

Cultural Politics and Communication Strategies in Pesantren Adaptation to Modernity: A Case Study of Pesantren Tebuireng

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Abstract

This study analyzes how Pesantren Tebuireng adapts to the demands of modernity through cultural politics and communication strategies, two concepts that have not been fully explained in the context of traditional Islamic educational institutions. Despite numerous studies on pesantren and their role in Islamic education, a research gap remains in understanding how pesantren maintain their authority amidst globalization and changing state policies. To fill this gap, this study aims to explain how pesantren, specifically Pesantren Tebuireng, can survive and adapt to the times through cultural politics and communication strategies. Using a qualitative approach with a case study design, this study collected data through observation, interviews, and documentation, and analyzed it using triangulation techniques to ensure credibility. The theoretical framework used is cultural politics and communication strategies, which are operationalized by examining how pesantren maintain tradition while responding to external regulations and managing their image in society. The main findings indicate that Pesantren Tebuireng successfully maintains its religious identity through selective adaptation to modernity, utilizing cultural politics to maintain institutional autonomy, and implementing communication strategies to build public trust. This research contributes to the discourse on pesantren adaptation by emphasizing how communication strategies and cultural politics can serve as tools for maintaining identity and power in the face of modernity. These findings enrich existing debates on the relationship between tradition, power, and communication in the context of religious institutions and open up further research directions that deepen the interaction between pesantren and broader socio-political dynamics.

Keywords

Communication; Cultural, Politics; Islamic Boarding Schools

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1. INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools are the oldest educational institutions that have been embedded in the journey of Indonesian life for hundreds of years. As an institution, the existence of Islamic boarding schools can be categorized as a unique institution and has its own distinctive characteristics (Yamin et al., 2023). Its ability to survive through such a long period of time shows that Islamic boarding schools have brilliant capabilities with the plurality of polemics it faces. Even in its historical journey, Islamic boarding schools have contributed greatly to helping educate the nation and enlighten society and can produce an intellectual community that is equal to formal schools (Yamin et al., 2023). The existence of



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Islamic boarding schools has long been recognized by society. The role of Islamic boarding schools is quite large in helping educate the nation and providing significant contributions to the implementation of education (Tamyiz et al., 2023). In addition, Islamic boarding schools can be seen as ritual institutions, mental development institutions, preaching institutions, and the most popular is as an Islamic educational institution that experiences the romance of life in facing various internal and external challenges (Dasopang et al., 2023).

The ability of Islamic boarding schools to survive until now is a source of pride for Muslims (Siregar et al., 2023). This is very reasonable, because in the midst of the rapid flow of globalization, the world of Islamic boarding schools is still consistent with the yellow book (classical book) which is the basic element of the Islamic boarding school tradition (Aliyah, 2018; Sufirmansyah, 2023). The doctrines in the yellow book which always refer to the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet as the main source are one of the spirits that inspire the life of Islamic boarding schools.

Islamic boarding schools themselves now have various patterns and characteristics. The village head has a significant role in traditional Islamic boarding schools, but this condition does not apply to Islamic boarding schools that adopt a complex organizational form (Sirojudin, 2022). The role of the village head has been replaced by a complete management structure with a division of tasks for each. Although a complete management has been formed with a clear division of tasks, absolute power in the Islamic boarding school remains in the hands of the kyai (Humaisi et al., 2024). This shows that the institutional structure in Islamic boarding schools does not yet function optimally. Everything still depends on the kyai, because the kyai is the center and hub of all activities in the Islamic boarding school. However, to face the era of modernity and in order to maintain the existence of Islamic boarding schools as Islamic educational institutions that are able to survive, Islamic boarding schools must make changes. Islamic boarding schools are Islamic educational institutions that are also not free from the "law" and demands of change (Nurhidin, 2023) Especially when the world of education enters the era of globalization like today, educational institutions are faced with increasingly tough challenges that demand the ability and ability to answer them. If Islamic educational institutions are able to respond to the rhythm of change - through intelligent and creative innovations - then the opportunity to "survive" will be very large, but if Islamic educational institutions are unable or slow to respond to the dynamics of change, then sooner or later Islamic educational institutions will be left behind and automatically abandoned by society (Rusydiyah, 2017). This also happens in the case of Islamic boarding schools. Islamic boarding schools that are not responsive to change and innovate will be left behind.

