Scientific Genealogy and Transformation of Modern Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia (1986 – 2021)

Nurul Hak¹*, Abdul Mustaqim², Ahmad Baidowi³, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy⁴, Ahmad Salehudin⁵

A R T I C L E   I N F O   **A B S T R A C T**

Purpose: To elaborate the scientific genealogy and transformation of four Modern *Pesantrens* (MP) in Indonesia in the Contemporary Era, namely MP Assa'adah, Banten, MP Al-Irsyad, Semarang, MP Tazakka, Batang, Central Java and MP Muhammadiyah Boarding School Al-Mukhtar, Jember, East Java. **Methodology:** The study is qualitative, both library and field researches, including searching primary and secondary sources, observing to locations of the four MP, interviewing some MP leaders and analyzing data. Participants consist of the leaders, teachers, and officers of the four MP. They were selected through purposive sampling from the four of MP as a representative sample, whose closely know the four MP. **Findings:** The results of this study demonstrate that, first, the four MP scientific genealogy includes teacher-student relationships, scientific and institutional networks. Second, although the four MP are oriented towards MP of Gontor, they have undergone a different process of transformation, that take form of adaptation, modification, and innovation in the education system. Third, changes in educational direction, ideological contestation, social class fragmentation of *santri* (students), and alterations in scientific genealogy are influenced by the development of Islamic education in the four MP. **Implication for Research and Practice:** These findings impact on the importance of MP to modifying and innovating diverse approaches on anticipating changes in society and education in order to remains the central of contemporary Islamic education in Indonesia. Future studies of MP could be addressed to analysing the social-community networking among MP in order to empowering educational system, curriculum, as well as alumni.

¹ Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta-Indonesia.
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7877-3850 , Email: nurul.hak@uin-suka.ac.id
² Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta-Indonesia
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3659-4739 , Email: abdul.mustaqim@uin-suka.ac.id
³ Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta-Indonesia
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0842-6618 , Email: ahmad.baidowi@uin-suka.ac.id
⁴ Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta-Indonesia
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6920-9740 , Email: Saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id
⁵ Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta-Indonesia
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9771-2737 , Email: ahmad.salehudin@uin-suka.ac.id
*Correspondence: nurul.hak@uin-suka.ac.id

Introduction

Modern Islamic Boarding School, known as Modern *Pesantren* (MP), is generally identified by the emphasis on foreign language proficiency, lack of highlight on the study of "yellow books" (classical Islamic books) (Bruinessen, 1995), and more reliance on organizational systems and management than the *kyai* figure. Apart from these characteristics, in reality, MP have their own uniqueness, since some MP, such as MP As-Sa'adah in Banten, is known to teach their student with yellow book materials, while some others provide their *santri* (student) with formal education, such as MP Gontor, MP Mambaul Ulum and Sumatra Tawalib. Thus, as pointed out by Sugandi et al. (2017) MP are not only transforming their education system, but also their organizational management.

Thus far studies on MP are inclined to focus on three areas of research niche: education and curriculum, leadership and institutions, and pesantren financial management. Previous researches on education and curriculum revolved around aspects of the model of curriculum innovation, learning implementation, and integrated MP curriculum (Ilyasin, 2020; Musaddad, 2023; Zaini et al., 2022), learning management and integrated management of the MP curriculum, and integrated science-based *pesantren* and schools. Meanwhile, earlier studies in terms of leadership and institutions of MP, commonly raised the development of MP by motivating *pesantren* administrators, forming team building, and cultivating innovative behaviour for the future enhancement of *pesantren* (Muhammad & Sari, 2021). Former investigation related to the economic management of MP highlighted the development of *pesantren* business charities, as well as financial management of students as part of developing students' independence (Syamsuri et al., 2023). Of these three trends of MP studies, this study is different from them, since this study specifically examines scientific genealogy and transformation of MP and there has not been any study to address this topic. Therefore, this study attempts to fulfil the gap, as it is clearly significant to attract the origins and distinctive development of MP as one of Islamic education centrals in contemporary Indonesia.

This study focuses on four MPs concerning the scientific genealogy and transformation in contemporary Indonesia (1986 – 2021). This includes the MP of As-Sa'adah Banten, the MP of Al-Irsyad Semarang Regency, the MP of Tazakka Batang, and MP of MBS Al-Mukhtar Jember, These MPs were chosen based on two considerations: first, due to their regional representation and inclusion in the Banten Province, West Java, Central Java Province, and East Java Province. The second is based on the diversity of scientific genealogy and its modern transformation. All these four MPs have different scientific genealogical roots: for instance, the MP of Tazakka adheres to the MP of Gontor model; the MP of Al-Irsyad applies a modern salafi-style *pesantren*; the MBS Al-Mukhtar adheres to the MBS rooted in Muhammadiyah, and the MP of As-Sa'adah combines traditional-modern model based on digital technology.

