

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KYAI, SANTRI AND PARENTS THROUGH THE “NETWORKING PACKAGE” PROGRAM IN PESANTREN

Deni Miharja and Acep Aripudin | UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung – Indonesia
Asep Saefullah and Nurman Kholis | National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) – Indonesia

Corresponding author: acep.aripudin@uinsgd.ac.id

Abstract: This article examines the adaptation of *pesantren* through the Networking Package program implemented at Pesantren Aljauhari, Garut, West Java. The program promotes collaboration among the kyai, santri, and parents by extending religious education into the home, thereby strengthening the integration of *pesantren* and family-based learning. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this study draws on field observations, interviews, and a review of relevant literature to analyze the program’s management and educational practices. The findings indicate that the program enhances parental engagement as co-educators and reflects a broader transformation in *pesantren* management. Rather than relying primarily on the *kyai*’s personal authority, the institution adopts structured and collaborative management practices to address contemporary educational challenges. These findings demonstrate that managerial innovation can strengthen institutional sustainability while preserving the traditional values of *pesantren*, providing a practical model for similar Islamic boarding schools.

Keywords: *Kyai*-santri-parent relationship, *pesantren*, networking package, religious education, Aljauhari.

Introduction

Pesantren have long served as foundational institutions within Indonesia’s Islamic educational landscape. Renowned for their resilience, pesantren maintain deep-rooted classical traditions while adapting to the complexities of changing socio-cultural environments. Historically, these institutions revolve around the *kyai*—a charismatic

religious figure whose moral authority guides not only the intellectual but also the ethical formation of *santri* (students).¹

Islam in the Indonesian archipelago generally spread through non-coercive means, facilitated by the culturally adaptive strategies of Islamic scholars and preachers. This process, shaped by the normative ideal of *Islam rahmatan li al-‘ālamīn* (a mercy for all of creation), underscores the embeddedness of Islamic values within Indonesia’s pluralistic and multicultural context.² These early *da’wa* strategies laid the foundation for the *pesantren* tradition, which would eventually emerge as one of the most authentic and enduring institutions of Islamic education in Southeast Asia.³

Among the pedagogical innovations rooted in local culture, *pesantren* have historically employed artistic and performative tools to engage with communities. In Sundanese regions, for example, *da’wa* has been conveyed through *nadhaman* (poetic chants) and humorous songs, often used by figures such as Jujun Junaedi and Efendi to facilitate the internalization of religious teachings in culturally resonant ways. While these methods are pedagogically effective, the institution of *pesantren* itself has transcended its missionary origins, evolving into an integrated system of religious education, character development, and community leadership.⁴

Over the past two decades, *pesantren* have undergone significant transformation. This is particularly true for almost all newly established *pesantren*, but it also happen in many long established *pesantren*.⁵

¹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011); Saefullah Ma’shum (ed), *Kharisma Ulama Kebidupan Ringkas 26 Tokoh NU* (Bandung: Mizan, 1998).

² T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (London: Constable & Company Ltd., 1913); Koentjaraningrat, *Masalah Kesukubangsaan Dan Integrasi Nasional* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1993).

³ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997); Marzuki, Miftahuddin, and Mukhamad Murdiono, “Multicultural Education in Salaf Pesantren and Prevention of Religious Radicalism in Indonesia,” *Cakrawala Pendidikan* 39, no. 1 (2020), 13 <https://doi.org/10.21831/cp.v39i1.22900>.

⁴ Sri Mulyati, *Peran Edukasi Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah Dengan Referensi Utama Suryalaya* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2010); Acep Aripudin and Zaenal Mukarom, *Institusi Dakwah* (Bandung: Pascasarjana Prodi KPI, 2019).

⁵ Amas Amas, “The Transformation of *Salafiyah* Islamic Boarding School into *Khalafiyah* Model,” *Asian Journal of Human Services* 30, no. 1 (2026), <https://doi.org/10.14391/ajhs.e3001.1.007>.

Without relinquishing their theological roots, many have embraced formal education, entrepreneurial programming, promoting gender awareness⁶ and moderated Sufi practices⁷ to meet the needs of modern Muslim societies.⁸ The shift also touches the alumni of *pesantren* which roam not only the conventional domain.⁹ These shifts align with the classical principle of *al-muhāfaẓa ‘alā al-qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlah*—preserving the integrity of tradition while embracing innovations that enhance institutional relevance.¹⁰ In addition to traditional Muslims, modernist and conservative-puritanical Muslims now study in and even open their own version of *pesantren*.¹¹

Leadership is central to this evolution. The contemporary *kyai* is no longer merely a spiritual guide but also a transformational leader, shaping educational policy and institutional culture in response to social change.¹² In many cases, the integration of formal schooling and Sufi-based spirituality has produced entrepreneurial and thematic

⁶ Nur Fadhillah et al., “Reevaluating Nafkah Obligations: Female Muslim Scholars’ Insight and Ethics of Gendered Finance in Indonesian Families,” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20 (2025), 458–89, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v20i2.18461>.

⁷ Amir Abitolkha et al., “Balanced Engagement: Kiai Ihsan Jampes’ Adaptive Zuhud Framework for Spiritual Transformation in the Digital Era,” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 13 (2025): 39, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qjis.v13i1.22322>.

⁸ Ervina Zulfa et al., “Transformational Leadership: Traditional Pesantren Towards Sufism-Based Entrepreneurial Pesantren,” *Leadership: Jurnal Mahasiswa Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 1 (2024): 107–26, <https://doi.org/10.32478/leadership.v6i1.-2881>; Samsul Arifin et al., “Kiai’s Transformative Leadership in Developing an Organizational Culture of Islamic Boarding Schools: Multicase Study,” *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Pendidikan* 16, no. 2 (2024): 2608–20, <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v16i2.5325>.

⁹ Moh Syaeful Bahar, Dodik Harnadi, and Ahmad Ali, “Political Polarization and Marketing Strategies of Pesantren Alumni in the 2024 Presidential Election,” *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 20 (2025), 141–59, <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2025.-20.1.141-159>.

¹⁰ Intan Aini, Imam Sopingi, and Athi’ Hidayati, “Al-Muhafadzah Bil Qadim Al-Shalih Wa Al-Akhdzu Bil Jadid Al-Ashlah in Education Perspective of Hadrotus Syaikh KH Hasyim Asy’ari,” *Al-Munawwarah: Journal of Islamic Education* 1 (2025), 91–100, <https://doi.org/10.38073/almunawwarah.v1i1.2685>.

¹¹ Khoirun Niam and Syamsul Arifin, “Reformation From Within: A Contemporary Dynamics of Muhammadiyah Intellectuals in the Early 21st Century,” *Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 63 (2025), 35–58, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2025.631.35-58>.