The main issue facing pesantren today is the tension between maintaining the autonomy of institutions that have existed for centuries and the demands of adapting to state regulations that mandate educational modernization. These demands are increasingly complex because Islamic boarding schools must maintain their Islamic character while facing the structural and curricular changes faced by other educational institutions (Falah et al., 2021). Previously focused on religious instruction through yellow books and traditional methods, Islamic boarding schools are now forced to incorporate general education that aligns with national education standards, even though this can threaten their traditions (Aliyah, 2018; Sufirmansyah, 2023).

Furthermore, the role of the kyai (Islamic cleric) as a leader with significant authority within the Islamic boarding school faces new challenges as the managerial structure within the school becomes increasingly complex. Although many Islamic boarding schools have begun to adopt modern management structures, the kyai's authority remains dominant, indicating that Islamic boarding

schools must continue to innovate to maintain a balance between maintaining traditional values and meeting the demands of modernity (Junaris et al., 2022; Humaisi et al., 2024). There are quite a lot of studies on Islamic boarding schools, including Zamakhsyari Dhofier(1982), Nurcholis Majid(1997), Mujamil Qomar(2005), Mastuhu(2003), Manfred Ziemek (1990), Karel A. Steenbrink(1986), Martin Van Bruinessen(2012), Ridlwan Nasir(2005), and of course many more. Most of these studies discuss the relationship between kyai and students or the behavior of kiai in fostering students. There has not been any in-depth research that describes the communication that is capable of making Islamic boarding schools survive amidst the hegemony and rapidly developing digital world.

This study aims to fill this gap by examining how Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School adapts to modernity through two key concepts: cultural politics and communication strategies. Cultural politics here refers to how Islamic boarding schools negotiate power between their traditions, the state, and society, while communication strategies focus on how Islamic boarding schools use communication to build legitimacy and strengthen their image in an increasingly digitally connected society. Although these concepts are frequently mentioned in studies of religious institutions, no research has in-depthly connected them to the context of Islamic boarding school adaptation to modernity and socio-political change. This study fills this gap by focusing on Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, chosen for its ability to integrate religious and general education, as well as the innovations it implements to remain relevant within the national educational framework. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design to explore how this Islamic boarding school applies cultural politics and communication strategies to maintain its institutional autonomy and religious identity. The novelty of this study lies in its approach, which combines the two key concepts of cultural politics and communication strategies to illustrate how Islamic boarding schools adapt without losing their traditional essence. The contribution of this research is not only to broaden the discourse on the adaptation of Islamic boarding schools, but also to enrich the debate on the relationship between communication, power, and modernity in the context of religious institutions in Indonesia.

2. METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design, aiming to deeply understand how Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School adapts to modernity through cultural politics and communication strategies. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to explore the complex dynamics occurring within the Islamic boarding school within an evolving social and cultural context. This method also provides deeper insight into how the Islamic boarding school interacts with external pressures and how the concepts of cultural politics and communication strategies are operationalized in practice.

The research sample consisted of three main informant groups: Islamic boarding school administrators (including kyai and ustadz), students (students), and alumni. The sample was selected using a purposive sampling technique, ensuring that informants had direct knowledge of the Islamic boarding school's adaptation process and could provide relevant insights into the policies and practices implemented at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School. In addition, researchers collected secondary data in the form of documents and archives related to policies and changes occurring at the Islamic boarding school, as well as reports on Islamic boarding school activities. Data were collected through three main techniques: observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were conducted over two months to monitor daily activities at the Islamic boarding school, as well as interactions between kyai (Islamic clerics), ustadz (Islamic teachers), and students related to cultural politics practices and

communication strategies. In-depth interviews were conducted with Islamic boarding school administrators, kyai (Islamic clerics), ustadz (Islamic teachers), senior students, and alumni to explore their perspectives on how Islamic boarding schools maintain tradition while adapting to modernity. Documentary data were obtained from Islamic boarding school archives, including the curriculum, educational policies, and promotional materials used by Islamic boarding schools to build their image and legitimacy in the community.

