

Education Hybridization of Pesantren and its Challenges in Rural Industrialization

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Abstract

This research aims to explain the existence, institutional environment and the sustainability of pesantren institutions in the village that experienced urbanization because of industrialization and the culture of modernity. The study used a constructivism paradigm for qualitative method. Data mining is done through in-depth interview techniques and field observations with the support of document studies. The results showed that, in responding to the instrumentation (the interests) of the state and the pragmatic market demands Pesantren Manbail Futuh pursuing a strategy of hybridization and the commodification of education. It is to adopt a policy of state education as well as to accommodate the community's preference based on the general education schools that is based in Pesantren. Hybridization of education is a diversification of education units (religious and general) in Pesantren. While commodification is intended as fundraising efforts to support the operational needs of the institution so that the implementation of formal education units shall meet national education standards (NES) in addition to meeting society's expectations (market). This strategy means a form of guarantee for the existence and sustainability of pesantren institutions in rural communities.

Keywords: *Pesantren, Traditions, Rural Industrialization and Education Hybridization*

Abstrak

Riset ini bertujuan menjelaskan eksistensi, kondisi kelembagaan dan keberlanjutan institusi pesantren di desa yang mengalami urbanisasi akibat industrialisasi dan budaya modernitas. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivisme. Penggalan data dilakukan melalui teknik wawancara mendalam dan observasi lapangan serta didukung studi dokumen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, bahwa dalam merespon instrumentasi (kepentingan) negara dan tuntutan pasar pendidikan yang cenderung pragmatis PP. Manbail Futuh melakukan strategi hibridasi dan komodifikasi pendidikan. Yaitu mengadopsi kebijakan politik pendidikan negara serta mengakomodasi preferensi masyarakat terhadap pendidikan umum yang berbasis pesantren. Hibridisasi pendidikan merupakan diversifikasi unit-unit pendidikan (agama dan umum) di lingkungan pesantren. Sedangkan komodifikasi dimaksudkan sebagai kiat penggalan dana untuk menopang kebutuhan operasional lembaga supaya penyelenggaraan unit-unit pendidikan formal dapat memenuhi standar pendidikan nasional (SPN) di samping memenuhi harapan masyarakat (pasar). Strategi ini berarti suatu bentuk penjaminan terhadap eksistensi dan keberlanjutan lembaga pesantren di lingkungan masyarakat pedesaan.

Kata Kunci: *Pesantren, Tradisi, Industrialisasi Pedesaan dan Hibridasi Pendidikan*

Introduction

Pesantren, the traditional educational institutions, which are identical to the sarong community, is still exist in the constellation of national education system until today. Not only exist, pesantren that is recognized as a typically Malay-Nusantara religious educational institution is also growing rapidly throughout the country, especially in rural north coast of Java. Based on 2008 data the number of pesantren in Indonesia is 14.067 while the total number of students is 3,149,374 people.¹ Then in 2014, the development of pesantrens reached 27.290, up about 48.45 percent of the total number of students raised to 3,654,096 people. If in 2008, the number of pesantrens that offer only yellow book studies are around 8,000, in 2014 the types of pesantrens increased to 13,336 institutions. 153-154.²

¹ Amin Haidari, *Some notes the improvment of pasantren in Indonesia*, International Jurnal of Pesantren Studies, vol. 06. No. 01 (November. 2012), p. 1-12.

² Kementerian Agama RI, *Statistik Pendidikan Islam Tahun Pelajaran 2013-2014* (Jakarta: Dirjen Pendis Kemenag RI, 2014), 153-154.

For centuries, before the state established formal schools for villagers, pesantren's role had been influential in serving Islamic educational.³ Consequently, the majority of pesantren institutions developed in rural areas and in its development, pesantren contributes to the dynamic of rural life as well as its society. For that, pesantren is called a unique rural institution and is typical with Indonesian culture style (indegenious).⁴ For Javanese, -- moreover for those who live in rural areas – the role pesantren in their life is very important. Pesantren culture and tradition have rooted and influenced all dimensions of rural life.⁵ Pesantren tradition would not be able to release from its main source, al Qur'an and Sunnah of the prophet, both on the knowledge basis and experiences.⁶ Each generation who inherited pesantren tradition experiences reinterpretation so that its product could meet the changes occurred in the world, and not bounded by time and space.⁷

Because of identical nature of the tradition with something that is inherited, terminologically it can be interpreted as something that is always derived or taught from predecessor generation to the next generation in the form of non-material, either in the form of a doctrine, customs, beliefs, rites or actions set and maintained or reinstated.⁸

Pesantrens are still hold the wisdom and traditions tightly, but more importantly, how the power of tradition is able to be used in social practices in the community. Significances of Islamic tradition serve as an elan vital or even spirit for pesantren institutions. Abdurrahman Wahid noted that the existence and sustainability of the pesantrens are largely determined by how much it functions on its ability to provide concrete answers to the challenges and changes in the field of education. In addition, it is measured by its success in the formation of values and norms in the society can be done

³ Karel A Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 22.

⁴ Dawam Rahardjo, *Ekonomi Politik Pembangunan* (Jakarta: Fadli Zon LibRARY, 2014), 53.

⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Budaya Dan Masyarakat* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006), 59.