This study aims to examine scientific genealogy and the transformation of MP as the focal point of this study. Previous studies of MP have unveiled three patterns of *pesantren's* dynamic transformation: namely adoption, modification, and innovation as a response to challenges of the changing times. So that this study adopts Arnold Toynbee's theory of challenge and response; that a civilization, that means a progress in the process of human history, can be achieved if they are able to response to the challenges they face in life. This

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

270

study also intends to prove that in contemporary Indonesia, MP have experienced a diverse scientific genealogy and transformation of Islamic education. This study essentially argues that the increasingly transforming MP in Indonesia are apt at creatively responding to the challenges of the changing times as part of their survivability and adaptability to sustain their existence in this contemporary world. This argument counters the claims of some parties on *pesantren* inability to improve themselves and adapt to the times (Lukens-Bull, 2008), without going against traditional and local culture. These findings reinforce the process of adoption, modification, and innovation at MP. Such transformation certainly leads to further implications on the development of Islamic education in Indonesia, based on the doctrine of *salafus salih,* ulama with scientific authority, and *wal-Ibda' bima huwa aslah,* innovation to be better and benefit, oriented towards job market to suffice people's needs and increase digital literacy.

Literature Review

Typology of Pesantren, Scientific Genealogy of MP and Transformation

Pesantren have undergone considerable changes of patterns as can be identified through three general typologies of *pesantren* (Azro'i & Fuaidi, 2020; Masruhan, 2019; Ridhwan et al., 2018). The first is known as traditional *pesantren* (*salaf*), characterized by strong leadership of *kyai* (Dhofier, 1986) as the highest authority in determining the direction and policies of the *pesantren* (Ma'arif, 2017)*,* does not provide its *santri* with formal education in their daily activities (Nurtawab, 2019), and only focuses on the study of classical Islamic books (Bruinessen, 1995; Sauri et al., 2016). The second type, referred to as MP, is known to apply a predetermined education system, selected educational materials, and innovative curriculum using a modern management system (Zarkasyi, 2020), the *kyai* no longer manages the *pesantren's* finances, since it is handled by the institutional structure of the *pesantren*. Meanwhile, its curriculum is generally established by blending religious teachings with formal education (Assa'idi, 2021). The third type combines modern and traditional *pesantren*, commonly separates two types of learning implementation based on predetermined schedule: scientific learning held in the morning, and Islamic learning   scheduled in the afternoon or evening (Raihani, 2012).

Genealogically, MP are associated with reform movements from the Middle East with several *pesantrens* labelling themselves as MP (Harits et al., 2016). This educational institution represents the philosophy of Islamic pedagogy, is modern, progressive and anti-colonial. They consider the existing traditional p*esantren* as unstructured and undisciplined (Isbah, 2020). In addition, the hallmark of MP is the use of Arabic and English in daily conversation and daily learning activities (Munifah et al., 2019). In terms of theology and school of thought, they claim not to be affiliated with a particular sect (Ritonga et al., 2019), since fanatical affiliation to certain schools of thought as contrary to the mission of reform and as an obstacle to Islamic scholarship. There is an inclination among MP to disregard yellow book tradition, accentuates on the study of the Quran, Hadith and knowledge derived from formal education (Isbah, 2020).

In previous decades, most *pesantren* adhered to non-formal learning system. However, over time and along with the shifting modern civilization, several *pesantrens* have started to change their learning patterns in order to keep up with the times (Wargadinata et al., 2019).

Over the years, the fast-paced growth of *pesantren* has demonstrated its central role in society. Such flourishing development is clearly resulted from *pesantren's* ability to adapt to external conditions (Zarkasyi, 2020). The significant advancement of *pesantren* since its establishment is observable from three significant changes made to *pesantren* learning system: the inclusion of female students, the inclusion of university students, and the expansion of its learning content and pedagogic approaches (Ritchey & Muchtar, 2014). Changes in *Pesantren* have been driven, at least in part, by an expansion of institutional goals, moving beyond the traditional emphasis on Islamic teaching and knowledge, to embrace the teaching of sciences and other fields taught in public schools (Sauri et al., 2018). *Pesantrens* have also increasingly urged their *santri* to be technologically savvy using state-of-the-art technology to adapt them to the fast-changing modern world after graduating from *pesantren* (Ahmad, 2015). In a strong communal context, *pesantrens* have developed to become more adaptive to social, political, and cultural realities (Ritchey & Muchtar, 2014).