The key concepts operationalized in this study are cultural politics and communication strategies. Cultural politics is defined as a mechanism for negotiating power between Islamic boarding schools, the state, and society. In this context, the analysis aims to understand how Islamic boarding schools maintain their institutional autonomy in the face of external pressures, particularly state regulations related to curriculum and religious education. Communication strategies are operationalized as Islamic boarding school efforts to build and strengthen their public image, both locally and in the context of information globalization. This communication analysis covers how Islamic boarding schools utilize social media, alumni networks, and word-of-mouth to strengthen their legitimacy and present themselves as relevant educational institutions.

The analytical process in this study involves data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data collected through interviews, observations, and documentation are processed simultaneously using triangulation techniques, which compare and confirm information from various sources to ensure the credibility of the findings. The first step is data reduction, which involves classifying and organizing data into categories relevant to cultural politics and communication strategies. The second step is data presentation, in which the researcher presents the data in a clear and systematic narrative to identify patterns of relationships between existing concepts. The third step is drawing conclusions, which is conducted by linking empirical findings with existing theory, to generate deeper insights into how Islamic boarding schools adapt to changing times while maintaining their religious identity. Thus, this study not only reveals how Islamic boarding schools adapt to change, but also how communication strategies and the cultural politics of Islamic boarding schools can play a role in ensuring their survival amidst hegemony and an ever-evolving world.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 *Challenges of Islamic Boarding Schools*

Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School faces several challenges in maintaining its relevance as an Islamic educational institution adapting to modernity. While many of these challenges have been discussed in the literature, empirical findings from the field provide a clearer picture of how each of these challenges is connected to the cultural politics and communication strategies employed by the boarding school.

a. The Gap in the Image of Boarding Schools as Traditional Educational Institutions

One of the biggest challenges encountered in the field is the image of boarding schools as institutions perceived as outdated and insufficiently modern. Based on interviews with boarding school administrators and students, this image poses a significant obstacle to attracting the attention of the general public and prospective students, especially in the increasingly digital era. Most respondents acknowledged that despite boarding school traditions, the mismatch between public perceptions of boarding schools and the needs of today's fast-paced world further creates a distance (Saepullah, 2021). However, through implemented communication strategies, such as the use of social media and word-of-mouth promotion by alumni, the boarding school is striving to improve this image. This process

demonstrates how Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) use communication mechanisms to address these challenges in public perception by creating new narratives that link them to modernity without sacrificing core religious values (Humaisi et al., 2024). This reflects the efforts of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in cultural politics to negotiate their role in an increasingly global society.

b. Lack of Adequate Infrastructure and Facilities

The next challenge relates to the limited infrastructure and facilities within Islamic boarding schools. During field observations, researchers found that facilities such as dormitory spaces, classrooms, and halaqah (religious meeting) rooms were insufficient to accommodate the increasing number of students. However, Islamic boarding school administrators attempted to manage these limitations creatively, such as establishing a rotation system and efficient space utilization (Rahman, 2022). This demonstrates the existence of cultural politics in Islamic boarding school management, where internal management policies are adapted to the conditions and needs of students, while optimizing the use of existing resources. From a communication strategy perspective, Islamic boarding schools also communicate this lack of infrastructure as part of their simplicity and strength, which relies not on luxurious facilities but on the spiritual and educational values they provide (Junaris et al., 2022). Therefore, this challenge relates not only to physical needs but also to how Islamic boarding schools communicate their identity in the face of modernity.

c. Limited Human Resources (HR) in Management

Although Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) have competent religious educators, limited human resources in the managerial field pose a barrier to more modern management. Interviews with Islamic boarding school administrators revealed that many of them struggle to manage their administration effectively and efficiently (Yamin et al., 2023). This is also influenced by limited knowledge of modern management among boarding school administrators. To address this challenge, Islamic boarding schools are undertaking various efforts, including involving alumni with managerial educational backgrounds and conducting training for boarding school administrators. This approach not only serves to improve the management capabilities of Islamic boarding schools but also fosters a more inclusive cultural policy by involving various parties in decision-making and management (Dasopang et al., 2023).

