The Challenge and The Prospect of Pesantren in Historical Review

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Abstract

In historical perspective, as an Islamic educational institution, pesantren has experienced a long journey. Until the present time, there are some pesantrens that still continue the heritage of old traditions. These pesantrens are named traditional pesantren. But some others, start to open themselves and make changes in responding to the present challenges. These kinds of pesantrens are called modern pesantren. The efforts of modernization by pesantren are dilematis enough because on one side, the modernization is needed, but on the other side, it contains a very different paradigm and world’s perspective. In such situation, pesantren have to discuss those differences with the Islamic paradigm and perspective as the heritage of Islamic civilization in the enlightenment era. Hopefully, pesantren is able to figure out current problems smartly with contemporary approaches.

Keywords: Traditional Pesantren, Modern Pesantren, Paradigm, Contemporary Approach

Abstrak

Dalam perspektif historis, pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan Islam telah mengalami perjalanan yang panjang. Dalam perkembangannya sampai saat ini ada beberapa pesantren yang tetap berjalan meneruskan segala tradisi yang diwarisinya secara turun temurun dan dikenal sebagai pesantren tradisional. Sebagian yang lain, seiring dengan semakin besar dan beratnya tantangan yang dihadapi, mulai membuka diri melakukan perubahan-perubahan yang relevan tuntutan zaman, dinamakan pesantren modern. Upaya ke arah modernisasi pesantren ini ternyata cukup dilematis, karena modernitas yang menurut beberapa kalangan harus segera dilakukan oleh kalangan pesantren, ternyata berisi paradigma dan pandangan dunia yang sangat berbeda. Dalam suasana seperti ini, pesantren perlu mendialogkan pandangan dan paradigmanya dengan paradigma dan pandangan dunia yang telah diwariskan oleh generasi era pencerahan dan kemajuan Islam. Diharapkan, lembaga pendidikan Islam
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ini (pesantren) mampu mengurai secara cerdas problem kekinian dengan pendekatan- pendekatan kontemporer.

Kata kunci: Pesantren Tradisional, Pesantren Modern, Paradigma, Pendekatan Kontemporer

Introduction

Pesantren is one of Islamic traditional institutions of education in Indonesia which study Islamic knowledge deeply and practice it in daily life. Pesantren has existed since hundreds of years ago and has reached almost all parts of muslim society. The existence of pesantren in education especially in Indonesia has been acknowledged and undeniable in the contribution of creating the nation’s smart life. Even in colonialism era, pesantren directly or indirectly gave great contribution in creating nation’s leaders who struggled for our independence. Among the leaders, many of them who were the alumnus of pesantren or at least they ever studied in pesantren.

But now the reputation of pesantren is questionable. It seems that pesantren can’t catch up the modernizaton and globalization. There’s a gap between the knowledge taught in pesantren with the reality and the demand of modern life. As a result, the graduates of pesantren are less competitive in professionalism of the working world.

As the challenges are greater and heavier, pesantren need to look back at the philosophy “keeping old but relevant heritage and take the newest and better things”. Because today, pesantren have to be able to figure out current problems smartly with contemporary approaches. On the other side, modernity contains a very different paradigm and world’s perspective. In such dilematic situation, pesantren have to discuss those differences with the Islamic paradigm and perpective as the heritage of Islamic civilization in the enlightenment era. It means that pesantren must position the old heritage as a friend of dialog for modernity with all offered products. They must read old and new horizon in a separated frame. The past era is brought clearly and honestly, then confronted with the present. The past era may look spoiled and irrelevant. But possibly, there’s still a potency that can be developed in the present time.
The fast growing community make educational institutions have to adapt themselves to such condition. The globalization continues as the growth of science and it affects human culture, life, and civilization. Every change will have side effects especially to human.