On the whole, *pesantren*s have seen three types of transformations. The first are building primary values, improving the quality of service to the community, and encouraging integrated paradigm changes within the pesantren environment (Ma'arif, 2019). The transformation encompasses a system of knowledge, law, clothing, behavior, art, language and communication (Manshur, 2020). The second covers infrastructure through e-learning implementation using the web and other supporting applications (Fauzi et al., 2018). A clear example of this type of *pesantren* is Tazakka MP in Batang, Central Java, which employs a cashless payment system through a technological application (Suharto & Fatmawati, 2022). This MP also manages all *santri's* (student's) activity based on digital system, therefore the kyai (leader) and teachers of MP, as well as parents of students could monitor their activities and financial system online. In addition, the students of this MP are also trained to become leaders in their respective dormitories, in which they are accustomed to being prayer leaders, cleaning their rooms in turns and scheduling their daily activities (Rikza et al., 2024).

The globalizing word has urged *pesantren* to innovate as a way to facilitate and synergize community needs with the establishment objective of *pesantren* as institutions that shall foster and empower people. The third is paradigm update, which are carried out by incorporating a logical paradigm of modern education standards. Most *kyais* argue that *pesantren* in the contemporary era should not only generate *ulama* and *kyai*, but also educate students to uphold Islamic values in their lives (Syakroni et al., 2019). Hence, transformation becomes a historical necessity to respond to existing realities.

Methodology

Research Design

The research employed qualitative approach, including library and field researches, although the former is as a secondary data, while latter is used as a primary one. The primary data is obtained through observation, interview, and documentation during the research at the four MP. Meanwhile, the secondary data is obtained through library research including books and articles of journals concerning MP or *pesantren* as Islamic education in general.

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

272

Sampling and Population

By employing qualitative approach, this research involved participants or informants as data sources, instead of sampling and population. The informants consist of four leaders, four teachers, and two staffs of the four of MP. They were selected as data sources with the criteria that they live together in around the four MP, know closely the students and MP education system, scientific genealogy and transformation and relationship among them. They also are mostly graduated from MP Gontor as an ideal model of MP in Indonesia. However, they practically have different concept from MP Gontor in transforming Islamic education in their MP.

Instrument and Procedure

The primary research data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. Observations were made to obtain data about the learning environment, the relationship between student of MP (*santri*), leader of MP (*kyai*), and the community, the organizational management MP and the activities of the four MPs. This observation enabled researchers to obtain a more holistic picture of MP activities. Interviews were aimed at addressing two things: confirming and deepening the results of observations, and gathering necessary information not revealed in observations, such as about modern concepts for MP and organizational management. Interviews were conducted in an unstructured manner with the board of leadership of the *pesantren*, the *ustadz* (teachers), *santri*, and the community. This research also used documentation, such as photos of activities, curriculum, general profiles of *Pesantren* and their development, *santri's* activities. Document based-data were crucial to serve as an objective framework for observation and interview. The collected data were then displayed in the form of direct and indirect interview excerpts, tables, and photographs taken from the research location.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed using the concept of genealogy of knowledge, as an essential approach to highlight that the four MPs are actually connected in one genealogical network, in this case MP of Gontor, which was developed further by each *pesantren* according to the real interests and demands. In addition, in relation to the field research, data analysis is also carried out employing Milles and Huberman model, including data collection, data reduction, data display and conclusion. Meanwhile, library data analysis is conducted employing historical method, including heuristic or searching and collecting data, verification of data or intern and extern criticism of data, interpretation, and writing the results of research or historiography.

Results

Description Form and Scientific Genealogy of The Four MPs

As Islamic educational institution, MP have experienced dynamic changes amidst their flourishing growth. These changes are particularly seen from the following three aspects: Scientific Genealogy of MP, Network of Scientific *Sanad*, and Transformation of MP in

Indonesia. The four MPs, As-Sa'adah, Al-Irsyad, Tazakka, and MBS, have diverse scientific genealogical roots, which are classified and shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Scientific Genealogy of The Four MPs