¹² Abdul Halim Soebahar, *Modernisasi Pesantren Studi Transformasi Kepemimpinan Kyai Dan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013).

educational models. For example, Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo significantly allocates foreign language proficiency;¹³ Pesantren Al-Ittifaq in Bandung focuses on agriculture;¹⁴ and pesantren Sidogiri in Pasuruan emphasizes entrepreneurship.¹⁵ Similarly, Pesantren Attaibin in Parongpong, Banten, is oriented toward skill development tailored to students' talents.¹⁶ These innovations maintain a balance between Islamic intellectual (*tafaqqub fi al-dīn*) and ethical (*akhlāq*) dimensions of Islamic education.

A growing number of pesantren also selectively incorporate Sufi traditions, including *talqin* (spiritual instruction), *bai'at* (spiritual allegiance), and *manāqib* (hagiographical readings), as part of their spiritual curriculum. These practices foster emotional resilience, ethical introspection, and communal discipline.¹⁷ Such developments exemplify an “accommodationist tradition” that enables *pesantren* to respond flexibly to changing societal contexts without compromising their Islamic identity.¹⁸

Pesantren Aljauhari in Karangtengah, Garut, West Java, the focus of this study, exemplifies innovative *da'wa* practices. Founded in 2004 by the young and renowned preacher in West Java, Jujun Junaedi,¹⁹

¹³ Z Rohmah et al., “School-Scape as a Linguistic Battlefield: An LL Study at Darussalam Education Complex of Gontor, Indonesia,” *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 11, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2348301>.

¹⁴ “Survey and Launching of ‘One Product One Pesantren’ at Pesantren Alitifaq” (Bandung Regency, 2019); Julia Day Howell, “Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001), 701–29, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2700107>.

¹⁵ S Ma'arif and N El Muna, “Pesantren Entrepreneurship: Harmonization of the Theories of Kasb Asy'ariyah and Locus of Control on Strengthening Santripreneur,” *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 1 (2023): 31–64, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.17404>.

¹⁶ Kafil Yamin, *Revolusi Kaum Napi: Catatan Kesaksian Anton Medan* (Bandung: Matahari Media Komunika, 2004).

¹⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, “Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate,” *Archipel* 50, no. 1 (1995), 165–99, <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1995.3069>; Dudung Abdurrahman, “Islam, Sufism, and Character Education in Indonesia History,” *Tawarikh: International Journal for Historical Studies*, 9, no. 2 (2018): 159–76.

¹⁸ Ronald Lukens-Bull, “The Traditions of Pluralism, Accommodation, and Anti-Radicalism in the Pesantren Community,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, no. 1 (2008): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2008.2.1.1-15>.

¹⁹ Agus Ahmad Syafei, *Metode Pengembangan Dakwah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2002).

Pesantren Aljauhari introduced the “Networking Package” (NP) concept. According to Kyai Jujun Junaedi (JJ), the NP facilitates *da’wa* by expanding the *pesantren*’s network. He argues that educating *santri* extends beyond the *pesantren*, requiring parental involvement to ensure continuity at home. Parents, as part of the *pesantren* network, contribute significantly to their children’s religious education.²⁰ The NP approach not only enhances *da’wa* effectiveness but also integrates all stakeholders in achieving *da’wa* objectives.

However, *da’wa* via *pesantren* has faced challenges, particularly in ensuring a comprehensive and integrated relationship among the ‘networking triangle’ of *kyai*, *santri*, and their parents. Building such relationships requires sustained communication and a joint commitment, which is not easily achieved. While the relationship between *kyai* and *santri* has been widely studied,²¹ it is often symbolic, traditional, and two-way.²² The charismatic authority of the *kyai* remains a dominant feature in these interactions.²³ The role of *santri*’s parents in sustaining *da’wa* has often been overlooked in *pesantren* practices. In modern contexts, successful religious education necessitates a collaborative approach involving parents and the broader environment.²⁴ Parents not only provide financial support but also act as mentors and representatives of the *kyai* when the *santri* are outside the *pesantren*. The implementation of the Networking Package at Pesantren Aljauhari warrants further exploration as it offers a model of an effective *da’wa* strategy rooted in established religious institutions. The role of *pesantren* in *da’wa* is increasingly multifaceted, encompassing religious, civil, and political education, and contributing to democratic

²⁰ Kyai Jujun Junaedi, “Interview,” 2019, June 26.

²¹ Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kyai Dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: P3M, 1987); Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*.

²² Yayan Rahayani, “Restructuring and Redesigning the Pesantren Toward an Effective Educational Institution,” *Tarbiya: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 4, no. 2 (2017): 147–127, <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v4i2.8009>.

²³ Mansur Hidayat, “Model Komunikasi Kyai Dengan Santri Di Pesantren,” *Jurnal Komunikasi ASPIKOM* 2, no. 6 (2017): 385–95, <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspiKOM.v2i6.89>.

²⁴ Raden Rachmy Diana et al., “Parental Engagement on Children Character Education: The Influences of Positive Parenting and Agreeableness Mediated by Religiosity,” *Cakrawala Pendidikan* 40, no. 2 (2021): 428–44, <https://doi.org/10.21831/cp.v40i2.39477>.

development.²⁵ Consequently, innovations by *pesantren* continue to be a compelling topic in *da'wa* studies in Indonesia.

This study employed a descriptive-qualitative approach. Data collection was conducted through literature review, documentation study, interviews, and field observations. The gathered data included descriptions of Pesantren Aljauhari and its *santri*, the 'Networking Package' and 'Networking Package', as well as findings from a desk study involving documentation and literature reviews. For data analysis, the study utilized Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and 'consensus making'.²⁶ Borrowing a term from the *pesantren* tradition, *kyai* are often referred to as 'little kings' within the *pesantren* system, a status that extends in some ways to the parents of *santri*. By involving both parties, education can become more comprehensive and integrated. This dynamic aligns with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and 'consensus making'.²⁷ Gramsci conceptualized the capitalist state as composed of two overlapping spheres: 'political society' (governance through force) and 'civil society' (governance through consent). He regarded civil society as a public sphere where trade unions and political parties negotiate concessions with the bourgeois state. It is also a domain where ideas and beliefs are shaped, and bourgeois 'hegemony' is reproduced culturally through media, universities, and religious institutions to generate 'approval' and legitimacy.²⁸

Gramsci's insights into the formation of power through consent rather than coercion have inspired strategies to challenge norms of hegemonic legitimacy. His ideas have influenced popular educational practices, including adult literacy programs, awareness-raising initiatives, and many approaches to media, communication, and

²⁵ Muhammad Yahdi, Muhammad B, and Syakilah Fadliyah, "Ethics, Law, and Educational Democratization: Shaping Islamic Cultural Behavior of Students in Sultan Hasanuddin Islamic Boarding School, Gowa, South Sulawesi," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 9 (2025): 1465–90, <https://doi.org/10.22373/fqsfid065>.

