidence of impact of the *pesantren* and the impact of the actualization of the *kyai's* views, namely:

Firstly, improvement of the *pesantren* community religious activities. Pesantren Sunni Darussalam has programmed routine and incidental activities for both the *santris* and the surrounding communities, such as *mujahadah* (prayers to fight against bad desires) and recitals. Such activities have attracted people's active participation even though their being present varies. However, their active participation in such various activities is more or less good at increasing knowledge and understanding of the religion. In general, their religious activities either daily, weekly, monthly or even yearly would increase in quality and quantity. As many as approximately 60 people of mothers and fifty persons of fathers, and as many as 100 students (plus a number of incidental *jama'ah* of the *pesantren*) participate in the congregation and it shows evidence the role of the Kyai AF of Sunni Darussalam to influence the community in a big enough scale.

Secondly, improvement of Public Willingness to Sacrifice. Besides being financially empowered, the willingness to sacrifice (slaughtering of livestock) is also influenced by a growing public awareness of the importance of sacrificing. The implementation of the sacrifices (slaughtering of livestock) is centered in the village mosque, not in schools. Kyai AF encourages the students to be actively engaged in the committee organization. According to Kyai AF, at first, public willingness to sacrifice was low. Now the number is increasing, even some are not the village residents.

Thirdly, reduction of Drinking Behavior. For some people, drinking has been so common. When a night-long-stay-up event is held (get together and stay up) at homes or event gathering in a certain place, we can see people *ngombe* (drinking) while playing. This condition was spotted by Kyai AF when he initially pioneered the establishment of *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam. Now people consider it as shameful practices already. If still someone would do it, he would move away from the boarding school environment.

Fourthly, harmony in social diversity. *Santri* of *Pesantren* Sunni Darussalam are not all with a traditional Islamic background. The same is found with the surrounding community. However, they can live together in harmony; they even actively get involved in various socio-religious activities inside and outside the *pesantren*. As for *Tarawih* prayers and recitation activities in the village, for example, those who have a different view could blend into one in the prayers of *Tarawih* and also follow the teachings. However, when associated with *Idul Adha* they can be different due to a difference in the classification of 10 *Dhuzlhijjah* (date in Arabic Calendar).

B. The Impact on the Pesantren Community of al-Imdad

Al-Imdad *Pesantren* has been growing with the support of the surrounding community. Originally, this school was a shelter of people who dropped out of school but still wanted to continue to study while working. There is a mutualistic symbioses relationship between the *pesantren* and the community. As for the number of students at the school, it keeps increasing from time to time to not less than 200 people living in the *pesantren* dormitory while attending school. This fact indicates that the existence of the *pesantren* has a significant effect on the *pesantren* community, that is a group of people both from the internal and the external who are tied to the boarding. The success of Kyai HS in developing *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Secondary Islamic School or MTs), which then came under the auspices of al-Imdad has enhanced the reputation of this *pesantren*. Previously, MTS was managed by LP. *Maarif* of NU but it did not sufficiently develop and it was even almost closed down. After the MTs progresses, Kyai HS opens a *Madrasah Aliyah* (Higher Islamic School or MA), a choice school of al-Imdad and the progress is quite good. This is what prompted him to set up the opening Ma'had Aliy of Pesantren al-Imdad.

The data collected reveals at least four criteria of impacts of a *pesantren* and of the actualization of its *kyai's* views that can be analyzed, namely:

Firstly, The improvement of the *pesantren* community religious activities. *Pesantren* of al-Imdad has programmed routine and incidental activities for both its students and the communities, such as *mujahadah* and recitals. Such activities have attracted people's active participation, even though their level of their being present varies. However, their active participation in such various activities is more or less helpful to increasing knowledge and understanding of their religion. In general, their religious activities either daily, weekly, monthly or even yearly have increased in quality and

quantity. Kyai HS has a congregation of *jama'ah* of his leadership held in thirty mosques one at a time, once a month. The number of people present for the study is not less than hundred people from both females and males, as well as two hundred students (plus incidental *santri*). This indicates that the role of Kyai HS with his *pesantren* al-Imdad has affected the community in a broad enough scale.

