

Educational Development of Indonesian Pesantren in the Perspective of Anthony Giddens' Duality Social Change

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Abstract

Education in pesantren is structurally dynamic, both as a medium and as a result of the daily interactions between kiai and santri. However, this duality of structure is rarely studied in depth, giving the impression that education in pesantren is merely a finished product. This research is intended to describe the development of *pesantren* education in the dual social change perspective of Anthony Giddens. This research uses a qualitative approach to the literature review type, which is complemented by field research. Data was obtained using documentation and observation techniques and analyzed qualitatively. The results of the research show that education at the Bahrul Ulum Pesantren is experiencing very dynamic and complex developments. Formal education units have developed in a highly diverse manner. Likewise, *pesantren* units, as non-formal institutions and as places for students to live, are growing increasingly complex. This development combines preservation efforts with promoting social change. In line with Anthony Giddens' perspective, this development occurred because of the duality between the creativity of the kiai and the *bunyai*, as agents, and the needs and development of society, as the structure. However, this study also found something different. The existence of the *pesantren* as a kind of holding institution means that kiai and *bunyai* are not merely individual agents but are always connected to other agents interactively in determining the development of their education

Kata kunci:

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Abstrak

Pendidikan di pesantren secara struktur selalu bergerak dinamis, baik sebagai medium atau hasil dari interaksi antara kiai dan santri dalam keseharian. Namun, dualitas struktur ini jarang dikaji secara mendalam, sehingga mengesankan bahwa pendidikan di pesantren hanyalah sebuah produk jadi. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk mendeskripsikan perkembangan pendidikan pesantren dalam perspektif perubahan sosial dualitas dari Anthony Giddens. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif jenis kajian pustaka yang dilengkapi dengan penelitian lapangan. Data diperoleh dengan teknik dokumentasi dan observasi serta dianalisa secara kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pendidikan di Pesantren Bahrul Ulum mengalami perkembangan yang sangat dinamis dan kompleks. Unit pendidikan formalnya berkembang sangat beragam. Demikian juga unit pesantren, sebagai lembaga non formal dan sebagai tempat tinggal santri, berkembang semakin kompleks. Perkembangan tersebut memadukan antara upaya preservation dengan promoting social change. Sejalan dengan perspektif Anthony Giddens, perkembangan tersebut terjadi karena adanya dualitas antara kreatifitas kiai dan bunyai pengelola pesantren, sebagai agen, dengan kebutuhan dan perkembangan masyarakat, sebagai struktur. Namun, kajian tersebut juga menemukan hal yang berbeda. Keberadaan pesantren tersebut sebagai semacam holding institution menjadikan kiai dan bunyai tidak semata-mata sebagai agen individual tetapi selalu terkait dengan agen lainnya secara interaktif dalam menentukan perkembangan pendidikannya.

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INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is known as an educational, social, and proselytizing institution that has an indigenous character. With this character, pesantren has great potential to develop dynamically on all aspects attached to it, especially in its main status as an educational institution. The development of pesantren education is determined by many factors, both internal and external. Internally, the development is not only determined by the kiai, as the caregiver, but also by various other parties in the pesantren. Religious values that are used as a foothold in organizing pesantren education are also one of the factors that determine the development of pesantren education.

Externally, the development of pesantren education is determined by many factors that are interrelated with each other. The needs and developments of the community are always an important concern for pesantren in determining the development of their education (M. Arif et al., 2024, 2025; Rohmah et al., 2023; Salamah et al., 2025). In addition, two other main factors have a very decisive role, namely, government regulations and Islamic education reform. Since the royal period, the colonial period, until after Indonesia's independence, pesantren have had an up-and-down relationship with power, depending on the regulations made by the government (M. Arif et al., 2025; Aziz et al., 2025; Maarif et al., 2025; Mappaenre et al., 2022; Zaini, 2021). The dynamics of the relationship influenced his educational development.