On one side, the fast development of science and technology bring prosperity for human. But on the other sides, due to the non-metaphysical and neutral-ethical approaches, the fast development of science and technology leads human to the blindness and barrenness of spiritual aspect. Modernity at first promised human freedom from the religious tyranny, but in fact it brings distortion to the holy humanity values. Materialism as the son of modernism has brought human to a deep hole of suffering. The reference of the truth is based on the materialistic standard and human’s happiness is based on the fulfilment of material needs only. Religion is still believed but it’s only palliative or style as traditional-primordial diversity. Today, people say about goodness and nobleness, but tomorrow people oppress, despoil, even and kill each other. Anthony Giddens said today’s world is a run away world.¹

Day to day, the morality in Indonesia looks miserable. Our noble culture of politeness and noble attitude as we could find in the past, now it seems to be extinct. Fighting among the students, drinking alcohol, using drugs, and committing free sex, have colored today’s life of young generation. In fact these habits tend to be normal in some big cities. Even those habits also happen in villages. As Islamic educational institution with the home base is mostly in villages, pesantren should be responsive in giving solutions toward the problems. Pesantren should open itself, have a self correction, design a concept and breakthrough and make internal changes in order to play the roles effectively.

**Pesantren as Islamic Educational Institution**

In Indonesia pesantren is well-known as pondok pesantren and culturally it derives from pre-Islamic culture. It is proved by the finding of an old Javanese education that identical to pesantren. This institution was

¹ Even the term *Run Way World* became one of the title of his books. In another book, Giddens defined “juggernaut” (big truck) moving fast without control as present metaphor. See Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity*, Chapter V (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 151.
Prawiyatan. Kyai is the teacher and santri are the students. Historically, pesantren is not only Islamic, but has Indonesian senses. The embryo of pesantren had existed since the era of Hinduism and the Buddhist. After Islam came to Java, there was an Islamization over the ongoing traditions at that time. Then the islamized traditions are kept to be continued and one of the activities is pesantren.

1. Pesantren

Etymologically, pesantren is derived from the word root ‘santri’ with prefix ‘pe’ and suffix ‘an’ which mean home of santri. Besides, it is regarded as a combination of the word sant (a good man), and ira (helpful), so pesantren means educational place for a good man. According to CC Berg, the term of santri comes from the word shastni which means people knowing the holy books of hinduism, or a scholar of hinduism who knows about the holy books. Terminologically, Steenbrink explained that from its form and system, pesantren was derived from India. The system had been used in teaching hinduism in Java for a long time before Islam came. After that, the system is used by Islam.

So, pesantren is an Islamic traditional educational institution whose activities are learning, comprehending, deepening, contemplating and actualizing islamic teachings with the emphasis on the importance of religious morality as a guidance of daily behaviours. Pesantren also has some elements that differ itself from other education systems. Those elements are: kiai, students, mosque, boarding, and kitab kuning (yellow book) learning.

In fact, there are two kinds of pesantren in Indonesia:

a. Salaf pesantren is pesantren which keeps the teaching of Islamic classical books (salaf) as the core of education.

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3 Ibid., 87.
b. *Khalaf* pesantren is pesantren which includes common lessons into the curriculum or pesantren which holds public schools like MI/Elementary school, MTs/Junior high school, MA/SMA/SMK, and even University.

While according to Syarif, there are three kinds of pesantren: first, traditional pesantren. This pesantren still keeps the original form by only teaching Arabic-written books with the methods of *bandongan/wetonan* and *sorogan*. Second, modern pesantren. This pesantren is a kind of development of traditional pesantren because it adopts all modern educational system and leave traditional methods. Usually, the form of this pesantren is a boarding school. Third, comprehensive pesantren. This is a combination of traditional and modern system. It means that it implements yellow books teachings and education as well as formal school.

2. Education System of Pesantren

Education system is a total interaction of a set of educational elements which have integrated cooperation and complete each other in order to achieve the objectives of education. The cooperation is based on the noble values of the elements. According to several literatures about pesantren, the elements of pesantren are kyai, santri/students, mosque, boarding, and yellow books. Pesantren has a unique education system because not only teaching the knowledge from many books, but also order the students to implement it. For examples praying together five times a day, performing sunah prays, interacting and helping each other, etc.