⁶ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-nilai Indonesia dan Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: Wahid Institut, 2007), 122–23.

⁷ Alwi Shihab, *Islam Inklusif* (Bandung: Mizan, 1997), 288.

⁸ Bambang Pranowo, *Islam Faktual: Antara Tradisi dan Relasi Kuasa* (Yogyakarta: Adicita Karya Nusa, 1998), 6.

effectively as well as its agility in the face of changes in socio-cultural and political environment.⁹

Departing from the above explanation, this article intends to provide answers to the question: how pesantren strategy to maintain its existence concomitant to the development of industrialization in rural areas?

Images of Pesantren Manbail Futuh Beji

Pesantren Manbail Futuh is one of the oldest pesantren in Tuban which almost a century old and still exists in the rural environment that is now being "a new city". The iconic pesantren in Beji village was founded by a son of tobacco and pulses merchant, KH. Fatchurrohman bin Haji Abu Sa'id before Indonesia's independence, precisely in 1345 H / 1925 AD.

At the first inception, the buildings in this pesantren occupies a site of 2,964 meter squares, which is derived from the endowments of Mbah Haji Abu Sa'id. Today, the location of pesantren and other educational units under its management has developed and occupied an area of nearly 5 hectares. Before 1980 the number of students who are staying at the pesantren has not reached 50 people. Even the pesantren for female students have not been built yet. It is only in 1982 pesantren for female students have formally been established concomitant to the number of female students who are interested in boarding habitation.

The majority of resident students and madrasa/schools students come from local villages and other villages in the subdistrict Jenu and surrounding districts. Students from outside the region come from Bojonegoro, Lamongan, Gresik and Surabaya. It is only a small portion of them coming from outside the province of East Java or outside Java.

Pesantren Manbail Futuh is one of four pesantrens in Beji that have biggest number of student body and conducts formal education (madrasah/schools and madrasah diniyah) besides yellow book recitation. On the other hand, the other three pesantrens focused mainly on yellow book recitation. Majority of the students who reside at Beji village and other

⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-esai Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007).

pesantrens in its surroundings study at formal education units surround Pesantren Manbail Futuh, such as students from pesantren Mukhtariyah, pesantren Hidayatus Sholihin, pesantren Al-Khozini and pesantren Manbail Huda in the village of Kaliuntu. The total number of resident student in Beji village are more than 1.250, or 20,65 % from the total population in 2014 that reach 6.054 people.

Pesantren Manbail Futuh organized 823 students consisting of 313 male students and 510 female. They live in 9 *ribath* (dormitory), each of which are under the supervision of a caregiver. KH. Fathurrohman Mizan, the old kiai designated as the primary caregiver at the same boarding institution leaders, is the grandson of the founder of pesantren from the maternal lines. It can be inferred that, the pattern of leadership that is applied in Manbail Futuh is a collective-collegial, or in the form of institutional organization is a "federal".¹⁰

The institutional structure of PP. Manbail Futuh is supported by 9 *ribath* (boarding) that are incorporated in it, namely parent building for male, parent building for female, Tahfidzul Qur'an, Manbail Quran, Al-Masithah for male, Al-Masithah for female, Al-Mizany, Darul Anwar and An-Najiyah. Each *ribath* ("cottage branch"), has full sovereignty to manage his own household, complete with Kyai/ Nyai, boarding caretakers, students, *langgar* (small mosque) and owned their own regulation. When they go outside of the pesantren, those *ribath* use the flag of the PP. Manbail Futuh.

There are at least five main factors that make those pesantrens to join the roof of PP. Manbail Futuh, they are: First, each leader for the nine *ribath* is descendants of the founder of PP. Manbail Futuh, *dzurriyah* KH. Fathurrahman bin Abu Sa'id. Second, all of the students in the nine *ribath* are required to enter the madrassa or school that organized by Manbail Futuh Education Foundation. Third, each of the students who live in the nine *ribath* is free to follow the recitation activities outside his *ribath*, and all leaders have a schedule to give lectures in the parent building of pesantren Manbail Futuh.

¹⁰ The term "federal" pesantren is borrowed from Mastuhu, the writer is also adapted his analytical model in accordance with values structure on the upper and lower level that is applicable in the relation between kyai and santri/ student. Mastuhu, *Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur Nilai Pendidikan* (Jakarta: INIS, 1984).

Fourth, almost all ribath in the surrounding of Manbail Futuh have the same main goal that is to preserve the pesantren and the inherited tradition of the founder (*uri-uri tinggalane tiang sepuh*). Lastly, all leaders in each boarding school became a board member of leaders of PP. Manbail Futuh and is led by the elder kyai."

Thus, the institutional status of PP. Manbail Futuh is a pesantren owned by kiai and his family, although its function and role has been proven dedicated to promoting education for the public at large. The extended family of pesantren (*Ahlul bait*) who are engaged in educational activities in this pesantren consists of 5 Kyai, 13 *gus* (prospective kyai) and 7 nyai and 8 *ning* (prospective nyai), they are led by elder brother among them, namely KH. Fathurrohman Mizan.