²⁶ Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198275435.001.0001>.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Thomas R. Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 2 (1975), 351–66; Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*.

cultural action.²⁹ The concept of power as ‘hegemony’ has also shaped debates about civil society. Criticism of the liberal democratic understanding of civil society as merely the domain of ‘association’, separate from the state and the market, has drawn on Gramsci’s definition. This reminds us that civil society can also be a sphere for political struggle and contestation over ideas and norms. Consequently, the goal of ‘strengthening civil society’ in development policy can be interpreted in two ways: in the neoliberal sense of building civic institutions, such as *pesantren*, to complement (or take over functions from) the state and the market; or in the Gramscian sense of cultivating civic capacity to challenge dominant ideas and think differently.³⁰

Pesantren Aljauhari: an Innovative Salaf Pesantren

Pesantren Aljauhari was founded in 2004 in Bandung. Like other *pesantren* in Indonesia, it focuses on religious studies (*tafaqquh fi al-din*). Traditional elements of the *pesantren* are preserved and even developed further. As Dhofier notes, the traditional components of a *pesantren*, which include the *kyai*, *santri*, boarding houses, mosques, and classical books, are maintained.³¹ Notable developments have occurred in education, such as the establishment of a junior high school (SMP) in 2008 and a Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic senior high school) in 2012. While the addition of schools and madrasas reflects a contemporary trend among *pesantren*, it does not necessarily lead to the erosion of traditional *pesantren* values, as Nurcholis Madjid once feared.³² However, some aspects of his concern remain valid.³³ Pesantren Aljauhari combines the *pesantren* system with formal education aligned with the national curriculum, with its unique approach of its ‘three-dimensional relations’ and central leadership.

The founder and leader of the *pesantren*, Kyai Jujun Junaedi (JJ), is a young *ulama*, popular preacher, and entrepreneur. His business success

²⁹ Nadia Urbinati, “From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci’s Theory of Subordination and Hegemony,” *Political Theory* 26, no. 3 (1998): 370–91; Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*.

³⁰ Bates, “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony”; Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*.

³¹ Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*.

³² Nurcholish Madjid, “Keilmuan Pesantren, Antara Materi Dan Metodologi,” *Pesantren* (1984), 12–19.

³³ Acep Aripudin, “Pesantren Dan Konflik Keluarga: (Studi Kasus Pesantren Alfadiliyah Ciamis),” *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2012), 135–50, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ida.jhs.v6i1.333>.

enables him to finance the *pesantren*'s operations independently. His leadership exemplifies the Gramscian concept of "organic intellectual" who mediates between tradition and modernity while constructing consensus across the institution's stakeholders.³⁴ He established the *pesantren* in a relatively short period supported by a team of young teachers trained in the *pesantren* as well as external instructors. As of 2018, Pesantren Aljauhari employs 12 *kyai* (kyai council) who serve as both teachers and mentors to the *santri*. There were 112 students in 2004, by 2020, the *pesantren* has accommodated 745 students, comprising 442 male and 303 female *santri* in 2020. Pesantren Aljauhari follows the *salaf* learning model, a traditional Sunni religious education system that emphasizes classical Islamic texts, which covers subjects such as Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic theology, Islamic mysticism, Arabic language, and the Quran.³⁵ Bruinessen elaborates on these traditional texts, all typically included in *pesantren* curricula.³⁶ These classical texts have been studied for centuries, including at Pesantren Aljauhari as it also teach student the study of al-Qur'an, both recitation and memorization. In addition, some extracurricular texts, such as recitation of *al-Burda* and *al-Barzanji*, as well as works on occult knowledge, are also studied at Pesantren Aljauhari. Occult knowledge, such as Javanese *kanuragan* (ritual and martial arts), is taught in some *pesantren*, such as those in Banten.³⁷ Pesantren Aljauhari also emphasizes *tarbiyya al-muballigh* (preacher education), reflecting the background of its leader as a renowned preacher. Traditional teaching methods in *pesantren*—such as *sorogan*, *bandongan*, memorization, and *halaqa* (religious gatherings)—tend to prioritize intellectual development over moral education.³⁸

Moral development, however, encompasses attitudes, ethics, and personality, focusing on improving *santri* character through holistic

³⁴ Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*; Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony."

³⁵ Ronald Lukens-Bull, "Madrasa by Any Other Name: Pondok, Pesantren, and Islamic Schools in Indonesia and Larger Southeast Asian Region," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (2010), 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2010.4.1.1-21>.

³⁶ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995); Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*.

³⁷ Mohamad Hudaeri, "Tasbih Dan Golok: Kedudukan Dan Peran Kiyai Dan Jawara Di Banten," *Al Qalam* 20 (2003): 141–72, <https://doi.org/10.32678/alqalam.v20i98-99.639>.

³⁸ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994).

education that integrates intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual dimension.³⁹ Mastuhu identifies several principles of holistic education in *pesantren*, including theo-centrism, voluntary service, wisdom, modesty, collectivity, independence, and the pursuit of kyai blessings.⁴⁰ Pesantren Aljauhari incorporates some traditional elements of TQN (Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah) to enhance moral education.⁴¹ Practices of Sufism, such as *bay’a* (the taking of an oath of allegiance) and *talqin* (instruction),⁴² hold a central position in the santri education system at Pesantren Aljauhari. These practices, along with *dhikr* (remembrance) and *laṭā’if* (spiritual senses), are foundational teachings of TQN, similar to those practiced in TQN Suryalaya.⁴³ As a TQN member, Kyai JJ has gradually introduced these teachings at his pesantren, established during the reform era. These innovations encompass both Islamic teachings and the *pesantren* system, which integrates public education.

Moral cultivation (*akhlāq*) is a significant focus, achieved through lectures, book studies, and development strategies like the ‘networking package’. The involvement of *santri* parents in the ‘networking package’ is described as ‘contractual’, requiring all parties within the *pesantren* to address concerns about perceived imbalances in religious education. The implementation of these ‘Marketing Package’ and ‘Networking Package’ illustrates a managerial shift toward what Gramsci termed civil society consensus-making.⁴⁴

Historically, religious development has overemphasized intellectual reasoning at the expense of moral growth, with a focus on classical rather than modern religious knowledge. This dynamic raises questions about whether Pesantren Aljauhari resembles the *pesantren* described by Zarkasyi,⁴⁵ particularly in light of the Pesantren Law of 2019, which strengthens religious education frameworks in *pesantren*. This

³⁹ Ummah Karimah, “Ethnic Diversity in Teaching Sorogan of Pesantren,” *Journal of Multicultural Studies in Guidance and Counseling* 2, no. 2 (2018), 92–103, <https://doi.org/10.17509/jomsign.v2i2.10826>.

⁴⁰ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren*.

⁴¹ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁴² Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*.

⁴³ Mulyati, *Peran Edukasi Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah*.