d. Limited Economic Independence of Islamic Boarding Schools

Another significant challenge is the economic independence of Islamic boarding schools, which are still dependent on external funding, such as donations from the community and the government. Field findings indicate that although Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) have small businesses to support their operational costs, they still face difficulties in building a sustainable economic model (Tamyiz et al., 2023). One solution implemented is to develop religious and social-based businesses, such as Islamic banking and Islamic boarding school cooperatives, which can generate additional income. In this regard, the communication strategy used is leveraging alumni networks and community support to increase the financial independence of the Islamic boarding school. The Islamic boarding school builds an image as a financially independent institution that does not rely entirely on external donations, while still maintaining the traditions of sharing and mutual cooperation that are part of the Islamic boarding school culture (Siregar et al., 2023).

e. Integration of Religious and General Education Curriculum

One challenge also faced by Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is the integration of the religious education curriculum with general education. Based on interviews with students and administrators, it was found that although the religious education curriculum at the Islamic boarding school remains a top priority, the demand to integrate general education with religious education presents a significant challenge. Some students find it difficult to follow both curricula simultaneously, while Islamic boarding school administrators face the dilemma of maintaining a balance between the two (Falah et al., 2021). The cultural political mechanism implemented in this case involves Islamic boarding schools adopting the national curriculum without sacrificing existing religious values. Islamic boarding schools also employ communication strategies to convey the benefits of a comprehensive education, which teaches not only religion but also the skills needed to navigate the modern world (Rusydiyah, 2017).

3.2 Structural pressure from the state through regulations and policies on Islamic boarding schools

Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, like many others, faces significant structural pressure from the state through regulations and policies governing the national education system, particularly Government Regulation (PP) No. 55/2007, an elaboration of the National Education System Law. One of the main pressures that emerged was the policy mandating the integration of religious education curricula with general education. In this context, the state sought to ensure that Islamic boarding schools adhered to national education standards, which required the inclusion of subjects such as Civics, Indonesian Language, Mathematics, and Science in their curricula. While this policy aimed to strengthen educational equality in Indonesia, it challenged Islamic boarding schools that had traditionally prioritized religious education based on their traditions (Aliyah, 2018; Sufirmansyah, 2023).

Field observations revealed that the management of Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School responded to this state pressure with an adaptive approach that maintained traditional religious values while accommodating the need to comply with government regulations. Interviews with Islamic boarding school administrators revealed that they gradually integrated the general education curriculum without diminishing the focus on religious education. For example, they began to incorporate general subjects alongside religious education, but with an approach that ensured that religious values remained at the core of Islamic boarding school education.

The pressures faced by Islamic boarding schools, particularly Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, can be conceptualized as a power negotiation between them and the state. The state, through national education policies, seeks to regulate and harmonize the education system throughout Indonesia, including Islamic boarding schools. On the other hand, Islamic boarding schools, as institutions with high autonomy, strive to maintain their religious identity and independence in determining their curriculum. In this regard, Islamic boarding schools use cultural politics as a mechanism to negotiate state regulations, maintaining their core values while accommodating some external demands. The cultural politics implemented by Islamic boarding schools allows them to negotiate a space of freedom in managing religious education. For example, although Islamic boarding schools have begun to integrate general subjects, they maintain an emphasis on religious education through the yellow books (*Kitab Kuning*, "yellow books") (Aliyah, 2018). In this way, Islamic boarding schools not only adapt to state policies but also successfully maintain their existence as tradition-based religious educational institutions.

Furthermore, communication strategy plays a crucial role in this negotiation process. Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, through various communication channels including social media, alumni networks, and active involvement in community activities, constructs a narrative emphasizing that it not only complies with state regulations but also adapts to improve the quality of education, without sacrificing the religious principles on which it is founded. In this regard, communication serves as a tool to manage public perception and build the boarding school's legitimacy in the eyes of the wider community. This process also demonstrates how the boarding school utilizes communication to influence the public's perception of the boarding school as an institution that is not outdated but rather relevant to the challenges of the times. The communication process and cultural strategies implemented by Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School serve as crucial mechanisms to ensure its institutional survival amidst state pressure. By communicating its identity as an educational institution that integrates religion and general knowledge, the boarding school successfully mitigates the conflict between state demands and its internal need to maintain tradition. In this regard, communication serves not only to inform but also as a tool to protect and strengthen the boarding school's position in the face of regulations governing education in Indonesia. By employing cultural politics and communication strategies, Pesantren Tebuireng can negotiate its role within the national education system, ensuring its relevance without losing its religious essence. This process demonstrates how communication and cultural practices serve as effective tools for negotiating power and ensuring the institutional survival of pesantren in the face of regulatory changes.