From the aspect of relation of leadership patterns, the organizational structure of PP. Manbail Futuh can be classified into two levels. Leadership at the first level is called Council of Leaders. Kyais group or leaders council are led by the old kyai. The selection of Board Chairman is determined through consultation with nuclear family (*Ahlul bait*). The main task of the Leaders Council is to maintain the truth and the purity of religious teachings. Leaders Council, which is chaired by the old kyai, hierarchically having authority to maintain the "absolute" truth.

Leadership in the second layer called Board of Boarding Committee and chaired by Boarding's' Leader (*lurah pondok*). Boarding's' leader is hold by senior student who were opted through students discussion. Pesantren committee and students are obliged to apply "relative" truth as a realization of the "absolute" truth in pesantren life. Committees were directly chosen by all pesantren's community and should gained approval from the Leaders Council, especially the chairperson of the council. The first level has a supreme over the later. For that reason, the second level shall not comply with or against the first level of leadership and should never contradict with Islamic shari'a, as well as tradition and values of pesantren. All the committee and students ought to be always *sami'na wa atha'na* (submissive and obedient) toward the "authority" of the absolute truth.

¹¹ PP. Manbail Futuh: Muqoddimah PD-PRT Ikatan Keluarga Bani Fatchurrohman.

Industrialization in Rural Areas

Industrialization projects begun to touch Jenu and the surrounding sub district in the early 1990, after the government assigned that Jenu and its surroundings is an industrial area.¹² Jenu subdistrict, Tambakboyo, and Bancar considered as strategic and prospective for investment activities. The location faces directly to Java Sea. Shady Ocean, ramp waves, and deep water are a perfect shipping line to connect seas. Until now, there were four industrial harbors and one national fishing harbor that operate for day and night hours to serve cargo and good shipping which comes and go to the harbor. Industrial Harbor of Semen Gresik, Industrial harbor of TPPI and PLTU Tanjung Awar-awar are located at Jenu, industrial harbor of Semen Holcim located in Tambakboyo, and national fishing industry located at Bulu-Bancar.

Based on the information from Jenu Sub district's leader, Kasmoei, for about 30 years the development of big, small and middle scale industrial factories in Jenu reach more than 100 types industries as well as non-industry (service) operating in this region. To mention some, they are mine sector, mineral, energy, cigarette, construction, hotel and fishing.¹³ The numbers of factories and the development of industrial region resulted in unstoppable social migration that flooded the villages around Jenu. The other phenomenon are new buildings occupied paddy field areas, fishponds, and moors which previously have become the main sector of local people livelihood. Thousands acre paddy fields, moors and fishponds has today been converted into office buildings, factories, home, and new businesses as well as services agency for the new comers.

Industrialization projects in many areas have consequences on the change in the agrarian structure, which leads to changes in the occupational structure of the population. Typically, the most affected social structure is the peasantry.¹⁴ The case of land conversion in Jenu region rice farmers are most

¹² Pemkab Tuban, *Tuban Membangun Tahun 2001 – 2003* (Tuban: Bappeda Kab. Tuban, 2004), 7.

¹³ Interview, date 16 Maret 2016, at: 11.30 pm.

¹⁴ Astri Lestari dan Arya H Dharmawan, "Dampak Sosio-Ekonomi Dan Sosio-Ekologis Konversi Lahan," *Jurnal: Sodality*, vol. 5, no. 1 (April 2011): 1–12.

frequently affected population, besides fish farmers and other grassroots groups because this region is the coastal area that has traditionally been managing the business of salt making and aquaculture such as tiger shrimp, milkfish and Mujaher.

Fishponds cultures are now almost extinct and superseded by industrial culture. Local farmers are rarely making salt, cultivating tiger prawn and milkfish because the profit is less favorable. Besides that, Tuban coastal and marine ecosystem are increasingly polluted. Consequently, many ponds and paddy fields were sold because it is considered unproductive, while the owners switching to a new job sector, such as industry or services, even some pursue informal sectors. In the inland fisheries sector, employers who were involved in breeding tiger prawn and enlargement of Vanami shrimp were mostly came from outside of the area. While locals only worked as laborers and supervisors.

Government has allocated special land for industrial estates in the District of Jenu an area of 8,161 hectares covering 10 villages, namely: Jenu, Kaliuntu, Suwalan, wadung, Mentoso, Rawasan, Sumurgeneng, Purworejo, Temaji and Sokorejo. Approximate land specialized for industrial locations consist of 10 percent of the total area of the District Jenu.¹⁵ Eight of the 10 villages immediately adjacent to the commensurate coast of Java Sea and is at ground height 1-5m above sea level.

After the factories, dwellings and new businesses become mushrooming in Jenu region, this area that has labeled as a base for santri have experienced quite high population density. In 2013 the population growth rate in Jenu reached 57 556 inhabitants, it is with an area 81,61 square kilometer mean its population density is about 705 people per square kilometers.¹⁶

The phenomenon of rural industrialization can be seen from the rate of population growth in a region who works in industrial sector. Based on statistical reports, in Tuban in 2009 the population working in the agricultural sector amounted around 323 212 757 people. Over the past 5 years later (2009-2013) the number dropped to 280 474, i.e. minus 13.22 percent.