MP Name	Forms of Scientific Genealogy	Scientific Genealogical Root and Affiliation	Information
As-Sa'adah	Curriculum, the board of teachers	MP of Gontor, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU): Islamic Traditional Organization of Muslim sc holars)	The use of Islamic books, summary, and Islamic teachings, Grave Pilgrimage, Incamp visit.
Al-Irsyad	Curriculum, Board of caregivers, teachers	MP of Gontor, Madinah University	Dress policy, Arabic, memorization of books, caregiving, Middle East Network
Tazakka	Curriculum, Caregiver, teachers	MP of Gontor, Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt), Muhammadiyah (Islamic Modernist Organisation)	The use of Arabic and English, institutional, leadership, productive endowments
MBS Al-Mukhtar	Curriculum, Caregiver, teachers	MP of Gontor, Muhammadiyah (Islamic Modernist Organisation)	The use of Arabic and English, Organizational network

Based on the classifications of four MPs, it is clear that the genealogical origins and affiliations of them are divided into four clusters: Gontor-NU, Gontor-Medina, Gontor-Egypt-Muhammadiyah, and Gontor-Muhammadiyah. This analysis further underscores the significant role of Gontor as an iconic and exemplary MP institution in Java.

In terms of scientific genealogy, As-Sa`adah is closely affiliated to Gontor-NU network. In terms of educational system, As-Sa`adah adheres to Gontor system, which is observable from the curriculum and board of teachers. In terms of the curriculum, As-Sa'adah bears a close scientific genealogy with Gontor, especially as seen from Arabic learning materials. Likewise, in the recruitment of teachers, As-Sa'adah mostly hires Gontor alumni as its teaching staff. On the contrary, As-Sa`adah's genealogy to NU is apparent from several aspects, such as the founder of As-Sa'adah is connected with the NU, the traditional nuances of NU as characterized by the immense study of the yellow book, the daily ritual practices of visiting graves, *tahlil* and *Yasin* recitation.

As opposed to other types of *pesantren*, Al-Irsyad bears the combined scientific genealogy between Gontor-Medina, especially as known from the teacher and the curriculum. *Ustadz* Umar Abdat, the founder of Al-Irsyad, and the early generation of teachers of this *pesantren* had graduated from Gontor-Medina. Some of Al-Irsyad's curriculum also adopt Gontor's curriculum, such as *Tadrib Lughowi* (Arabic training), *Khat&Imla'*, *Nahwu-Sharaf* (Arabic grammar), *Muhadatsah* (conversation) for homeroom guidance and English learning. In addition, several Al-Irsyad teachers were brought in directly from Medina. Al-Irsyad declares itself as one of the salafi *pesantren,* which has been accredited *mu'adalah* (quality of being equivalence) from the University of Medina since 1994. On November 16 2021, Al-Irsyad also collaborated with the Indonesian Muslim Student Association (PPMI) of Saudi Arabia and held the event "PPMI Saudi Arabia Goes To PIA Tengaran 2021".

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

274

In terms of scientific genealogy, Tazakka was established by referring to Gontor, both in terms of its subjects, learning curriculum, books for learning, learning models, language of instruction during the learning implementation, as well as the board of teachers. *The Kulliyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah* model, which integrates intra-curricular, co-curricular, and extra-curricular aspects from Gontor is also applied at Tazakka, including the use of English and Arabic language in the classroom. Apart from being based on Gontor, Tazakka also refers to Egypt, especially Al-Azhar University, as can be seen from the aspect of its openness to various schools of thought, the board of leadership, and its some alumni of Al-Azhar University, Egypt. In addition, Tazakka also introduces students with religious knowledge from different schools of thought and various religious practices such as the worship practices of NU and Muhammadiyah, even though Tazakka's caregivers are mainly affiliated to Muhammadiyah (Rikza et al., 2024).

In terms of its scientific genealogy, MBS Al-Mukhtar was established with the support of Gontor and Muhammadiyah. In terms of its curriculum, Ustadz Abdul Basith held that it was compiled collaboratively based on comparative studies at *Pesantren* Imam Syuhodo Solo, the Yogyakarta MBS, the Ministry of Education and Culture (SMP Muhammadiyah 9), and Gontor. Activities related to religious and extracurricular values are arranged based on the policies of the Ambulu Muhammadiyah Branch Board, while the presence of teachers picks up from Gontor and habituation of daily English and Arabic applies to the Gontor curriculum. Thus, all the four MPs delineated in table 1. were principally tied to Gontor, but eventually generate four forms of scientific genealogy: Gontor-NU, Gontor-Madina, Gontor-Egypt-Muhammadiyah and Gontor-Muhammadiyah.