Secondly, increasing public awareness to study at Madrasah (*Islamic school*). Of late, *Madrasah* is generally perceived as a second-class educational institution. This is proven by the low motivation among the public to send their children to *madrasah*. As a result, MTs Ma'arif in Wijirejo Pandak nearly went out of bussiness because they did not have students. After obtaining the permission of LP Ma'arif (Division of NU for education), Kyai HS soon moved door to door to get students until the MTs is now growing well. Many people now switch to send their children to *madrasah*. Mutual relation between pesantren and madrasah is a prime capital for developing education system in both.

Thirdly, value transformation in the tradition of *Nyadran.* In the area of Pandak, *Nyadran* tradition has been preserved by the community for generations. Makam Sewu which becomes the center of this activity is very "sacred". *Nyadran* fasting rituals have been carried out by various walks of life: young and old, *abangan-santri*, and poor-rich. Since so many people get involved, the activities of *Nyadran* attract the public. In fact, many series of *Nyadran* activities tend to be occult, immoral, or staging mass entertainment that is often tinged brawls and drunkenness. Kyai HS's involvement as the chairman of the committee of *Nyadran* at Makam Sewu has slowly managed to shift the "negative" cultural practices. Now, the activities of *Nyadran* Makam Sewu have gained the recognition of the local government as a form of religious tourism in Bantul.

Fourthly, harmony in diversity within the life of the community. Not all *santris* of *pesantren* al-Imdad are with traditional Islamic backgrounds, neither is the community around it. Even so, they could live together in harmony; they even get actively involved in various socio-religious activities inside and outside the *pesantren*. In the teaching activities in the village, for example, those with different views could blend into one in the course of socio-religious activities and also follow the teachings. However, when associated with the Eid of Idul Adha, the beginning of fasting may be different due to a difference in the decision made to declare 10 Dhuzlhijjah and 1 Ramadan.

PART SEVEN

CONCLUSING

The existence of *pesantren* has proven to give big contribution in acculturating Islam so that it can be easily processed and prevented from any conflicts with local culture through the inheritance of Islamic tradition of *Kitab Kuning* and the acculturation with local (indigenous) culture. *Pesantren* is also recognized to have an important role in developing nationalism and the independence of a community although generally, the graduates are more active in the traditional sector. Because of this role, during the colonial period, *pesantren* was considered as an enemy and a "wild"educational institution. Until now, *pesantren* is still closely related to the label as an educational and religious institution that can survive in the middle of the modernization of the education system. This is what underlies the assumption of some experts about the flexible culture of *pesantren* or the sub-culture of *pesantren* through the dialectical process.

In general, the *pesantren* world is considered as an educational institution contributing to the preservation of Islamic treasures through the teaching of *Kitab Kuning* that completely lacks the rational-philosophical and scientific-experimental studies. Because of the pressure of the modernization of national education system, some *pesantrens* converges. In order to overcome various weaknesses, they do self-repositioning not only as educational institutions but also as educational providers by opening their facilities for the implementation of the modern education system. Here, *pesantren* performs institutional dialectic through the reform of its academic *khittah* (baseline) and *pesantren's* spirit. The dialectical tendency has showed by two pesantrens studied here, i.e.: Sunni Darussalam and al-Imdad.