¹⁵ *Tuban Membangun Tahun 2001 – 2003.*

¹⁶ *BPS, Kecamatan Jenu Dalam Angka Tahun 2013.*

However, in the industrial sector, in 2009 the total population working in this sector is about 22.110 people. From year to year the numbers continue to increase until it reached 93 595 people in 2013, or an increase of about 76.38 percent over five years. While residents who work outside the agricultural and industrial sector (more jobs) in 2009 reached 231 009 people, and then decreased to 207 910 people in 2013, or approximately minus 10 percent. Thus, over a span of 5 years, except for the industrial sectors almost all numbers of the workforce in Tuban decreased, on the other hand, in the sector industry the number increased significantly.¹⁷

From the socio-economic aspects, the landscape changes due to industrialization in Jenu region have an impact on changes in the agrarian structure that leads to changes in the occupational structure of the population. While in the socio-cultural aspects, other effects occurred that cause changes in lifestyle and culture. Social dynamics in Jenu has given rise to a new social environment, which is marked with the needs as well as a new perspective, which is the characteristic of the transitional society.

The transitional process from an agrarian culture to industry along with its social differentiation aspects is not impossible resulted by the abandoned traditional values and local agencies if it is not immediately revitalized. It will lose his position in front of the community that is undergoing modernization, or may even lost in changing times. This is actually the challenges facing the pesantren that is touted to be firm in maintaining Islamic tradition in the country.

Maintaining the Wisdom of Tradition

There are three main functions inherent in pesantren education institutions, they are: (I) a place to explore and to practice Islamic teachings and sciences (*tafaqquh fi ad-din*), (ii) cultivation of religious values in society and to preserve the traditions of Islam, and (iii) preparation for scholars cadre who would preserve the tradition of pesantren.¹⁸ These three functions shall

¹⁷ Analyzed based on BPS data, *Kabupaten Tuban Dalam Angka Tahun 2009 and Tahun 2013*.

¹⁸ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994. Compare with Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-esai Pesantren*, Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007.

differentiate between pesantren with other Islamic institutions such as *majelis taklim*, *madrrasah* and Islamic schools. Moreover, in pesantren, Islamic tradition cultivation in both education and teaching become an emphasis in a series of guidance process and teachings using tutorial system in which the kyai (teacher) together with the students stay in one place (boarding school). Because the tutorial process is conducted for 24 hours, the system causes close relationship between teachers and students.¹⁹ Thus, the practices of worship as the implementation of Islamic tradition in students' lives and their surrounding community throughout the day conducted under the supervision of a kyai as a role model.

Islamic tradition is not merely a symbolic appearance of the practice of religious teachings (Islam), it is indeed an identity that distinguishes between pesantren institutions with other religious educational institutions. Among the variants of wisdom of Islamic tradition that remains preserved in PP. Manbail Futuh Beji and in other similar schools, are:

Firstly, Qur'anic recitation, especially its *tajweed* and *makharij al-hurf* (how to spell Qur'anic letters (hijaiyyah) eloquently /clearly). Besides the etiquette to the Qur'an and in carrying *Mushaf Al-Quran*. All students, especially for beginners (during the first year at pesantren) obliged to study the Qur'an and to be able pronounce hijaiyyah letters fluently and mastered the *tajweed* (rules of reading the Qur'an). And the ability of students to read the Qur'an properly including major indicators of pesantren purposes.

Secondly, following certain tradition of madzhab. It means following the method of thinking (*manhaj al-fiqr*) and method of practicing Islamic teachings according to *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* schools' of thought. It involves: (a) the field of *tawhid* or *aqidah* (principles of divinity) by following the *ijtihad* of Imam Abu Hasan Al Asya'ari (d. 324 H) and Imam Abu Mansur Al Maturidi (d. 333 H); (B) in the field of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) following the *ijtihad* of four priests; Imam Hanafi (d. 150 AH), Imam Malik (d. 179 AH), Imam Shafi'i (d. 204 H) and Imam Hanbal (d. 204 Ho); and (c) in the

¹⁹ A. Mukti Ali, "Meninjau Kembali Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Ulama," *Jurnal: Pesantren*, vol 4, no. 2 (1987): 19–27.

field of mysticism (Sufism) following the *ijtihad* of Imam Muhammad Al-Ghozali (d. 505 H) and Imam Abul Qosim Al-Junaidi (d. 297 H).²⁰

Thirdly, tradition to maintain the system of scientific transmission or *sanad*, so that both the aspects of methodological and content (teaching) are considered accountable. The genealogy of *kyai* and *kitab* (book) which is taught to *santri* would continually connect to the previous *kyai* vertically until *tabi'in* generation (companion's students), companions of the prophet and prophet.²¹ It is well understood that books of the Salaf as the standard reference of pesantren curriculum were guaranteed to be well selected from its transmission chain and were not contradictory with *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* scholars' thought.

Fourth, tradition of using methods and curriculum that refers to the work of scholars of the Salaf (classical Islamic texts) or the yellow book. Pesantren recognizes those works written by reliable scholars who are deemed to have maintained their integrity and intellectual nobility (*salafus as-Sholihin*). Those classical books written by *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* scholars in medieval Islam or about the 8th or 9th century H (14th and 15th centuries AD) even in the preceding period of the early period of Islamic intellectual history.²²

Fifth, *ubudiyah* (worship) tradition which reflects the implementation of Sufism and Shari'ah such as the practice of obliged prayer incorporating with the *sunna* prayers, *dhikr* and *sholawat*, *riyadhoh*, pilgrimage to the grave of teachers and sacred tomb of holy figures or *Waliyullah*.²³ In the guidance and teachings of Qodariyah wa An-Naqsyabandiyah congregation, sharia worship practices were given more space and be considered in the rites of Sufism of Sunnis, a school followed by majority of traditional pesantren in

²⁰ Said Aqil Siradj, *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah: Sebuah Kritik Historis* (Jakarta: Pustaka Cendekiai Muda, 2008).