3.3 Basic Values of Islamic Boarding School Transformation

Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is a salafiyah Islamic boarding school but accepts the national curriculum, so it can be called a mu'adalah Islamic boarding school. Although it is a mu'adalah Islamic boarding school, the unique values of the Islamic boarding school do not fade, but become the unique values of the Islamic boarding school. These values are intangible but their impact and existence can be felt. These values include: humility, Islamic values, worship values, and respect for a kyai or ustadz. In this aspect, the kyai as the caretaker of the Islamic boarding school is expected to be blessed. Blessings in Islamic boarding schools are interpreted as ziyadatul khair (increasing goodness) and khairun fi khairin (goodness in goodness). These two meanings are intermediaries to get closer to Allah SWT. Blessing means growth that leads someone to remain in obedience to Allah and flows good deeds to His pleasure. Blessings are the goal of devotion that has the meaning as a path to peace of life and becomes an intermediary connecting students, clerics, and Allah.

The value of blessings seems to be very thriving in Islamic boarding schools. Even students as students are required to get blessings from the process of seeking knowledge at the Islamic boarding school. This process of seeking blessings is very close to the theory of spirituality of clerics in Islamic boarding schools. In various literatures, there are various ways for students to obtain these blessings, including: 1) Good intentions are the main key to gaining benefits and blessings from the knowledge learned. The intention to seek Allah's pleasure in seeking knowledge will make knowledge a path to achieving blessings in life. This intention must always be present in a student. 2) Students must not be arrogant because arrogance leads humans astray. The arrogance possessed by students is contrary to the values of humility which are the basic values in Islamic boarding schools. 3) Knowledge is obtained by studying, and the blessings of knowledge are obtained by serving. The blessings obtained through service or devotion can become special capital for students when they are in society. 4) Every activity in Islamic boarding schools should be carried out with sincere intentions, without expecting praise or

recognition. 5) Carrying out activities at the cottage, such as waking up early in the morning to pray tahajjud, as tabbaruk (seeking blessings). 6) Be grateful for all the blessings that God has given. Gratitude is an attitude that students must have as a way of seeking blessings. An attitude of gratitude gives birth to qana'ah which can shape the character of students.

In addition, 'al-muhâfazhah 'ala al-qadîmi ash-shâlih wa al-ahdzu bi al-jadîd al-ashlah' applied by Islamic boarding schools is the most fundamental value in an Islamic boarding school when the Islamic boarding school will expand its wings. Both wings from the aspect of Islamic knowledge and the aspect of Islamic boarding school management. Kyai as the main sector of leaders as well as owners and caretakers of Islamic boarding schools is the main instiller of these values, so that students have the soul of improving themselves to be better, students have the soul of building Islamic boarding schools and contributing to their Islamic boarding schools. Students besides having a humble soul and hoping for blessings but also have an innovative soul that can be used to improve skills in this era of competition.

The value of istiqomah in Islamic boarding schools also needs to be highlighted and considered. Istiqomah or referred to as mulazamah in terms of studying the Koran has been shown to have a significant impact on the students and kyai themselves. Kyai and students who are istiqomah in studying the Koran will certainly have their competence always upgraded and have competitiveness that is not inferior to alumni from universities. These values are the basic values of Islamic boarding schools in overseeing their duties as tafaquh fi al-din and as da'wah institutions that are able to produce alumni who have superior competencies in the Islamic field and other supporting sciences. Therefore, Islamic boarding schools can compete with other educational institutions, both in terms of the quality of facilities and infrastructure, learning processes and the quality of alumni and output.