The *Kyai* of *Pesantren* Sunni Darussalam interprets multiculturalism as an appreciative attitude towards social diversity and differences. Firmness on opinion and attitude is needed, but it is surely different from violence in that the latter tends to be intolerant and coercive. Assertiveness requires a willingness to be tolerant to various disagreements, ability to work together in differences, and firmness on the opinion that one believes. *Kyai* of a *pesantren* holds moral perspectives rather than the perspectives of *fiqh* that carry a lot of differences. Meanwhile, the *kyai* of

pesantren al-Imdad interprets multiculturalism as a willingness to work together with various diverse communities without any segregation. The routine practices of dealing with the *jama'ah* (community) with various backgrounds of beliefs have made him choose such approaches as: (1) avoid excessive truth claims, (2) avoid black and white perspectives, and (3) appreciate moral perspectives. The Kyai of *pesantren* al-Imdad considers that multiculturalism requires concern for the marginalized groups, the concern of which should be translated into real actions. The same concern is also addressed to the people's culture that is labeled as *Abangan* (Moslems but not practicing Islam). According to him, it is not hostility (competing) that should be highlighted, but the attitude to readily live together in plurality that should be of our concern. His attitudes of readily living together in harmony are shown in his willingness to attempt to appreciate or embrace the tradition that has lasted for generations, the tradition of *Nyadran* at Makam Sewu.

The curriculum and the socio-religious activities of a *pesantren* are the primary means of a *Kyai* to actualize his "ideology" within the framework of the educational system administration. The *kyai* has gradually disseminated *Pesantren* Sunni Darussalam so that it is no longer regarded as a wholly *salaf pesantren* (traditional). This is because it has incorporated modern elements in the development of its curriculum. His academic background of being qualified as a religious scholar in the field of traditional Islamic studies, in Arabic linguistics and in contemporary Islamic discourse has influenced the design of the curriculum of *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam. With the design of the curriculum and with the areas of the existing studies, the *Kyai* has been trying to provide reinforcement to the preservation of the traditional Islamic literatures blended with the contemporary Islamic studies, either through the study of the book (by content) or via the instructional process (by process). From the point of view of multiculturalism, strengthening the preservation of the traditional Islamic literatures is intended to modernize itself against the outside elements so as not to make students uprooted from their cultural roots. In the view of the *kyai*, traditional Islam is the cultural roots of Islamic students and the surrounding community, for this reason, *pesantren* Sunni Darussalam has the primary responsibility to introduce them to the traditional Islamic literatures without closing themselves to the treasures of modern Islam and of the actual issues. In *pesantren* al-Imdad, the *kyai* handles many activities related to religious education, both in and outside the *pesantren*. Kyai HS seeks to provide reinforcement to the preservation of

the traditional Islamic literatures blending the yellow book and the contemporary Islamic studies, either through the study of the book (by content) or via the instructional process (by process). There lies the reason for the *kyai's* efforts in appreciating the tradition that has lasted for generations, the tradition of *Nyadran* at Makam Sewu. He is optimistic that he is gradually able to improve that has been degraded. The steps of the *kyai* are a form of the implementation of the cultural approach through his teachings that he thinks would carry a better advantage than that of other approaches.

Pesantren Sunni Darussalam has grown up with the support of the surrounding community based on the mutualistic symbiosis relationship between the *pesantren* and the community. The existence of the *pesantren* has a significant impact on the *pesantren* community, a group of people both from the internal and the external of the *pesantren* that are tied to the *pesantren*. There are at least four (4) impact indicators of the *pesantren* and the actualization of the views of the *kyai*, namely: (1) an increase in the number of religious activities in the *pesantren* communities, (2) an increase in the people's willingness to sacrifice, (3) reduction of drinking behavior, and (4) community harmony in differences. Pesantren al-Imdad has made efforts to support the surrounding community. Originally, this school was a shelter of people who had dropped out of school but still wanted to continue to learn while working. The success of *pesantren* al-Imdad to promote its educational institutions has improved the reputation of the school. There are at least four obvious impact of the two *pesantren* and of the actualization of the *kyai's* views, namely: (1) an increase in the number of religious activities of the *pesantren* communities, (2) an increase of public interest to attend *madrasas*, (3) the transformation of values in the tradition of *Nyadran*, and (4) social harmony in many differences.

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