⁴⁴ Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*; Urbinati, “From the Periphery of Modernity.”

⁴⁵ Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, “Modern Pondok Pesantren: Maintaining Tradition in Modern System,” *Tsaqafah: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 11, no. 2 (2015): 223–48.

integration of public schools within pesantren is not new, but it serves to complement the *pesantren* system. Steenbrink notes that both traditional and modern pesantren have established schools to adapt to modernization.⁴⁶ Pesantren Aljauhari recognizes this need and regards the inclusion of public schools as essential.

To address the dualism in education, Pesantren Aljauhari has simplified its curriculum to reduce student burden. While the two education systems retain distinct characteristics, character-building values—grounded in TQN teachings—serve as a ‘soft strategy’ to bridge them. Character-building in *pesantren* does not occur automatically but requires cultivation and reinforcement, influenced by the *kyai*’s vision and the challenges of the era ⁴⁷. Such adaptations are characteristic of the broader evolution of *pesantren* as the actors of transformative civil society. The *pesantren*’s governance that centered on the *kyai* but incorporating collaborative leadership, in Gramsci’s framework, is a form of counter-hegemonic education, challenging state-led formalism through participatory consensus.⁴⁸ These transformations, where transformational leadership coexists with institutional traditionalism, are found also in the Pesantren Tebuireng under KH. Yusuf Hasyim leadership.⁴⁹

The evolution of Pesantren Aljauhari represents a shift from the ‘salaf’ toward a dynamic *kehalafiyah* (progressive) model. The challenge lies in negotiating this hybridity without undermining the foundational epistemologies that define pesantren education as Darwanto et al suggest.⁵⁰ By constructing hegemony through cultural and religious legitimacy, Pesantren Aljauhari exemplify Gramsci’s civil society in action.

⁴⁶ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: n.p, 1986).

⁴⁷ Imam Syafe’i, “Pondok Pesantren: Lembaga Pendidikan Pembentukan Karakter,” *Al-Tadzkiyyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 1 (2017), 61–82.

⁴⁸ Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*.

⁴⁹ Mochamad Irfan Yusuf et al., “Transformational Leadership of KH. Yusuf Hasyim in Preserving Traditional Islamic Education at Pesantren Tebuireng,” *Munaddhomah* 5, no. 4 (2024), 383–94, <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v5i4.1430>.

⁵⁰ Agus Darwanto et al., “Transformation of Boarding School Management Models in Enhancing Student Accessibility and Educational Quality,” *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 21, no. 1 (2024), 145–64, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i1.8632>.

‘Networking Package’ Program

Tradition-based innovation at Pesantren Aljauhari adheres to the principle of *al-muhāfaẓa ‘alā al-qadīm al-sāliḥ wa al-akhdhu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlah* (retaining good old traditions and adopting better new traditions). As stated by Kyai Jujun Junaedi (JJ), the preacher, founder, and leader of the *pesantren*, innovation is essential in building a *pesantren*, but it must be rooted in its traditions.⁵¹ These traditions include the transmission of traditional Islam as encapsulated in classical texts. The *kyai*’s role, marked by his personality and charisma, fosters reverence and absolute obedience among *santri*.⁵²

The concept of ‘absolute obedience’ to the *kyai* does not preclude change within the *pesantren*. However, these changes must originate from the *kyai* himself, who serves as the sole authority in driving reforms, as noted by Horikoshi.⁵³ This reverence underscores the *kyai*’s central position within the *pesantren* and the broader community. On one hand, this centrality allows significant institutional changes, while on the other, it raises concerns about the orientation and priorities of the *kyai*. At Pesantren Aljauhari, such changes are evident in the implementation of the ‘Networking Package’ (NP) program, a key policy introduced by the *kyai*.

The ‘Networking Package’ (NP) refers to a ‘semi-standard’ policy framework issued by the *pesantren* leader. These unwritten guidelines outline plans, principles, and goals established by Pesantren Aljauhari’s leadership. In *pesantren* traditions, unwritten rules often hold as much weight as written ones and are implemented directly by the *kyai*. The *ta’zim* (honoring) tradition, which emphasizes obedience to the *kyai*’s directives, forms the foundation of such policies. Kyai JJ describes the MP as a holistic, integrated, and effective educational approach.⁵⁴ This reflects the accommodating nature of *pesantren*, which, as Lukens-Bull argues, adapt to evolving times while preserving tradition.⁵⁵

‘Networking Package’ program not only fosters long-term relationship management among the *pesantren* elements, the public, and other stakeholders but also simultaneously builds marketing and

⁵¹ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁵² van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁵³ Horikoshi, *Kyai Dan Perubahan Sosial*.

⁵⁴ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁵⁵ Lukens-Bull, “The Traditions of Pluralism, Accommodation, and Anti-Radicalism in the Pesantren Community.”

promotional efforts for Pesantren Aljauhari. Such a management framework is often overlooked by newer pesantren institutions, even though they are motivated to grow rapidly. Comprehensive management focuses not only on the educational system but also encompasses promotion.

Holistic education at Pesantren Aljauhari ensures that *santri* receive consistent ethical guidance both in the pesantren and at home. According to Kyai JJ, education cannot succeed if it is “unrequited.” This means that the values instilled in *santri* must also be reinforced by their parents. Parents play an educational role similar to that of the kyai, fostering consistency in practices such as prayers, fasting, and charity.⁵⁶ This integration between *pesantren* and family institutions enhances the effectiveness of *santri* development. The MP framework adopts collaboration among the *kyai*, *santri*, and their families, fostering consistent ethical practices at both institutional and familial levels. This three-dimensional approach resonates with contemporary recommendations for integrated educational management models.⁵⁷

The NP program incorporates elements of *salaf* and *kebalaf pesantren* traditions, striving to integrate strengthened systems while adapting selectively. The program’s features include:

Contractual Agreement with Parents: Religious practices performed by *santri*, such as *tabajjud* (night prayers), voluntary fasting, and charity, must also be observed by their parents. This creates a harmonious practice between students and their families. Parents agree to these expectations during the registration process, establishing a foundation of collective willingness among the *pesantren*, *santri*, and their families. Referring to Rousseau’s concept of social transactions,⁵⁸ the *pesantren* fosters a three-dimensional communication model involving *kyai*, *santri*, and parents, rather than limiting interactions to the traditional two-way *kyai-santri* dynamic. This collaborative model enhances the effectiveness of the *pesantren*’s mission.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁵⁷ Darwanto et al., “Transformation of Boarding School Management Models in Enhancing Student Accessibility and Educational Quality.”

⁵⁸ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Kontrak Sosial* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1986), 14.

⁵⁹ Mohammad Muchlis Solichin, “Interrelation Kiai Authorities, Curriculum and Learning Culture in Pesantren Indonesia,” *Tarbiya: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 5, no. 1 (2018), 86–100, <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjemcs.v5i1.7781>.