The renewal of Islamic education carried out by modernists since the beginning of the 20th century has been followed by pesantren since the 1916s, so that this institution has developed in various aspects, especially its education (Dhofier, 2011). This development is more related to the strengthening of pesantren education in the aspect of promoting social change and tends to weaken its main role in the field of preservation in the form of tafaqquh fiddin and mastery of the yellow book as universal literature in line with Indonesian values (Apologia et al., 2024; Bhat & Bisati, 2025; Setyawan, 2019).

The development of pesantren education is one of the studies of social change which, among other things, is very closely related to the pesantren tradition. There are many perspectives on social change developed by experts. Among them is the duality perspective developed by several experts. Among those who are very famous are Peter L. Berger who is based on the theory of the sociology of knowledge, Pierre F. Bourdieu who is based on the theory of constructivist structuralism, and Anthony Giddens who is based on the theory of structuration. In this case, Anthony Giddens' main concept of agent-structure duality becomes one of the interesting perspectives to explain the dynamics of the relationship between kiai and pesantren, as agents, with the development and needs of society, as a structure, in determining the development of pesantren education.

One of the pesantrens that has great attention to the development of its education is Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambakberas Jombang. The pesantren, which has been established since 1825, has started the renewal in the field of education, at least, since the middle of the second decade of the 20th century, when KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah began to be involved in the management of the pesantren. The development continued

to take place in the following periods dynamically to respond to social changes in a broader scope.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is descriptive qualitative with the theoretical framework of Anthony Giddens' structure-agency duality. Location: Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambakberas, Jombang. The unit of analysis includes formal and non-formal education units as well as the organisational structure of the foundation and the caregiver assembly. Document samples were selected purposively, including the decree of establishment, curriculum, annual report, assembly meeting minutes, promotional materials, and digital archives. Field observations were non-participatory and focussed on management practices, kiai/kin interactions, and learning activities. Prepare observation instruments in the form of structured observation sheets and field note-taking guides; also create document checklists to ensure repeatability of sources. Ensure research permits and informed consent from pesantren managers as well as data protection protocols.

The data collection procedure is described step by step: (1) document inventory and access through the foundation secretariat; (2) photo/scan capture of relevant documents and recording of metadata (title, date, signatory); (3) scheduled field observations (e.g. 10 sessions of 2-3 hours each on core activities) with field notes and voice recordings where permitted; (4) verbatim transcription of important observation notes. All data are uniquely coded and stored in an encrypted format. For transparency, include a schedule of collection times, document inclusion/exclusion criteria, and sample observation sheets as appendices.

Data analysis follows the Miles and Huberman cycle, including collection, reduction, display, and drawing/verification of conclusions (Miles & A. Michael Huberman, 1994). Operationally, researchers conducted open coding on documents and observation notes to identify indicators of agency (decisions made by religious leaders/bunyai, initiatives) and structure (policies, regulations, religious values). Researchers then reduced the data by summarizing and consolidating codes into thematic categories. The results were then presented in a cross-tabulation matrix, flowcharts, and chronological tables. Validity was enhanced through triangulation of sources, member checking with managers, peer debriefing, and a complete audit trail.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The Development of Bahrul Ulum Pesantren Education in a Duality Perspective

Education at Pesantren Bahrul Ulum has experienced a very dynamic and complex development. Historically, the pesantren, which is located in Tambakberas Hamlet, Tambakrejo Village, Jombang District, Jombang Regency, East Java, was founded by KH Abdussalam, better known as Mbah Shaihah, in 1825 AD. Two of his sons-in-law have a very important role and determine the pattern of the development of pesantren education in the following period, namely Kiai Said, who received the main mandate to develop education in the field of sharia science, and Kiai Usman, who received the main mandate to develop education in the field of tarikat science (Tambakberas, 2021).