²¹ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 20–21.

²² Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in The Modern World* (York New: Columbia University Press, 1987), 165.

²³ Compare with the writing of Charlene Tan, *Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia* (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies-14, 2014), 47–62.

Indonesia and the Muslim population of the world. According to Alwi Shihab, it is the primacy of Imam Al-Ghozali thought which has successfully paired Sufism with shari'a.²⁴

Sixth, the pattern of pupils to teachers respect relationships based on the spirit of love (*mahabbah*) and compliance (*tawadhu'*). In the context of dialectic compliance between the kyai and students, the students always look forward to providing wholehearted sincerity respect to the kyai (scholars), which is considered as parents. Moreover, vice versa, the compassion and patience of kyai in guiding and teaching the students is a form of religious mandate (command) to every scholar to pass on their knowledge to others. For students, they believe that sincere reverence and obedience to the teachers is an absolute prerequisite to get advantageous knowledge and success in religious learning.²⁵ They believe that the behavior opposed to kyai considered impolite and in the contrary to religious teachings because the main purpose of pesantren education is to educate students to become an independent adult with good morality.²⁶

Seventh, the tradition of pesantren value investment in the community through institutions and local culture. Numbers of institutions and local culture have developed as a means of values cultivation such as tradition of *slametan* or festivity. In pesantren community, *slametan* tradition is a ritual prayer that began with the recitation of verses from the Qur'an, *kalimah thayibah* (*dhikr*) and is closed with a *Salamah* prayer (ask for salvation to God). This religious procession is usually conducted to accompany alms in the form of food and drinks from the program holder that commonly called *berkatan*. This Javanese traditional procession that has been heavily influenced by Islam is generally conducted for the ceremony of human's life cycle (Java: *pangiwahan* custom).²⁷ The aim is that a person or family who is prayed for is expected to always obtaining grace and salvation from the Creator during his live in the world and in the hereafter.

²⁴ Shihab, *Islam Inklusif*, 288.

²⁵ Bachtiar Effendy, *Nilai-nilai Kaum Santri*, dalam M. Dawam Rahardjo (Ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun Dari Bawah* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 49–50.

²⁶ Ali, "Meninjau Kembali Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Ulama."

²⁷ Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi untuk Aksi* (Bandung: Mizan, 2008), 394.

In the Javanese villages, slametan prayer is led by a kyai or *modin* (Kampung religious leader). It is conducted in relation to life cycles, such as: (1). Seven month pregnancy ceremony (*tingkeban*), (2) Baby's first hair cutting ceremony (*selapanan*), (3) baby's first step ceremony (*setundun*), (4) circumcision ceremony (*walimah al-khitan*), (5) marriage ceremony (*walimah al-'urs*), and (6) prayer sending ceremony for the death (*tahlilan* or *yasinan*).²⁸ In addition to other religious rituals outside life cycles, such as: traditional ceremony at the beginning of planting and harvesting season, village calamity cleaning ceremony (*nyadran*), alms for the sea (*petik laut*) and so on. All those traditional ceremony is done in order to seek blessed life and safety from God as the Creature and the Protector of the universe. In this context, the role of pesantren's kyai is to guide their followers in purifying those ceremonies from shirik, as it contrary to tauhid principles. Thus, custom would still be done without any opposition with religious norms.

Hybridization and Commodification: Pesantren Sustainable Strategy

The development of industrialization toward rural areas brought about drastic changes in the community. Social dynamics run vastly and influenced people's life as well as their life style, and adult's preference for their children's education. Mohamad Sobary predicts that at least 5 things that influence rural life in a massive context, they are: (i) value system and world view, (ii) the raise of social aspiration, political awareness, and ideological view, (iii) tradition, social institutions, and human behavior, (iv) development program implementations such as infrastructure policy and other governmental policies, and (v) massively entrance of new ideas through contemporary technological devices especially communication and information technology.²⁹ In fact, it is not only rural life that is influenced by the changes but also pesantren life within it.

Concomitant to social dynamic in rural environment with state interest to increase services in the field of education, there are at least two

²⁸ Kadiran, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, dalam Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia Dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2007), 347.

²⁹ Mohamad Sobary, *Masa Depan Desa-Desa Kita*, Arif Satria dan at.al. (Ed.), *Menuju Desa 2030* (Bogor: PSP3-IPB, 2010), 57-59.

challenges faced by pesantren Manbail Futuh. The first is the involvement of state instrumentation that involved pesantren institutions as a part of national education system. Hence, pesantren should follow state policy and support government development program through the policy on politics of education. In fact, if it is taken for granted and not critically responded would consequently reduce pesantren role and functions in the community.