From MP of Gontor to Middle East: Network of Scientific Sanad

The network of scientific *sanad* of the four MPs not only strengthen their scientific potential, but also expand their scientific spread and networks to the Middle East, even though they were principally tied to Gontor. This is particularly demonstrated by three different types of relationship: teacher-student, institutional networks, and alumni. The teacher-student relationship in the four MPs is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2

The Network of Scientific Sanad

Name of Kyai/Ustadz	Position in MP	Relationship with Gontor	Teacher-Student Relationship
K.H. Anang Rikza	Leader of the MP Tazakka	Gontor Alumnus	Student of K.H. Zarkasyi, Gontor
Ustadz Marjuni	Teacher of MP As-sa'adah	Gontor Alumnus	Student of K.H. Syukri Zarkasyi, Gontor
Ustadz Awang	Teacher of MP As-Sa'adah	Gontor Alumnus	Student of K.H. Zarkasyi, Gontor
Ustadz Abdul Basith	Teacher of MBS Al-Mukhtar	Gontor Alumnus	Student of K.H. Syukri Zarkasyi, Gontor.

Apart from Gontor, the four MPs also expand their institution network with domestic and foreign institutions. Al-Irsyad, for instance, has just entered into a new collaboration with the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences (LIPIA), Jakarta, which was founded in

1940 as a branch of the Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud Islamic University, Saudi Arabia, and Medina University. Al-Mukhtar and As-Sa'adah have also established their networks with domestic and overseas educational institutions, such as State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), and Al-Azhar University, Egypt. Tazakka has entered into a collaboration with Al-Azhar University, Egypt; University of Zaytuna, Tunisia, and Khortoum University, Sudan. These networks of the four MPs aim to strengthen their Human Resources, since most of their alumni who study abroad are commonly recruited as teachers after completing their studies.

The alumni networks of the four MP*s* greatly contributed to the sustainability of their *pesantren* traditions, scientific development, as well as reinforced Gontor's existence and its impactful influence on the scientific genealogy of the four MP. Table 3 illustrates the networking correlation between MP alumni of Gontor and the four MPs.

Table 3

The Network of MP of Gontor Alumni Across the Four MPs

Name of Gontor Alumni	Name of MP	Position in MP	Network Relations
Ustadz Awang	Assa'adah	Senior teacher and leader	Gontor, State Islamic University in Indonesia, Malaysia.
Ustadz (Teacher) Oyong Sofyan	Tazakka	Vice Caretaker	Gontor, Mesir, Tunisia, Sudan
Ustadz Mahmud Sulhan	Al-Irsyad	Main Caretaker	Gontor, State Islamic University in Indonesia, Ummul Qura, Mecca.
Ustadz Fakhrudin Ubaidillah	MBS Al-Mukhtar	Teacher	Gontor, State Islamic University in Indonesia, Malaysia.

Three Types of Transformation of MP in Indonesia

The four MPs share the same scientific genealogy due to their linkage to MP of Gontor as the center and symbol of MP in Indonesia. In essence, four MPs have shown three types of transformation, namely adoption, modification, and innovation. The four MPs generally have adopted three different aspects: curriculum, management, and ideology. Such adoption has led to a distinctive character of the four MPs, their priority scale, and their emphasis on identity as MP.

In terms of curriculum, the four MPs have incorporated four components into their curriculum: 1) religious subjects from the Ministry of Religion, 2) general subjects from the ministry of education and culture, 3) Arabic language from MP of Gontor, and 4) local content curriculum. Of the four components, the adoption of the curriculum in the four MPs is in the Arabic language curriculum, which applies the Gontor curriculum. The adoption of the curriculum at As-Sa'adah can be seen in the Arabic language learning materials, as stated above. Likewise, Al-Irsyad, Tazakka, and MBS Al-Mukhtar adopted the curriculum from Gontor. This model, within the context of transformation, aligns with the transformation of pesantren's core values, as Ma'arif (2019) articulated.

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

276

Management adoption occurred in Tazakka that adopted Gontor management, which was evident in the education system, *pesantren* organization, utilization of alumni as *pesantren* human resources, both administrators and teachers, utilization of waqf as *pesantren* assets, division and distribution of work based on areas of expertise, and giving punishment to students who break the rules. Meanwhile, the management of Al-Irsyad, MBS Al-Mukhtar, and As-Sa'adah developed based on their respective local characteristics. Although Al-Irsyad was initially established based on the Gontor system, its development is more Medina-oriented. Its pattern of leadership and succession is carried out periodically based on appointments by the *pesantren* management team in rotation. Likewise, the management of As-Sa'adah was developed on the basis of a MP with the kyai being the central figure, just like the management system at MBS Al-Mukhtar, which as part of Muhammadiyah, is under PCM Muhammadiyah Jember. The three management models of transformation, despite their variations in from application, as Fauzi highlights, are integral components of infrastructural transformation (Fauzi et al., 2018).