Congregational Tahajjud Program: This weekly program, led by Kyai JJ or a teacher, encourages students to develop focus, introspection, and spiritual discipline. *Tahajjud* is emphasized for its spiritual and mental benefits, aligning with Quranic teachings (17:79).⁶⁰ The program fosters discipline and intelligence, echoing the spirit of the ‘mental revolution’ advocated by President Joko Widodo.

Sufism-Based Spiritual Practices: Pesantren Aljauhari integrates moderate Sufism into its curriculum, focusing on moral and spiritual cultivation through *dhikr*, fasting, and virtuous deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*). This approach counters concerns about fatalism associated with radical Sufism.⁶¹

Ritual Bathing of Repentance: New *santri* participate in this TQN tradition, which symbolizes the cleansing of physical and spiritual impurities.⁶² Conducted at 2 a.m., the ritual involves specific prayers and splashes of water, which Kyai JJ explains hold symbolic and spiritual significance.⁶³

Promotion of Sunnah Prayers: Programs such as *ṣalāt al-shukr* (prayer of gratitude), *ṣalāt al-ḥāja* (prayer of need), and *tahyīya al-wuḍū'* (prayer after ablution) encourage students, parents, and teachers to maintain spiritual cleanliness and closeness to Allah. These practices are rooted in prophetic traditions.⁶⁴ There is also *ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ*. The prayer is called *ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ* because in the prayer, many *tasbīḥ* (*subḥānallāh* or glory be to Allah) are recited. Imam Al-Nawawi enacted *ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ al-sunna*.⁶⁵ Al-Subki, as quoted by al-Haitami,⁶⁶ even said that never performing this prayer was considered demeaning religion.

Teacher Conduct Regulations: Teachers are prohibited from using foul language and must adopt a respectful teaching approach. Violations result in sanctions such as three days of *kaffāra* (expiation) fasting. Persistent violations lead to dismissal.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁶¹ Nurcholish Madjid, “Tasawuf Dan Pesantren,” in *Pesantren Dan Pembaharuan*, ed. M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995), 108–15.

⁶² Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandīyah Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992); van Bruinessen, *Kitāb Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁶³ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁶⁴ Muslim, *Al-Jami' Al-Sahih* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.) Hadith No. 234.

⁶⁵ Al-Nawawi, *Al-Aẓkār* (Jakarta: Darul Kutub Al-Islamiyah, 2004), 202.

⁶⁶ Ibnu Hajar Al-Haitami, *Al-Minhāj Al-Qawīm* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 203.

⁶⁷ Junaedi, “Interview.”

Talqin and Bay'a Programs. *Talqin* in terminology means 'to instruct', or 'instruction'. *Talqin* in question is *talqin dhikr* that is practiced in the *tarīqa*.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, *bai'at* or '*abd*', is a pledge of allegiance of a *santri* or student before the *kyai* or teacher to obey all the rules in the education process in the *pesantren*. These traditions of spiritual instruction and allegiance are implemented when *santri* are admitted. Inspired by TQN practices, *talqin* and *bai'at* emphasize responsibility, discipline, and obedience within the *pesantren* framework.⁶⁹

*Manāqib*⁷⁰ *Recitation.* It is a method of learning by telling the virtues of the Prophet Muhammad and his *ṣaḥāba* and pious teachers. Although optional, this tradition involves recounting the virtues of the Prophet, his companions, and pious teachers. It complements *talqin* and *bai'at*, reinforcing spiritual development.⁷¹

Pesantren Aljauhari combines *pesantren* curriculum with components national curriculum, reflecting a hybridized educational model that balances religious deepness and formal education. This approach aligns with broader trends in *pesantren* modernization, as highlighted in studies exploring the integration of formal education with *pesantren* curricula.⁷² However, implementing of the integration, such as the NP program, has challenges. The most significant obstacle has been the limited understanding of *santri* and their parents regarding the *pesantren's* teachings. As the NP program is interconnected, resistance or lack of commitment from either party affects its success. Nonetheless, many participants experience positive transformations in their character and faith, contributing to the program's overall effectiveness.

⁶⁸ Mahmud J. Al-Maghribi, "Tujuan Talqin Dan Bai'at," 2019.

⁶⁹ Junaedi, "Interview."

⁷⁰ *Manāqib*, which has the plural form of *manqobah*, is a story of the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of an individual. In this context, *manāqib* is an activity to read stories of good deeds and good character, especially of noble good people, such as 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilany, and so forth [Mahmud J. Al-Maghribi, "Penjelasan Tentang Amaliyah Manāqib TQN PPS," 2013.](#)

⁷¹ Junaedi, "Interview."

⁷² Muhammad Hanif et al., "Pesantren Resistance to Indonesia's National Curriculum to Defend Its Curriculum Model," *Revista de Gestao Social e Ambiental* 18, no. 7 (2024), 1–32, <https://doi.org/10.24857/rgsa.v18n7-049>; Akhmad Nurul Kawakip and Sulanam, "The Practice of Shared of Values and Islamic Educational Identity: Evidence from A Pesantren in East Java, Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 17, no. 1 (2023), 27, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2023.17.1.27-53>.

Some families opt out of Pesantren Aljauhari due to an inability to adapt to the NP program’s rigorous requirements, rather than ethical or moral concerns often sensationalized in the media.⁷³ Kyai JJ emphasizes that the *pesantren*’s ultimate goal is to cultivate a generation of Muslims who are intelligent, pious, and morally upright.⁷⁴ The NP program embodies this vision, blending traditional values with innovative practices to create a comprehensive and impactful educational model.

From Tradition to Program

From observations at Pesantren Aljauhari, the *pesantren* tradition seems to be preserved, but its orientation is no longer homogeneous. Kyai JJ, plays a pivotal role in policymaking, establishing, and directing the *pesantren*. In addition to being a preacher and lecturer at the State Islamic University in Bandung, he is a member of the TQN. His background is reflected in the programs and policies of the *pesantren*, some of which adopt university traditions. Kyai JJ’s competencies significantly influence the orientation of the *pesantren*’s programs. This reflects a broader transformation in *kyai* leadership and *pesantren* institutions, as noted by Soebahar, who observed that shifts in the orientation of a *kyai* have profound implications for changes within *pesantren* systems. This hybrid model aligns with the broader trajectory of *pesantren* modernization observed nationally.⁷⁵ Kyai JJ exemplifies a transformational leader whose competencies shape not only pedagogical content but also structural policies and strategic orientation. As supported by Yusuf et al. (2024), the figure of the *kyai* in modern *pesantren* is no longer confined to a spiritual role but has emerged as a catalyst for institutional change. His leadership confirms the continued centrality of the *kyai* while reconfiguring its modalities within an era of institutional professionalization and state accountability.⁷⁶

⁷³ Masriadi, “Orangtua Santri: Kami Trauma, Bantu Anak Kami Pindah Dari Pesantren Ini,” 2019.