Usually, there are two lanes of education system in pesantren. First, teaching lane. It refers to education which focuses on the activities that can improve students' intellectuality level and quality. Second, guiding lane. It focuses on 24-hour monitoring of students' life in the boarding. The agenda and programs provided by pesantren are intended to conduct representation and guidance toward the students in many aspects, such as ethics (al-akhlAQ

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al-karimah), personality, behaviours, and attitudes. Teaching lane is the actualization of activities developed in teaching aspect and conducted in intra-curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Both activity patterns are programmed and guided directly by the teachers who stay 24 hours in pesantren. Intra-curricular activities are conducted as in-class session program. Generally, the contents of the given lessons, collaborate the curriculum of pesantren, curriculum of Religious Ministry, and curriculum of National Education Ministry. The duration is six years for elementary graduates and three years for secondary graduates. For high school level, there are some in-class session programs: Senor High School with Social and Science classes, Madrasah Aliyah with Social and Science classes, Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Junior high school. While extra-curricular activities belong to off-class session program. These programs try to develop and articulate students’ interests and talents in various fields, such as Arabic, English, yellow books review, Scout, art, and sports.

For guiding lane, the agenda and programs given to the students are to guide them in affective (ethics) and psychomotorics (skills) aspects. These programs are in forms of discipline in ritual worships, daily life, and education of leadership management such as students’ organization in pesantren.

Traditional pesantren or salaf is different from modern pesantren. Students only study yellow books without extra-curricular activities to sharpen psychomotoric aspect. There are only cognitive and affective aspects. In salaf pesantren, there is no organization, administration and management because all of them are handled by kyai. According to the formulation of Religious Department in the book titled Petunjuk Teknis Pondok Pesantren, pesantren salafiyah is type of pesantren which still keep the special system of pesantren, like the curriculum and the learning method as well. Generally, the lessons cover Islamic knowledge and Arabic. Traditional pesantren is self-centred, there’s no interference from other parties. The vision, missions, and learning process use classical system and only teach yellow books. Therefore,

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8 Ibid.,
students are not involved in national exam. As a result, they don’t have opportunity to continue to higher education and opportunity to work which requires education certificate.\textsuperscript{9}

While modern pesantren (khalaf) integrates their curriculum with government’s curriculum. This is because they are adaptive and do emancipation toward social changes and tries to keep ethnical cultures and nation’s identity as well as vanishing the domination of foreign politics.\textsuperscript{10} Besides, modern pesantren uses staged-education system as the government’s instruction in 1950s. So the students participate in national exam and they can get certificate.

**Challenges and Problems Encountered**

After the independence of Indonesia, pesantren need to improve itself in order to be in line with the objectives of the new state, and be able to compete with the world outside. As the development of the era, there are many frictions in social order after the independence. It is indicated by the fast growth of development, information and technology. Finally, the relationship among people from many parts in the world is beyond the rational borders. Moreover, nowadays in respiritualization era that presents a mint shift in the society, people refer to a transformation and reconstruction. Improvement efforts are needed especially in education field.\textsuperscript{11}

The needs of science and technology is increasing as the development of education. This made pesantren face a dilematic position. First, pesantren is still orthodox as the agent of moral force in society, exclusive, avoiding negative influences. Second, pesantren is demanded to be open and follow the era. This will affect the existing values of orthodoxy in pesantren as the foundation of its life.\textsuperscript{12}


\textsuperscript{10} Nizar, *Sejarah Sosial dan Dinamika Intelektual Pendidikan Islam di Nusantara*, 110.


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 153.
The problem encountered by traditional pesantren is the fact that there’s an individual interest which abandons the orientation of educational objectives, generally or specifically. Therefore, reorientation is needed. Curriculum not only covers lessons but also learning process, assessment, counseling, administration, and management of the institution.

There’s a tendency in the curriculum that pesantren only has one review of knowledge which is the leader of pesantren. As a result, pesantren only produces output who are not ready in coloring the modern life as we feel today. And they can’t compete with other graduates of other institutions. Zamakhsyari Dhofer even conveys most kyai in Java regard pesantren as a small kingdom in which the power and authority are theirs. That’s why there’s no written formulation of curriculum, vision, mission, objectives, and facilities because all of them depend on kyai’s decisions. Also, due to their weaknesses and limitation, kyai are late in responding the social changes.