Al-Irsyad adopted Salafi ideology, derived from the teachings of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1703 - 1792 M.) who tended to interpret the Quran and Hadith textually, with anti-culture movement. The adoption of this ideology can be seen from several training books taught at Al-Irsyad, by scholars from Madina such as *Al-Áqidah al-Wasathiyyah* by Taqiyuddin Ibn Taimiyah(1263 - 1328 M.), *Al-Tauhid* and *Kasyf al-Syubuhat*, *Al-Ushul Al-Tsalatsah* by Muhammad bin 'Abd Wahhab (1703 - 1792 M.), *Syarah Al-Aqidah al-Wasathiyyah* by Muhammad bin Shalih al-Utsaimin (1925 - 2001 M.), and *Al-'Aqidah Thahawiyah* by Imam al-Thahawi, (D. 933 M.).

Another form of transformation is modification, which includes the integration of *pesantren* and formal schools, living values, and the study of the yellow book. The four MPs integrate local contents commonly taught in *pesantren* and formal knowledge for public schools in their curriculum. This integration indicates a modification in the four MPs that highlights their creativity and distinctiveness. Similarly, in terms of the relationship between *pesantren* and society, all four MPs exhibit distinctive modified models, emphasizing the significant role of MP in engaging with the community, as outlined by Abdullah (1989).

For instance, Al-Irsyad, held the *I'dadiyah* (preparatory) program, as a way to develop the Arabic language curriculum. This is a one-year preparatory program to master Arabic, which is mandatory for all prospective students before they study subjects according to their level. By participating in this program overall, Al-Irsyad students must finish their education in seven years: one year of learning Arabic before acceptance as *santri*, three years of junior high level, and three years of senior high school level. To help students acquire living values, Al-Irsyad has launched a parenting program for *santri* to help them understand lessons in class, especially those related to morals, and to practice them in everyday life. For example, to make *santri* practice a Hadith about the virtues of almsgiving, the supervising teacher will control and ask them about the form of *sadaqah* they have ever practiced. To implement the two programs, administrators at Al-Irsyad developed a syllabus and designated accompanying teachers to guide students toward achieving their expected goals.

Similarly, At Tazakka also applies modifications to living values to foster leadership among *santri* through congregational prayer activities in the dormitory. The *santri* alternately are required to give a speech about Islamic teachings and act as a priest in congregational prayers. In addition, Tazakka also urges *santri* to apply living values by showing the spirit of tolerance among students, particularly through the obligation to memorize the *qunut* prayers, *tahlil* recitation, and *wirid* after compulsory prayers (Rikza et al., 2024). The administrators at Tazakka devised a schedule for students to gather at the mosque and in the dormitory, with students taking turns serving as imams in the dormitory. This strategic approach is intended to help achieve the program's objectives (Rikza et al., 2024).

As-Sa'adah, on the other hand, applied a modification pattern through the provision of yellow book studies (*Fathul Kutub*). Nonetheless, book readings no longer adhere to the *sorogan* or *bandongan* method, but rather with a modified method that requires *santri* to read, translate, and explain the contents of the book they are reading by actualizing it with contemporary problems. In addition, modifications were also made in the form of final assignment writing for sixth grade students. This method aims to train *santri* to think conceptually and practically under the guidance of a teacher. *Santri* are then required to defend their work in front of two examiners and one supervisor, just like the method applied in a scientific thesis work.

Meanwhile, MBS Al-Muktar is known to apply a modification by integrating the Muhammadiyah subject as its trademark, with religious, linguistics, and general subjects curricula. Muhammadiyah subject introduces *santri* to the organizational foundation and religious awareness, along with the habituation of Arabic and English daily use based on Gontor language enrichment program as a provision for students to access higher education, with the educational curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Culture as the state curriculum. Apart from that, they also learn about *Tafsir Al-Azhar* by Buya Hamka, *tahfizhul Qur'an* (memorizing the Qur'an), martial arts, Tapak Suci, and swimming.

The most progressive form of transformation of the four MPs was innovation in the education system, learning methods, and the use of information technology as illustrated in Table 4.