State instrumentation toward pesantren education could be traced from the emergence of political education regulation in Indonesia from on regime to another. State instrumentation always in contact with pesantren, especially its formal units. During the Old Order, there was a regulation in the decree number 4 year 1950 about School Education and Teaching Basis for Indonesia; and Government Regulation number 20 year 1960 about aid and subsidies to madrassas.

In the era of New Order authoritarian regime, policy in the field of education for example, published the Decree of the Minister of Religion No. 52 of 1971 on the Implementation of Madrasah Curriculum Nationally. SKB of Three Ministers (Minister of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Interior and the Minister of Education and Culture), No. 6 in 1975, No. 037 / U 1975 and No. 36 year 1975 on Education Quality Improvement In Madrasah. Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 70 of 1976 on Equal Level / degree Madrasah with Public Schools; and Law No. 2 Year 1989 on National Education System.

Recently in the reign of reform, government has promulgated several regulations of national education including: Act No. 20 of 2003 on National Education System; Act no. 14 Year 2005 on Teachers and Lecturers. Regulation of the Minister of National Education no 16 of 2007 on Academic Qualification Standards and Teacher Competency. Government Regulation No. 55 Year 2007 on Religious Education and Religions Education; and Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 13 of 2014 concerning Islamic Religious Education; and Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 18 of 2014 on *Mu'adalah* Education Unit and Pesantrens.

Second, high public preference factors towards pesantren education, it is the demands of society (group of students) who desire that pesantren should organize formal education units that meet modern education competence standard as well as to compete in workplace. It is hoped that

pesantren alumni would have opportunity in the work place such as industrial sector, government bureaucracy and other services sectors. Pesantren should organize formal education which not only taught religious subject but also secular knowledge which have global view besides having good standard qualification.

The above preferences are perceived to be relevant with today's market of education. Those market opportunities invite the interest of pesantrens community to organize a formal education with an aim to attract prospective students to enroll. The problem is to what extent do those formal educational units could compete with others in that market place? Among abundance education institutions in Indonesia. Here are the crucial factors, if pesantren institution failed to response to the challenges it would stake its existence and sustainability.

For that reason some efforts should be initiated so that pesantrens are not just responses formal educational services only such as madrasah and Islamic schools with very small number of students, but how pesantren can exist and accepted by the market (the user/community). And most importantly, pesantrens should have right strategy so that the wisdom of tradition (the study of the yellow book) as a characteristic of pesantren education would be maintained in formal education units.

The first effort is by organizing hybrid education model. Hybrid pesantren education is one of strategy of pesantren adaptation toward changes. Education hybridization could be said to promote two cultural sources to complete pesantren education, which is traditional education (salafiyah) and public education (secular-modern) that shapes collective identity, where the values of local culture could be preserved without denying modernity. Both could run smoothly and complementary.³⁰ It is to maintain

³⁰ The writer tries to analogize the above statement based on hybridization theory that states, hybridization culture is a process, means for alteration (cross) and culture establishment. A way to "cross" cultural borders between traditional and modern, is by employing the two cultural sources; local and transnational so that to build a unique collective identity, where local culture could maintain its significant vitality (co-existence). See, Arturo Escobar, "After Nature: Steps to an Anti-essentialist Political Ecology, *Current Anthropologi*" 40, no. 1 (Februari 1999): 1-30.

the adagium of *al-muhafadhatu 'ala al-qadim al-shalih wa al-'akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah*, preserving the old tradition while adopting better new tradition. As the modern education model and public courses perceived to give advantage to the future of students (young Muslim generation), pesantren has no objection to adopt the model, as has been said by the principle leader, KH. Fatchurrohman Mizan:

*"Pelajaran kitab kuning (materi keislaman, pen.) dan pelajaran umum terus diupayakan sama-sama berjalan di pondok Manbail Futuh, toh kedua ilmu tadi (agama dan umum) sesungguhnya sangat memberikan manfaat bagi kehidupan santri kelak".*³¹ (Yellow book lesson and public lesson are both continually pursue and are taught in Pesantren Manbail Futuh, as those two subjects would be advantageous for students in the future).

Starting from kyai's explanation, formal education model that meet the states purpose or meet national education standard should be managed under pesantren management. As long as those formal education model are compatible with "market" preference, it become the assurance of pesantren existence, could be determined as developing according to organization and institution. It means, pesantren may take advantage from the market opportunity and shall compete with other education institution outside pesantren.³²

The hybridization of education model in PP. Manbail Futuh is: first, formal education types of madrasah: (1) Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI), (2) Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs), and (3) Madrasah Aliyah (MA). The material used in the curriculum is a mixture of the curriculum (religious subjects and general subjects) with the proportion as has been determined by Ministry of Religious Affairs. The composition of the curriculum in MI is religion: 34.1 percent and the public: 65.9 percent; whereas at MTs is that religion: 38.3

³¹ Interview, 20 Pebruari 2016, time: 09.00 am.