Many pesantrens in the Dutch colonialism era that refused education and learning process using chairs, desks, and boards. But since the difficult condition in 1950s and pesantren faced serious dilemma, this refusal started to change, the management, leadership, education system, institution, curriculum and method. At that time, there was a polemic of interest between Islamic nationalist represented by Islamic politicians from Masyumi, PSII, NU; and nationalist power (PNI), and nationalist secular power (PSI, PKI, Parkindo, Murba Party) as the dominant factor in taking decision in education field. The government was building many schools as more education movement and education for all movement as a set of popularizing education program.

That period was a loss for muslim intellectuals from Islamic parties. It was very influential to the contents and materials of the Law of national education system, said to be discriminative between common and religious education. Because the policy didn’t accomodate Islamic education as a basic need of the muslims in Indonesia. It can be seen from Chapter 10 verse 2 stating that “studying in religious schools acknowledged by the Minister of

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13 Zamakhsari Dhofer, Tradisi Pesantren, Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 73.
Religion regarded as having fulfilled the obligation of study”. Another discriminative part is Chapter 2 verse 1 saying that “This Law doesn’t cover religious education and social education”. As a result, many small, conservative and traditional pesantren were bankrupt, unable to respond the government’s policy.

Secular educational policy by nationalist figures made pesantren oppressed specially related to management, leadership, educational system, institution, curriculum and method. Finally, Pesantren implemented transformation in management; individual to collective leadership; independent education system to adaptive and integrated; institutional transformation from mosque and boarding only, added by madrasah, school, and university; curriculum transformation from Islamic, worship, and morality materials added by common knowledge and skills; and method transformation from traditional to combinative method. Therefore, pesantren’s responses to modernity especially related to secular (western) school model, can be noted as a guidance to explain the new direction of pesantren:

1. The changes made by pesantren didn’t vanish the old traditions but only adding with something new so the old traditions still exist while accepting the new ones.
2. The way of making the changes didn’t cause a strong internal resistency, but it caused an identical crisis since it hasn’t been able to create a peaceful condition between old and new traditions, in which each of them has contradictive characteritics.
3. This identical crisis caused unclear position in facing modernity, as described by Steenbrink as a behaviour of refusing while following”, a weird behaviour. Practically, it can be implemented but physically it is a moral burden.
4. Pesantren’s response to modernity was not on the basis of scientific consideration (rational and empirical), but it was likely political, emotional and fanatic so that the position of pesantren was unstable, easy to change in a zig zag line.

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5. Pesantren’s response to modernity was likely economical and material-calculation oriented such as the establishment of school and university, the formation of religious teachers, status changing from madrasah to state, and education with money.16

Another problem since the Old Order era was that pesantren was not acknowledged by the government, because the main focus of the New Order was development instead of education. It was proved by a harder reaction towards the government’s discriminative policy in Presidential Decree No.34, 1972, then confirmed by Presidential Instruction No.15, 1974. The contents of those policies were regarded to weaken and isolate madrasah from national education. Finally the acknowledgement of pesantren as Islamic educational institution17 was released through the Joint Decree of three Ministers (Minister of Religion, Minister of Education and Culture, and Minister of Domestic Affairs) No.03, 1975 on March 24, 1975. The alumnus of pesantren didn’t get certificate and difficult to enter the university.

In 1990 Islamic educationl institutions got a good news. The government released the National Regulation of the system of National Education in March 1989. The government gave the same legacy and position for Islamic educational institutions, which especially existed in pesantren. So in the next years, many graduates of pesantren passed the university.18 According to Said Aqil Siraj, there are three things that haven’t been strengthened:

1. **Tamaddun**, is developing pesantren. Many pesantren are simply managed. The management and the administration are based on kinship and handled by kyai. In this matter, pesantren have to introspect themselves.

2. **Tsaqafah**, is giving enlightenment to muslims to be more creative and productive, but not forgetting the originality of Islamic teachings. For example, the students are still loyal to the traditions of pesantren but they are also close to the computers, modern science and knowledge.