3.4 Pesantren Adaptation and Communication Strategy

In order to adapt to the development of the times and the challenges faced, Islamic boarding schools build learning organizations through routine consolidation, internal and external forums, innovation, and partnerships with various parties. Learning organizations are manifested in the form of istiqomah or mulazamah in the ngaji program, either through the bandongan or wetonan system, or with the sorogan system. The books studied in the form of yellow books are studied with full istiqomah and critical methods are used for their contents. In addition, the adaptation carried out by Islamic boarding schools with a strategy of continuous improvement in aspects of Islamic boarding school management, such as financial management of Islamic boarding schools, management of human resources or personnel of Islamic boarding schools, to the management of student admissions, and also alumni management.

Adaptation carried out by other Islamic boarding schools is by adopting the general education system in Islamic boarding schools, even what happened in the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school was to include the madrasah diniyah curriculum into school education in the Islamic boarding school environment (Siregar et al., 2023). According to various journals, this can be categorized as effective education because students are not tired and the curriculum is integrated with general education. Meanwhile, the communication strategy is carried out during the learning process in the Islamic boarding school with a two-way strategy as stated by Laswell. Although in this communication, the kyai to the students is more dominant than the students to the kyai (Saepullah, 2021). Communication is also referred to as internal communication which has an impact, namely being able to strengthen the culture of the Islamic boarding school that has been built by the kyai and the system in the Islamic

boarding school. While in terms of communication with alumni, it is carried out with a two-way system in the form of external communication. While in terms of promotion which is useful for building the image of the Islamic boarding school, it can be done with a word of mouth model from alumni to the community who use the alumni's services. In addition, each alumni also has their own power in promoting an Islamic boarding school. The branding power of alumni who have more competence towards their alma mater Islamic boarding school is very strong, even stronger than promotions carried out from house to house. Therefore, as alumni of an Islamic boarding school, they should always improve their competence when in society so that the image of their alma mater Islamic boarding school is good in the eyes of the wider community.

4. CONCLUSION

This study identifies three key findings related to the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School's adaptation to modernity. First, the Islamic boarding school has successfully maintained Islamic tradition through the principle of *al-muhâfazhah 'ala al-qadîmi ash-shâlih wa al-ahdzu bi al-jadîd al-ashlah*, which enables it to integrate core religious values while responding to the challenges of the times. However, this aspect needs to be examined more deeply in the context of more concrete adaptation practices, particularly in terms of how this principle is translated into the Islamic boarding school's daily decisions regarding the demands of modernity, both in terms of curriculum and institutional management. Second, cultural politics functions as a tool for negotiating power, both with the state and society, which plays a role in ensuring the institutional autonomy of the Islamic boarding school. However, it is important to emphasize that even though Islamic boarding schools maintain their autonomy, they must still adapt to government regulations that increasingly dictate the structure and curriculum of their education. This relationship needs to be further explained with more in-depth empirical evidence regarding how Islamic boarding schools build bargaining power in the face of state policies that could threaten the integrity of their traditions. Third, communication in Islamic boarding schools is more than just information transfer; it serves as a strategy to build legitimacy and strengthen the boarding school's authority in society. However, these findings require further refinement regarding how boarding schools use communication to counter the growing negative narrative about boarding schools in society, particularly regarding the issue of radicalization often associated with these institutions. This study should expand the analysis by delving deeper into the communication strategies used by boarding schools to improve their image and relevance amidst the rapidly evolving flow of digital information.

This study makes an important contribution to the broader discussion on religion, institutions, and modernity. Theoretically, the notion that modernity and religious tradition are not necessarily incompatible is valid but quite common and widely encountered in the existing literature. Therefore, an update is needed in presenting this contribution, particularly by referring to contextual evidence from the case of Pesantren Tebuireng, which demonstrates how this institution manages social transformation without sacrificing its religious identity. This research provides important insights into how religious institutions, such as pesantren, can navigate changing times without losing the essence of their traditions. While this research provides valuable findings, it has limitations that warrant consideration. This study focused on the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, meaning the findings cannot be directly generalized to other Islamic boarding schools, given the diverse characteristics and social, political, and cultural contexts of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Therefore, while these findings provide a clear picture of how Islamic boarding schools adapt to change, they are not fully

applicable to Islamic boarding schools outside the context studied. Future research encompassing a wider variety of Islamic boarding schools and contexts would provide a more comprehensive perspective and further test the generalizability of these findings.

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