In terms of the education system, there has been an attempt to incorporate a local content curriculum that intersects with informal education in the community, as implemented by As-Sa'adah in the form of the Initiative Camp (Incamp) program. In this program, final year students (grade 3 of high school) are required to stay in local residents' homes in small groups for three days to help the hosts in carrying out their daily activities, ranging from farming, raising livestock, washing dishes and clothes, cleaning the house, and cooking rice. This program aims to train students with basic life skills to increase independence and develop a high sense of social empathy to blend with the community.

The three forms of transformation undergone by the four MPs indicate their attempt to slightly deviate from the main *pesantren*, Gontor, by way of creatively adopting, modifying, and innovating their system according to the local needs and principal values they adhere to. These three forms of transformation prove that the four MPs are open to developments and existing social changes in society.

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

278

Table 4

The Forms of Innovation of the Four MPs

No	Name of MP	Forms of Innovation	Media used	Objectives
1.	Tazakka	*Pesantren* management through the Cashless Program	Application	To ease the monitoring of student activities
2.	Assa'adah	Short Movie	Social media (Youtube+Tiktok)	To actualize the Islamic values of the Yellow Book and their wider dissemination
		Initiative Camp	live in	To develop social sense and life skill
3.	Al-Irsyad	Accelerated learning for high achieving students	Mentoring	To accelerate the studies of high achieving students
4.	MBS Jember	Integration of *pesantre*n and Muhammadiyah curricula	Curriculum and learning methods	To strengthen curriculum development

Discussion

The Influence of MP on the Development of Islamic Education in Indonesia

The four MPs under study pinpoint the transformation in terms of educational curriculum, management, mastery of technology, and scientific networks. Educational transformation occurs through the integration religious curricula, general knowledge, languages, especially Arabic, *muádalah* (equality) and local content. The fact that students (*santri*) are required to master good Arabic proficiency by adhering to Gontor language training program through classroom learning and their daily practice, is one of the indicators of MP (Munifah et al., 2019), thus indicating mastery of Arabic and English proficiency as the identity of the four MPs.

The institutional management transformation of the four MPs indicates a diverse management, as shown by Tazakka that replicates the management of Gontor, Al-Irsyad that is oriented towards Medina, Al-Mukhtar that is under Muhammadiyah management, and As-Sa`adah that combines the *salaf* and Islamic models of MP. This non-uniform management transformation reinforces the findings regarding the creative response of MPs to societal needs and challenges of the times (Zarkasyi, 2020), in addition to the efforts to enhance the learning system in MPs based on management transformation (Suharto & Fatmawati, 2022).

Mastery of technology, especially information technology, and its daily use are also an important part that characterizes the transformation of MP (Suharto & Fatmawati, 2022), to keep up with the current demands and needs (Marier et al., 2022). As-Sa'adah and Tazakka are two MPs that use information technology as the basis for developing and

strengthening MP, its learning strategies, and socializing MP knowledge to the public in an attention-grabbing and advanced method, and to make it accessible to various groups and social classes. In addition, it also becomes an institutional branding identity (Zulaikha et al., 2022) for MPs and *santri* who are becoming more familiar with modern technology.

The transformation of social-scientific networks in the four MPs is made through cooperative relations, which has strengthened the scientific authenticity and its global spread. Reinforcement of their scientific authenticity is closely related to the strong relation of the four MPs with Gontor as the basis of their scientific genealogy, both at the local, national, and global scope. Meanwhile, the global spread of knowledge of the four MP is marked by the ability of their graduates to study abroad, especially in various universities in the Middle Eastern regions, and to establish collaboration with various institutions and universities both at home and abroad.

The transformation of education, management, and technology in the four MPs has changed the orientation of MP from producing *santri* who are only *tafaqquh fi al-din* (mastering the Islamic religion) to make progressive transformation through adoption, modification and innovation. This approach includes the implementation of *pesantren* character values, fostering independence, commitment to *pesantren* regulations, and the integration of faith, science, and charity in an integral manner. This approach has reinforced the presence of MP to keep up with the changes of times and to enhance its competitiveness not only at the local and national levels, but also at the international level.

Contestation and Ideological Tensions of MP

Transformations in the education system, management, and technological aspect of MP also have an impact on the ideological shift to Salafism, as seen from Al-Irsyad. This shift occurred because of Al-Irsyad's institutional relationship with Medina, which was influenced by Salafi ideology. Al-Irsyad competed in building the ideology (Jahroni, 2020), because in Al-Irsyad's view, Salafi is an authentic and authoritative religious practice.