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3. Hadharah, is building culture. In this case, how culture is colored by Islamic spirit and tradition. Here, pesantren is expected to develop and influence traditions with Islamic spirit in the middle of globalization that tries to unite the cultures through the products of technology.\(^{19}\)

**Responding Modernization**

In a national scale, pesantren has a great role. It is more than just producing experts in religion. At first, pesantren was Islamic traditional educational institution in the Middle East comprising of three kinds; madrasah, kuttab, and mosque. Until the second half of the 19th century, those institutions were able to exist. But since the last quarter part of the 19th century, traditional system couldn’t be maintained\(^{20}\) due to the strong waves of new changing and modernity. While in Indonesia, pesantren holds education to fulfil people’s needs in the villages such as teaching and studying religious knowledge, guiding them in religious matters, etc. In the reality, education of pesantren can’t be separated from the mission of Islamic teachings. In contrast, there are pedagogical values contained in Islamic teachings to educate people to be faithful, do worship, and behave well. Education of pesantren can be a media of Islamic teaching, and Islamic teaching is a way to educate people. This is a manifestation of amar ma’ruf nahi munkar as stated in al-Quran, besides in order to follow the sunnah of the Prophet, ballighu ‘anniy walau ayat (convey even only a verse).

J.F.G. Brumud as quoted by Pradjarta Dirdjosantoso, saying that a long time before public schools came to villages in Java at the end of 19th century, religious teaching in mosques or small mosques or primary level, and in pesantren for the higher level was the only education in the villages.\(^{21}\) It showed pesantren had a significant role in producing religious figures and elites in villages. Then when the Dutch came and colonialized Indonesia, they considered pesantren as educational model for local people instead of preparing special model as the implementation of ethical politics. But finally

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\(^{20}\) Nurcholis Madjid, Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), X.

\(^{21}\) Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, Memelihara Umat Kiai Pesantren Kiai Longgar di Jawa (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 140.
they didn’t apply it since they thought it wasn’t good enough (less empowering). Pesantren became the main rival in conducting education for local people as the Dutch implemented the ethical politics.

Being the rival of the Dutch, made pesantren open in many things, such as kyai involvement in politics, etc. Since the establishment of pesantren until now, kyai have always been involved in politics for the sake of Islamic teaching, against the colonialist, against the tyranny, or to obtain power. Even in fighting against the colonalist, Sartono Katodirdjo assessed almost all fightings against the colonialist in the 19th century were mobilized or at least supported by pesantren. Big wars like Diponegoro, Paderi, Banjar, and local rebellions in many regions were controlled by the figures or the alumnus of pesantren.²²

In social field, pesantren cared to solve the problems in the surrounding society, whether they are directly discussed with the kyai or not. Economy also gets attention both for internal and external interests. In this case, generally the people around pesantren have poor economic condition. Therefore, pesantren have taken very important roles in social and economic fields especially in villages. Pesantren have crossed over time and have various experiences and have participated in solving people’s problems in many aspects of life like education, Islamic teaching, politics, social, economy, culture, religious, development, etc. Today, pesanten still exist and show themselves as educational institutions which keep growing in Indonesia although they have to face the waves of modernity and globalization spread all over the world.

After the independence, the Dutch and the Japanese were no longer a threat for education in pesantren. But the threats were globalization and the development of science. That’s why pesantren do some improvements to support their competitiveness in global world. Actually, in facing the globalization, pesantren has a precise problem solving. It is a slogan saying that holding old but good things and taking new and better things (al-muhafadzhah ‘ala al-qadim al-shalih wa al-ahdz bi al-jadiid al-ashlah). This slogan can be a key of peace between traditions and modernization. Holding old but good things (al-muhafadzhah ‘ala al-qadim al-shalih) is a reflection as

²² Sartono Kartodirdjo, Sejarah Nasional (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1997), 131.
traditions, while taking new and better things (al-ahdz bi al-jadiid al-ashlah) as a reflection of modernization.23

For example in the curriculum, formal educational system in pesantren is different from the national education in general, because it combines the curriculum of National Education system and Religious Department. Besides, the special curriculum made by pesantren like the yellow books teaching in madrasah is a special system of educational process in pesantren. By doing this process, it is expected that Islamic persons who have both intelectual intelligence and faithful, well-mannered, creative, and innovative can be realized. So, later they can spread Islam to their family, neighbourhood, and all of human kind. Beside that, students have extracurricular activities to sharpen their affaective and psychomotoric aspects, like band, sports, martial art, Scout, etc. Even there is robotic extracurricular in pesantren Daar el-Qolam.