⁷⁴ Junaedi, “Interview.”

⁷⁵ Soebahar, *Modernisasi Pesantren Studi Transformasi Kepemimpinan Kyai Dan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*; Arifin et al., “Kiai’s Transformative Leadership in Developing an Organizational Culture of Islamic Boarding Schools: Multicase Study.”

⁷⁶ Yusuf et al., “Transformational Leadership of KH. Yusuf Hasyim in Preserving Traditional Islamic Education at Pesantren Tebuireng.”

The shift in *pesantren* education from a purely traditional focus to a program-oriented approach is not a new phenomenon. Some traditional *pesantren* have historically specialized in specific areas of Islamic knowledge, such as mainly fiqh, Arabic grammar, sufism, tahfidh al-Qur'an. This program-focused orientation helps prospective students and their families select a *pesantren* that aligns with their aspirations. Such shifts, however, depend heavily on the kyai's vision. In the broader context, social changes and society's increasingly pragmatic tendencies also influence *pesantren* institutions. The emergence of diverse types and orientations of *pesantren*, in both urban and rural settings, highlights the influence of *kyai* founders as key drivers of these institutions. For example, Pesantren PETA in Tulungagung offers practical sufism,⁷⁷ Pesantren Azzikra in Bogor focuses on *dhikr*, while Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in North Bandung emphasizes character development.⁷⁸ These *pesantren* respond to societal and spiritual issues, particularly in urban communities grappling with stress and routines.

What distinguishes Pesantren Aljauhari is its deliberate and reflective integration of religious authority into a participatory governance framework, that parents and community members are involved as co-educators in the spiritual and moral development of santri. Through the 'Networking Package' (NP) concept introduced by Kyai JJ, the *pesantren* invites families to become active collaborators, extending the influence of *pesantren* beyond its physical boundaries and into the everyday lives of its students.⁷⁹ This model embodies Gramsci's vision of civil society as a space of ideological negotiation, where leadership is legitimized not through coercion but through consent and shared cultural meaning.⁸⁰ In this paradigm, the *kyai* functions not merely as a charismatic traditional figure, but as an

⁷⁷ Muhammad Izzul Islam An Najmi and Ahmad Al-Ahmad, "Between Piety and Excess: Cult-Like Behavior in the Al-Shādziliyyah Pondok Pesulukan Thoriqot Agung (PETA) Order," *Dinika: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 10, no. 2 (2025), 217–38, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v10i2.11327>.

⁷⁸ Director General for Underdeveloped Regions, "Pesantren Daarut Tauhid, Wujud Pengembangan Komunitas Lokal Dan Bisnis Berbasis Agama" (Jakarta: National Development Planning Agency, 2004).

⁷⁹ Junaedi, "Interview."

⁸⁰ Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*.

organic intellectual, who mediates normative religious discourses and vernacular social ethics to build collective consciousness.⁸¹

The gradual institutionalization of this approach, which is marked by increased management transparency, digital innovation, and a collaborative commitment, signals a broader shift toward what Darwanto call as ‘inclusive educational quality’.⁸² While preserving the spiritual and cultural integrity that defines the *pesantren* tradition, such transformations promote the psychosocial well-being of students and also bridge gaps in access and equity. This reconfiguration reflects a broader trend identified by Kawakip and Sulanam, who argue that Islamic educational identity in *pesantren* is increasingly negotiated through shared values, both among internal stakeholders and between *pesantren* and their socio-political environments.⁸³

Their study in East Java, at Pesantren Sidogiri for example, reveals that the internalization of shared values such as *ukhuwah* (brotherhood), trust, accountability, and transparency not only sustains institutional legitimacy but also reinforces a distinct Islamic educational identity rooted in community solidarity.⁸⁴ Such values mirror the communicative practices at Pesantren Aljauhari, where mutual obligations among *kyai*, *santri*, and parent produce “integral hegemony”, namely a configuration in which leadership and submission are anchored in shared belief systems and pedagogical intimacy.⁸⁵ Moreover, Pesantren Aljauhari’s participatory model also exemplifies a subtle resistance to normative models of educational centralization and state domination, as described by Hanif, who document *pesantren*’s curricular negotiations as expressions of epistemic autonomy.⁸⁶

Pesantren Aljauhari has adopted a “semi-Sufism” orientation. This includes partial adoption of TQN traditions, *tahfiz al-Qur’an*, and formal schooling programs. Azra argues that innovations in *pesantren*—

⁸¹ Bates, “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony.”

⁸² Darwanto et al., “Transformation of Boarding School Management Models in Enhancing Student Accessibility and Educational Quality.”

⁸³ Kawakip and Sulanam, “The Practice of Shared of Values and Islamic Educational Identity.”

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Bates, “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony”; Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*.

⁸⁶ Hanif et al., “Pesantren Resistance to Indonesia’s National Curriculum to Defend Its Curriculum Model.”

such as the introduction of additional or extracurricular programs—serve as defense mechanisms to ensure institutional survival.⁸⁷ The integration of curriculum, memorization, and critical analysis in knowledge construction play a significant roles of extra-curricular activities in the globalization of Islamic educational institutions.⁸⁸

Program-oriented *pesantren* also face epistemological tensions, namely the expansion of managerial rationality may compromise traditional pedagogical values centered on *ta'ẓīm*, *tafaqquh fi al-dīn*, and communal living.⁸⁹ The question thus remains: how can *pesantren* maintain their normative role in Islamic moral formation between managerial formalization and technocratic pressures?

While the role of *kyai* remains symbolically central, its operational domain is increasingly decentralized through the emergence of cross-functional leadership structures, financial planning units, and digital learning systems.⁹⁰ Transformational leadership remains crucial for *pesantren* resilience and legitimacy. In this context, the transformation of Pesantren Aljauhari reflects broader shifts in *pesantren* management. By strategically combining tradition with reform, charismatic leadership with managerial adaptation, and religious convention with civic engagement, *pesantren* continue to shape and be shaped by evolving hegemonies in the public sphere. These dynamics reaffirm *pesantren* not as static remnants of Islamic heritage, but as dynamic intersections in Indonesia's socio-religious landscape.

Conclusion

Pesantren institutions, in carrying out their roles and functions as traditional Islamic institutions, have undergone an orientation shift. While the emphasis on religious education rooted in *pesantren* traditions and the authority of the *kyai* remains intact, changes have occurred through the introduction of programs responsive to contemporary

⁸⁷ Azyumardi Azra, "Pesantren: Kontinuitas Dan Perubahan, Introduction," in *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997).

⁸⁸ Kawakip and Sulanam, "The Practice of Shared of Values and Islamic Educational Identity."

⁸⁹ Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*; Ma'shum, *Kharisma Ulama Kehidupan Ringkas 26 Tokoh NU*.