The Gontor alumni teachers and the Al-Irsyad managers are frequently in conflict and friction against each other. This is mostly attributed to the fact that Gontor alumni teachers allowed music and stage performances by the *santri* in certain events, such as at the end of the year of promotion. In contrast, the management of Al-Irsyad strongly forbade such performances and considered them as unlawful. As a result, teachers graduated from Gontor, were no longer assigned as teaching staff and Gontor's influence in Al-Irsyad began to weaken, to be replaced by Salafi ideology. In fact, tensions also occurred between the management of Al-Irsyad and the surrounding community, who still practice the *Yasinan*, *Tahlilan* and *Selamatan* traditions, which are considered heretical. This confirms that the transformation of the education system in MP still maintains its ideology, to show its identity and existence. This shift creates a distinctive characteristic for Al-Irsyad among other MPs.

Social class: Transformation Triggers of MP

The transformation of the four MPs also has implications for the formation of social class. *Santri* who came to study at the four MPs generally come from urban communities, particularly from the middle to upper economic circles. They choose MP because it is

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

280

considered more advanced, has clearer future prospects, is able to compete with other Islamic educational institutions, and can provide them with a chance to continue their education abroad. In MP, *santri* are also required to attend formal education at the junior high school (SMP) and senior high school (SMA) levels. In addition, excellence in the education system, management and mastery of English-Arabic is a plus point for them (Hambali, 2022).

It is these aspects that make MP develop faster and experience more rapid changes, particularly due to the high demand by the community. In this regard, there is a correlation between the development of MP and the increasing interest of urban communities in sending their children to MP, as a form of social change in alternative Islamic education at this time (Nikmah & Az Zafi, 2021). The tendency to pursue a career through education is also part of the efforts of guardians to send their children to MP.

Arab centric and shifts in scientific sanad

The scientific genealogy of MP, which also intersects with educational institutions in Mecca and Medina, has had a major influence on changes in orientation towards Arab centricity in Al-Irsyad. The administrators and the teachers at Al-Irsyad think that teachers from Medina are more qualified and reputable than local teachers from other MP, including Gontor. The international network of MP and the legitimacy of Medina as a center for Islamic scholarship is still a guideline for teachers and administrators of Al-Irsyad. Teachers from Medina in the field of Al-Qur'an and its memorization are not only considered more legitimate, but also more in line with the ideology of wahhabism (Isbah, 2020). In addition, the shift in scientific knowledge in the field of the Qur'an was also influenced by the ideological contestation of Wahhabism (Yumnah, 2020). This is what causes Al-Irsyad to be more oriented towards Medina in the learning process, especially in learning the Qur'an.

Apart from that, the influence of Medina on Al-Irsyad is also visible in the textbooks, as discussed above. Some of them are the work of local teachers such as textbooks, although the reference materials still prioritize the work of Medina scholars. This shift in scientific *sanad* is also attributed to the shared religious ideology of Wahhabi and thus create a relationship between Salafi ideology and the Medina centric perspective that developed in Al-Irsyad.

Conclusion, Recommendations, And Implications

The transformation of the four MPs, As-Sa`adah, Tazakka, Al-Irsyad and MBS Al-Mukhtar, show their respective progressiveness with evolutionary patterns through the process of adoption, modification and innovation. Progressiveness in each MP reveals identity and diversity. Identification identity occurs in the fact that each MP adopts the system of its referral, which in this case is MP of Gontor, particularly as seen in the aspect of the Arabic language curriculum. However, there are diverse modification and innovation patterns, especially in the aspects of *pesantren* management and technology.

With local culture and global influences from the outside Medina, Middle East, and others and are responsive to the changes and developments of the times. This also negates the widely shared opinion that the four MPs share the same and homogenous

Nurul Hak - Abdul Mustaqim - Ahmad Baidowi - Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Salehudin /
Eurasian Journal of Educational Research 117 (2025) 268-284

281

characteristics. It is through the three patterns above and the two adaptive and responsive ways that the four MPs have made a constructive contribution to the development of Islamic education in contemporary Indonesia. This contribution is in the form of an integrative form of a modern education system, responding to quick changes through *pesantren* and community activity programs, building international networks, and education management to accelerate the progress of MP.

However, these findings are only applicable to the four MPs under study, and thus these findings are not applicable to the pattern of other MPs, which may be different. With these limitations, other researches on other *pesantrens* are greatly needed to enrich the findings in this study, or to study other MP in Indonesia, exception of the four MPs, insisting that there are   still other models of MP transformation apart from them.

This study highlights the significance of origins scientific genealogy and transformation of Islamic education in Indonesia, particularly the MP as a central for agent of social change in currently Islamic education. This fact could drive the development of Islamic education in Indonesia and competition of Islamic educational system in global society.

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282

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283

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284

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