The teaching methods are various. Based on the writer’s observation in one pesantren in Banten, the teachers have used various teaching methods, not only one-way communication, or memorizing, but also having discussion, outdoor learning, even observation and research. They have used media like LCD, laptop, etc. The graduates of pesantren are not only good at internal test like memorizing al-quran, but they have to do another requirement namely scientific writing. This is to make the students able to compete with other non-pesantren schools.

Most pesantren don’t apply individual leadership anymore. But they change it into collective leadership. Masyhud and Khusnuridlo noted that among several cases, the development was started from leadership change; from charismatic to rationalistic, from authoritarian-paternalistic to diplomatic-participative, or from laissez faire to democratic.24 These three changes lead to the efforts of strengthening the people participation or other parties (not kyai) to get involved in developing pesantren. Outsiders started to be given access to think about pesantren and how to develop it.

23 Qomar, Menggagas Pendidikan Islam, 6.
Indeed, according to Mastuhu, pesantren needs the involvement of some parties: ulama, intellectual, scientist, and the people. Because the challenges faced by pesantren are very hard so its position in the future will not be only determined by the family of kyai, but also by the community. Therefore, kyai and his family have to be realistic and sportive in selecting the next leader. The leader must be right and worth, even he is not from the core of kyai’s family. It means the parameters of leadership are capability, capacity, and competency. The descendant no longer becomes the main standard except he has sufficient capability. By responding the modernity, it is a must that pesantren keeps old but good traditions and throw away the bad ones, or take better modernity (effective-efficient) and avoid the bad ones. Examples of traditions and modernity pesantren must keep and take are:

a. The use of Arabic classical (yellow) books as the reference in learning process, because it can identify and master Islamic classical knowledge and be familiar with Arabic as the language of the holy book or revelation.

b. The mastery of tools knowledge like nahwu, sharaf and balaghah as the tools to master the contents of Arabic-written books.

c. The use of boarding as place for learning and sleeping during the education in pesantren because it can support effectively towards the reinforcement of learning process and even it can create a linguistic environment if it is well-managed (bi’ah lughowiyah).

d. The use of mosque strictly as a place of worshipping to control students’ discipline in performing the worship and a place to clean their souls in order to achieve the knowledge.

e. Spiritual relationship between kyai and the students is formed by praying each other since it can connect their feelings in order to form personalities.

f. Independency of pesantren reflected in the independency of Kyai, teachers, and students because it can give freedom to be creative in formulating the model of Islamic education which is regarded as an alternative.25

On the contrary, there are some contra-productive traditions in pesantren that should be avoided or at least lessen, such as tendency of

25 Qomar, Menggagas Pendidikan Islam, 13.
mono-management, individual leadership, student’s passive behaviour, thoughts which make holy the religious thinking, memorizing materials, verbal tradition, and manual use of the tools. While the tendency of secular education or modern schools which have to always be avoided, is being dependent to one pattern of education system, individualistic, teachers-lecturers and students-college students, and too much pressure on the teaching so the substance of the education itself is offended.

Therefore, the system of pesantren needed to develop is education system which combines certain superiority of the traditions in pesantren, with the superiority elements of modernization of secular education or secular schools. By doing so, the teaching, the education, the research tradition and the scientific writing will create students who are good at the faith, intellectuality, skills, deeds, morality, and the spirit of development. In other words, pesantren to be developed is education system which facilitates deep religious learning (tafaqquh fii al-diin) through modern learning approach with emancipatotic (freedom of being exclusive) and development.

Conclusion

The era has changed, and pesantren can’t avoid the rapid changes of the development. Pesantren can’t keep itself exclusive, on the contrary pesantren has to be open and change its orientation to be inclusive due to the changes. Hopefully pesantren doesn’t lose its attractions. Some pesantren have conducted very important changes for their institutional development, for examples reconstructing the educational curriculum, improving learning methods, improving writing tradition, completing learning facilities, reviewing the leadership pattern, and vanishing the perception of knowledge dichotomy.

Several changes above can become the solutions to the condition of pesantren in the middle of development of the era. Pesantren today is expected to exist with productive and constructive cultural offerings, and able to declare itself as the agent of goodness for all, without being communal exclusive and enhance humanity values in education.
References


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