³² It is similar to the research of Ridlwan Nasir in 5 main pesantren in Jombang has proof, with an "ideal" format of Islamic education (pesantren based secular education) which is offered in fact highly interest the community from many areas to send their children to study at pesantren, so, number of student who stay at the boarding school increased. Ridlwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal: Pondok Pesantren Di Tengah Arus Perubahan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010).

percent and the public: 61.7 percent; and at MA comprises of religion: 35.4 percent and the public: 64.6 percent. The material reference for the subjects of religion consists of the books of the Salaf (the yellow book) and Islamic textbooks in the form of Islamic madrasah lesson package from the government. The use of textbooks tailored to the religious subjects to be tested in the National Standard Madrasah Final Examination (UAMBN)

Secondly, formal education in the type of Islamic school (vocational school/ SMK). The material used in the curriculum is dominated by general/ secular knowledge with the composition of 90,9 percent for secular subject an 09,1 percent religious subject such as Islamic ethics, fiqh-worship, and aqidah-akhlak in *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* school of thought. Thirdly, non-formal education type of Madrasah Syar'iyah (*Diniyah*) and Salaf book recitation. The curriculum used was taken from the yellow book of Sunni-Syafi'i school of thoughts. The method used is memorization for nadhom book such as 'Imrithi and Alfiyah as the evaluation method for the mastery of yellow book and is the requirement for grade promotion, for more detailed information see table 1 below:

Table 1. Hybridization education model in PP. Manbail Futuh Beji

| Type of institution | Under the Ministry | of | the Curriculum | Length of period (Year) |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|----|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Formal education :</i> | | | | |
| RA | Ministry of Religious Affairs | of | A mix of religious subjects and general one with the proportion of 35-38 percent of religion and 62-65 percent of public. Most sources of reference are from the yellow-book | 2 years |
| MI | | | | 6 years |
| MTs | | | | 3 years |
| MA | | | | 3 years |
| SMK | Ministry National Education | of | An Islamic school with the curriculum composition of 91 percent for the common subjects plus 9 percent for a lesson on morality, | 3 years |

| | | faith, <i>fiqh</i> and subject on <i>Aswaja</i> . |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Nonformal Education :</i> | | |
| Madrasah Diniyah | Ministry of Religious Affairs | A salafiyah education which its whole curriculum taken from yellow books written by Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah scholars |
| - waliyah | | 4 years |
| - ustho | | 2 years |
| Yellow Book Recitation | | Not limited by grade and level of education (all students are free to enrol in it). |
| Qur'anic Education garten (TPQ) | | Consecution of An- Nahdliyah and Mushaf Al-Qur'an Learners' age are limited for children and adolescents. |

Source: Processed based on field data, 2015.

In the perspective of sociology of education, the existence of educational institutions could not easily dismiss its two missions; they are *continuity* (preserving old tradition) and *social change*. The first pendulum pointed out to the interest of education institution to socialize its values to the students, whereas the second pendulum promoted the results of social change due to societal demand.³³ The interest of the first mission is in order to maintain institutional identity, in the context of pesantren education, are: (a). Preserving knowledge transmission system sourced from Salafus Sholihin works, traditional sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyyah*) that is well known as yellow book; (b) preserving sanad system within the process of *transfer of knowledge* and the culture of *tafaqquh fi ad-din* (deeply understanding the religion) in order to build prospective scholars, and (c) celebrating Islamic tradition and culture in societal environment where pesantren education is held.³⁴

³³ John Jarolimek, *The Schools in Contemporary Society: An Analysis of Social Currents, Issues and Forces* (New York: Macmilan Publishing Co., INC, 1981), 5–6.

³⁴ Husen Hasan Basri, "Keragaman Orientasi Pendidikan Di Pesantren," *Jurnal: Dialog*, vol. 37, no. 2 (Desember 2014): 207–220.

While for the second pendulum, pesantren institutions are required to be more open toward innovative values such as: (i) adopting government curriculum either in secular knowledge or *intellectual sciences* (*al-‘ulūm al-‘aqliyyah*); (ii) organizing teaching and learning process based on IT, (iii) employing the method of *active learning* that is supported by laboratory facilities; and (iv) following the national education standards.³⁵

Another effort is employing the educational commodification strategy. Educational commodification in PP. Manbail Futuh is kind of fund raising activities to support the operational fees of the institutions to assure that the process of teaching and learning in those formal units could run smoothly, and meet the standard of the government as well as market demand. The contextualization of pesantren commodification is limited in the instruments to gain material profit or part of necessary means for consumption. It is a reality, that an economic and social structure aimed to ensure that consumer (students) obtained any kinds of commodity.³⁶ For example, the community having strong belief to the quality of the pesantren from the facility offered by PP. Manbail Futuh. They also counted on anything that can be quantified, such as affordable educational fees, the existence of choices on educational institutions (modern and *salafiyah*), accredited institution that produce competence certificate (diploma), at the same time students may learn both religious and secular knowledge in pesantren.

According to Irwan Abdullah, the workings of religious institutions commodification idea are not only become the determining factors for the religious identity. Moreover, the act of commodification of religious institutions also aims to preserve the social stratification in society to assert symbolic relationships that are thought to increase a person's social status.³⁷ To this context, the study of religion in pesantren deserves to be considered the affirmation of one's identity on his social class as students (*santri*). For example, the phenomenon of the proximity of a person with a *kyai* (*pesantren*) is a means of self-identification to be part that is categorized as

³⁵ Tan, *Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia*.

³⁶ George Ritzer dan Duglas J Goodman, *Modern Sosiologi Theory, Translation Alimandan*, Cet. VI (Jakarta: Kencana Prenanda Media Group, 2010), 569.