⁹⁰ Mohammad Thoha and Abd Hannan, "Modernization of Education Governance Based on Accelerative Paradigm Among Pesantren Communities in Madura, Indonesia," *Ulumuna, Journal of Islamic Studies* 26, no. 2 (2022): 417–46.

challenges. These responses are evident not only in the substantive aspects of Islamic study materials but also in the management strategies and approaches implemented by *pesantren* leaders.

The ‘Networking Package’ program at Pesantren Aljauhari exemplifies this shift. By involving the parents of *santri* and positioning their role at home to mirror that of the *kyai* in the *pesantren*, this program has effectively enhanced the religious education process. Through this approach, the educational practices of the *pesantren* are extended to the home environment. When *santri* are at home, they receive guidance from their parents similar to what they experience in the *pesantren*, ensuring continuity in their religious education. Key practices carried out at the *pesantren* are also replicated by the parents at home.

This model fosters deeper relationships and communication between the various elements of the *pesantren*—not limited to administrative aspects but extending to substantive cooperation aimed at the common good of *santri* education. The *ijab* (offer) and *qabul* (acceptance) process during new student admissions reflects this cooperative framework. This initial ‘contract’ between the *pesantren* and parents lays the foundation for a shared responsibility in shaping *santri* graduates in accordance with the *pesantren*’s objectives. Parents retain the right to withdraw their children before finalizing this contract, but once agreed upon, all parties commit to the shared educational goals.

This conclusion is based on prior findings regarding relationship management and communication strategies within the *pesantren* environment, a setting traditionally dominated by the central role of the *kiai* (religious leader). For *kiai* who are heavily engaged in activities outside the *pesantren*—such as religious outreach and lecturing—a management approach based on a ‘networking package’ appears to be yielding novel results in *pesantren* education.

The relationship between *pesantren* institutions and the traditional values and norms they preserve has evolved into a long-standing dynamic. Consequently, change within these institutions no longer relies solely on the charisma and authority of the *kyai*; it also hinges on the effectiveness and relevance of programs designed to achieve institutional goals. Although the *kyai*’s charisma played a central role during the early days of *pesantren* in Java, that influence is now gradually shifting toward a structure that is more program-oriented.

As a result, adopting ‘a modern management’ approach has become essential for *pesantren* to succeed in achieving their objectives. This allows the noble programs initiated by the kyai to take root in a practical context, thereby ensuring the institution's continuity. This shift underscores the need for *pesantren* to balance their traditional foundations with institutional strategies that are responsive to social and cultural changes and well-managed institutional strategies to thrive in a changing era. []

References

- Abdurrahman, Dudung. “Islam, Sufism, and Character Education in Indonesia History.” *Tawarikh: International Journal for Historical Studies*, 9, no. 2 (2018): 159–76.
- Abitolkha, Amir, Taufik Alamin, Nur Ihsan, and Melania Huwaida. “Balanced Engagement: Kiai Ihsan Jampes’ Adaptive Zuhud Framework for Spiritual Transformation in the Digital Era.” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 13 (2025): 39. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v13i1.22322>.
- Aini, Intan, Imam Sopingi, and Athi’ Hidayati. “Al-Muhafadzah Bil Qadim Al-Shalih Wa Al-Akhdzu Bil Jadid Al-Ashlah in Education Perspective of Hadrotus Syaikh KH Hasyim Asy’ari.” *Al-Munawwarah: Journal of Islamic Education* 1 (2025) <https://doi.org/10.38073/almunawwarah.v1i1.2685>.
- Al-Haitami, Ibnu Hajar. *Al-Minhāj Al-Qawīm*. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.
- Al-Maghribi, Mahmud J. “Penjelasan Tentang Amaliyah Manaqib TQN PPS,” 2013.
- . “Tujuan Talqin Dan Bai’at,” 2019.
- Al-Nawawi. *Al-Aẓkār*. Jakarta: Darul Kutub Al-Islamiyah, 2004.
- Amas, Amas. “The Transformation of *Salafiyah* Islamic Boarding School into *Khalafiyah* Model.” *Asian Journal of Human Services* 30, no. 1 (2026). <https://doi.org/10.14391/ajhs.e3001.1.007>.
- An Najmi, Muhammad Izzul Islam, and Ahmad Al-Ahmad. “Between Piety and Excess: Cult-Like Behavior in the Al-Shādziliyyah Pondok Pesulukan Thoriqot Agung (PETA) Order.” *Dinika:*

Academic Journal of Islamic Studies 10, no. 2 (2025) <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v10i2.11327>.

- Arifin, Samsul, Moch. Chotib, Nurul Widyawati Islami Rahayu, Hosaini, and Wedi Samsudi. “Kiai’s Transformative Leadership in Developing an Organizational Culture of Islamic Boarding Schools: Multicase Study.” *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Pendidikan* 16, no. 2 (2024): 2608–20. <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v16i2.5325>.
- Aripudin, Acep. “Pesantren Dan Konflik Keluarga: (Studi Kasus Pesantren Alfadilyah Ciamis).” *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2012): 135–50. <https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v6i1.333>.
- Aripudin, Acep, and Zaenal Mukarom. *Institusi Dakwah*. Bandung: Pascasarjana Prodi KPI, 2019.
- Arnold, T.W. *The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*. London: Constable & Company Ltd., 1913.
- Azra, Azyumardi. “Pesantren: Kontinuitas Dan Perubahan, Introduction.” In *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997.
- Bahar, Moh, Dodik Harnadi, and Ahmad Ali. “Political Polarization and Marketing Strategies of Pesantren Alumni in the 2024 Presidential Election.” *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 20 (2025): 141–59. <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2025.20.1.141-159>.
- Bates, Thomas R. “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 2 (1975) <https://doi.org/10.2307/2708933>.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1995.
- . “Shari’a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate.” *Archipel* 50, no. 1 (1995) <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1995.3069>.
- . *Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- Darwanto, Agus, Rully Charitas Indra Prahmana, Ani Susanti, and Ibrahim Alhussain Khalil. “Transformation of Boarding School Management Models in Enhancing Student Accessibility and