³⁷ Irwan Abdullah, *Konstruksi Dan Reproduksi Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 113–14.

"group of pious people". Even perhaps, a symbol of piety and the value can be obtained by sending a child to learn to madrasah and pesantren-based schools, in addition that the preference seems right to meet the desires of parents of students. The reason is beside the child would master general sciences (secular) and the skills needed by modern working world they are also would doing well with religious knowledge.

The phenomenon of the commodification of pesantren education is not a single example in a rural phenomenon. In many cases, rural modernization has consequences on rational attitude and behavior as well as culture of commercialization on the villagers.³⁸ Practically, commodification is indistinguishable from commercialization. It is true that its presence is meant to be "a way out" of an institution when it facing social conditions of rural life that has been contaminated by monetization culture, any activity is always measured by the value of money paid. So, monetization process is inevitable happened in various lines of public life.³⁹

When industrialization projects venturing into villages along with the culture of modernity the plague of rural monetization is impossible to be stopped. When the situation in the village is being connected with supra-village interests and global markets, it would increasingly speeding monetization massively. The impact of commodification in the realm of rural pesantren not only affects the pesantren institution but massively expanded to other rural institutions. People from any social classes are now prioritizing rational-instrumental activities, everything are perceived to be capitalized to obtain material benefit. Those emerging conditions determined to be the triggering factor of behavioral changes in pesantren education activities.⁴⁰ Based on the routine operational necessity of the pesantren, there are numbers of provision for educational commodification of PP. Manbail Futuh as described in table 2.

³⁸ Tjondronegoro S.M.P, *Ranah Kajian Sosiologi Pedesaan* (Bogor: Dep. KPM- IPB, 2008), 330–31.

³⁹ Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Sejarah Umat Islam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Shalahuddin Press dan Pelajar, 1994), 141.

⁴⁰ Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal: Pondok Pesantren Di Tengah Arus Perubahan*.

Table 2. Kinds of Financial Activities At PP. Manbail Futuh Beji

| No. | Types of financing | Aims |
|-----|--|---|
| 1. | Enrollment registration fees for new students of madrasah/school | To fulfill infaq funds, calendar, one month committee due, uniform for school/ madrasah, OSIS (students organization) activities and scout, as well as student activities sheet (LKS). |
| 2. | Registration fee for senior students | To pay infaq funds, one month committee due, activities to celebrate Indonesia independence day, Madrasah calendar, OSIS (students organization) activities and scout, parents meeting, as well as student activities sheet (LKS). |
| 3. | Committee payment | Monthly infaq (<i>i'ianah-syahriyah</i>) that should be paid by each student in the early month, and the nominal are different between one unit and another. |
| 4. | Fee for examinations (<i>imthihan</i>) and commencement ceremony | To meet the fees of national examination, national standard for madrasah examination, NU ma'arif examination, additional fees for extra courses to prepare for national examination and national standard for madrasah examination, also involves the fees for commencement ceremony (<i>haflah akhirus sanah</i>). |

Source: Processed based on field data, 2015.

Based on to date practices, commodification as shown in table 2 above is used to fund the operationalization of the institution such as teachers' salary (*bisarah*), maintenance, and to buy learning materials. Whereas, the balance left is not only used for investment, such as constructing new buildings or other supporting facilities. Part of the funds is also used to help less fortunate students in the form of waiving committee fees through cross-subsidy, and this scheme is preferred to unfortunate students from the local village.⁴¹ This policy is a form of pesantren Manbail Futuh commitment to familial social structure, so that they would not reject the application from poor students who are unable to pay the education fees. The cross subsidy for

⁴¹ Interview with the treasury of Yadikma, Ust. Nuruddin Amri, 4 May 2016, time: 18.30 pm.

poor students is an implementation of family structure (the message of Kyai): *lan kejobo kuwi ojo kanthi nolak santri utowo murid* (and never refute students who are willing to study the Qur'an). This moral message was based on spiritual values in accordance with religious teaching, it is the principle of *ta'awun*: "Help you one another in al birr an at taqwa (virtue, righteousness, and piety), but do not help one another in sin and transgression."⁴²

Conclusion

Pesantren hybridization aims to respond pragmatic interest of the state in relation to the preparation of educated personnel who are ready to work in the industrial sector as well as modern market world, besides the increment of communities' preference toward pesantren based formal education. Industrialization and modernization project in rural areas is another factor that influence social and economic dynamic in villages including the changes in religious institutions like pesantren.

In order to take advantage from market opportunity, PP Manbail Futuh was not only increasing the quality of madrasah formal education, but also establishing pesantren based vocational schools to meet market demand. It is the model of education unit organization with their curriculum of synergizing between diniyah-salafiyah and common-secular subjects under the flag of pesantren education which meant to be the pesantren education hybridization. Education commodification and hybridization are new strategy to face existing challenges, including strategy to develop the existence and pesantren sustainability.

Ideologically, pesantren commodification shall correlate with changes in the paradigmatic level of the subjects involved. Consequently, they were not perceived pesantren institutions as a means of religious and ummah services, however a place to earn money (*ma'isyah*) for a number of its teachers who have worked professionally. This phenomenon of course shown a process of "shedding" the culture of services for religion and ummah which has been based on sincerity.

⁴² QS. Al-Maidah, verse: 2.

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