- Educational Quality.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 21, no. 1 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i1.8632>.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011.
- Diana, Raden Rachmy, Muhammad Chirzin, Khoiruddin Bashori, Fitriah M. Suud, and Nadea Zulfa Khairunnisa. “Parental Engagement on Children Character Education: The Influences of Positive Parenting and Agreeableness Mediated by Religiosity.” *Cakrawala Pendidikan* 40, no. 2 (2021) <https://doi.org/10.21831/cp.v40i2.39477>.
- Director General for Underdeveloped Regions. “Pesantren Daarut Tauhid, Wujud Pengembangan Komunitas Lokal Dan Bisnis Berbasis Agama.” Jakarta: National Development Planning Agency, 2004.
- Fadhilah, Nur, Nuril Hidayati, Siti Aisyah, and Nurmahmudah Nurmahmudah. “Reevaluating Nafkah Obligations: Female Muslim Scholars’ Insight and Ethics of Gendered Finance in Indonesian Families.” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20 (2025): 458–89. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i2-18461>.
- Femia, Joseph V. *Gramsci’s Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198275435.001.0001>.
- Hanif, Muhammad, Mukroji, H. Suwito, Afiq Chamim Mubaroq, and Abu Dharin. “Pesantren Resistance to Indonesia’s National Curriculum to Defend Its Curriculum Model.” *Revista de Gestao Social e Ambiental* 18, no. 7 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.24857/rgsa.v18n7-049>.
- Hidayat, Mansur. “Model Komunikasi Kyai Dengan Santri Di Pesantren.” *Jurnal Komunikasi* 2, no. 6 (2017) <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v2i6.89>.
- Horikoshi, Hiroko. *Kyai Dan Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: P3M, 1987.
- Howell, Julia Day. “Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001): 701–29. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2700107>.

- Hudaeri, Mohamad. "Tasbih Dan Golok: Kedudukan Dan Peran Kiyai Dan Jawara Di Banten." *Al Qalam* 20, no. 98–99 (2003) <https://doi.org/10.32678/alqalam.v20i98-99.639>.
- Karimah, Ummah. "Ethnic Diversity in Teaching Sorogan of Pesantren." *JOMSIGN: Journal of Multicultural Studies in Guidance and Counseling* 2, no. 2 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.17509/jom-sign.v2i2.10826>.
- Kawakip, Akhmad Nurul, and Sulanam Sulanam. "The Practice of Shared of Values and Islamic Educational Identity: Evidence from A Pesantren in East Java, Indonesia." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 17, no. 1 (2023) <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2023.17.1.-27-53>.
- Koentjaraningrat. *Masalah Kesukubangsaan Dan Integrasi Nasional*. Jakarta: UI Press, 1993.
- Lukens-Bull, Ronald. "Madrasa by Any Other Name: Pondok, Pesantren, and Islamic Schools in Indonesia and Larger Southeast Asian Region." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (2010) <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2010.4.1.1-21>.
- . "The Traditions of Pluralism, Accommodation, and Anti-Radicalism in the Pesantren Community." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, no. 1 (2008): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2008.2.1.1-15>.
- Ma'arif, S, and N El Muna. "Pesantren Entrepreneurship: Harmonization of the Theories of Kasb Asy'ariyah and Locus of Control on Strengthening Santripreneur." *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 1 (2023) <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.17404>.
- Ma'shum, Saefullah, ed. *Kharisma Ulama Kehidupan Ringkas 26 Tokoh NU*. Bandung: Mizan, 1998.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997.
- . "Keilmuan Pesantren, Antara Materi Dan Metodologi." *Pesantren*, no. Perdana (1984).
- . "Tasawuf Dan Pesantren." In *Pesantren Dan Pembaharuan*, edited by M. Dawam Rahardjo, 108–15. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995.

- Marzuki, Miftahuddin, and Mukhamad Murdiono. "Multicultural Education in Salaf Pesantren and Prevention of Religious Radicalism in Indonesia." *Cakrawala Pendidikan* 39, no. 1 (2020) <https://doi.org/10.21831/cp.v39i1.22900>.
- Mastuhu. *Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren*. Jakarta: INIS, 1994.
- Mulyati, Sri. *Peran Edukasi Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah Dengan Referensi Utama Suryalaya*. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2010.
- Muslim. *Al-Jami' Al-Sabih*. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.
- Niam, Khoirun, and Syamsul Arifin. "Reformation From Within: A Contemporary Dynamics of Muhammadiyah Intellectuals in the Early 21st Century." *Al-Jami'ab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 63 (2025) <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2025.631.35-58>.
- Rahayani, Yayan. "Restructuring and Redesigning the Pesantren Toward an Effective Educational Institution." *Tarbiya: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 4, no. 2 (2017) <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v4i2.8009>.
- Rohmah, Z, D N Sholihah, Y Basthomi, and A D Milal. "School-Scape as a Linguistic Battlefield: An LL Study at Darussalam Education Complex of Gontor, Indonesia." *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 11, no. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2348301>.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Kontrak Sosial*. Jakarta: Erlangga, 1986.
- Soebahar, Abdul Halim. *Modernisasi Pesantren Studi Transformasi Kepemimpinan Kyai Dan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013.
- Solichin, Mohammad Muchlis. "Interrelation Kiai Authorities, Curriculum and Learning Culture in Pesantren Indonesia." *Tarbiya: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 5, no. 1 (2018) <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v5i1.7781>.
- Steenbrink, Karel A. *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*. Jakarta, 1986.
- "Survey and Launching of 'One Product One Pesantren' at Pesantren Alitifaq." Bandung Regency, 2019.

- Syafe'i, Imam. "Pondok Pesantren: Lembaga Pendidikan Pembentukan Karakter." *Al-Tadzkiyyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 1 (2017).
- Syafei, Agus Ahmad. *Metode Pengembangan Dakwah*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2002.
- Thoha, Mohammad, and Abd Hannan. "Modernization of Education Governance Based on Accelerative Paradigm Among Pesantren Communities in Madura, Indonesia." *Ulumuna, Journal of Islamic Studies* 26, no. 2 (2022).
- Urbinati, Nadia. "From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Subordination and Hegemony." *Political Theory* 26, no. 3 (1998).
- Yahdi, Muhammad, Muhammad B, and Syakilah Fadliyah. "Ethics, Law, and Educational Democratization: Shaping Islamic Cultural Behavior of Students in Sultan Hasanuddin Islamic Boarding School, Gowa, South Sulawesi." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 9 (2025) <https://doi.org/10.22373/fqsf065>.
- Yamin, Kafil. *Revolusi Kaum Napi: Catatan Kesaksian Anton Medan*. Bandung: Matahari Media Komunika, 2004.
- Yusuf, Mochamad Irfan, Agus Maimun, Basri, and Muhammad As'ad. "Transformational Leadership of KH. Yusuf Hasyim in Preserving Traditional Islamic Education at Pesantren Tebuireng." *Munaddhomah* 5, no. 4 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v5i4.1430>.
- Zarkasyi, Hamid Fahmy. "Modern Pondok Pesantren: Maintaining Tradition in Modern System." *Tsaqafah: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 11, no. 2 (2015).
- Zulfa, Ervina, Suheri, Ahmadi Pramuja, and Husein Muhammad Fajrul Islam. "Transformational Leadership: Traditional Pesantren Towards Sufism-Based Entrepreneurial Pesantren." *Leadership: Jurnal Mahasiswa Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 1 (2024) <https://doi.org/10.32478/leadership.v6i1.2881>.