The development of the pesantren phenomenally began when K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah (hereinafter referred to as Kiai Wahab) received the mandate to become the caretaker of the pesantren assisted by his two younger siblings, namely Kiai Abdul Hamid and Kiai Abdurrahim, and his nephew named Kiai Abdul Fattah Hasyim As one of the main students educated by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, Kiai Wahab, is known to have deep knowledge and very broad insight. His experience as a santri in various Islamic boarding schools in Java and Madura and in understanding the scientific and Islamic treasures sourced from the yellow book led him to become a santri who has dynamic knowledge and understanding in understanding various problems of community life he faces.

Kiai Wahab's experience as a santri, especially under the guidance of Kiai Hasyim in the deliberation class, as well as his central role in realizing the Nahdlatul Ulama organization as a formal forum for preserving and developing the pesantren tradition, encouraged him to develop his own pesantren through the implementation of dynamic education (Asy'ari, 2022). In addition to Kiai Wahab, in his time, there were several kiai whom he involved to develop the pesantren optimally. They were Kiai Abd. Hamid, Kiai Abd. Rahim, and Kiai Abd. Fattah. The first two were Kiai Wahab's siblings, while the last was his nephew. The efforts built by Kiai Wahab and several other kiai in Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambakberas Jombang have a strong foundation that has been built since the early days of the pesantren. Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambakberas Jombang was founded by KH Abdus Salam, better known as Mbah Shoihah, in 1825. Two of his sons-in-law who had a very important role in the early development of the pesantren were Kiai Said and Kiai Usman. Kiai Said focused more on the development of the pesantren in the field of sharia, while Kiai Usman focused more on the development of tarikat. These two fields were then united in a complementary manner during the tenure of Kiai Hasbullah Said, as the caretaker of the pesantren in the third generation. The combination of the two aspects increasingly found its momentum more broadly during the tenure of Kiai Hasbullah Said, as the caretaker of the pesantren in the third generation (Observation, 2024).

Efforts to develop pesantren education by integrating various aspects of more complex knowledge began when Kiai Wahab established a classical system madrasah, known as Madrasah Mubdil Fan, in 1912. This effort was also continued by Kiai Wahab by establishing Madrasah Nahdlatul Wathan and Taswirul Afkar outside the pesantren environment in 1914. In pesantren, Madrasah Mubdil Fan is the forerunner of the establishment of various kinds of formal education units that continue to grow to this day. Until now in Pesantren Bahrul Ulum there are 19 formal education units, ranging from the lowest level to universities. See: Remarks by the Chairman of the Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Foundation, Dr. KH Wafiyul Ahdi, SH, M.Pd. at the Haul Masyayekh and al-Haflatul Kubro event on 22 June 2024 (Observation, 2024).

The acceptance and development of various types of knowledge through various kinds of formal and non-formal education units has a very strong foothold and foundation in the name of the pesantren itself. This pesantren was named 'Bahrul Ulum'

by Kiai Wahab in 1965, after discussing with some of the santri who were specifically given the task of initiating the name of the pesantren (Tambakberas, 2021). After the name Bahrul Ulum was given and the symbol was also completed, Kiai Wahab inserted a verse of the Qur'an in the symbol which later became the logo of the pesantren. It seems that the term Bahrul Ulum has a long story history. It begins with an event experienced by Nyai Lathifah, Kiai Wahab's mother. Once, while pregnant with her son who was later named Abdul Wahab, Nyai Lathifah dreamed of drinking sea water. In Arabic, seawater is translated as Ma' ul Bahri, a term associated with the name Bahrul Ulum, which means the sea of knowledge (Tambakberas, 2021).

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The philosophy of the name Bahrul is a very solid foundation for the development of pesantren education. The name of the pesantren is emphasised more clearly by writing the Qur'an letter al-kahfi verse 109 (Taufiq & Busyro, 2022). This verse can be understood that if the ocean water is used as ink to write the sentences of Allah, then of course the sea water must run out before the sentences of Allah are written, even though additional sea water is brought in again. Bisri Musthofa, al-Ibriz Lima'rifati Tafsir al-Quran al-'Aziz, Kudus : Menara Kudus, 2015, 304. The Words of Allah in the verse can also be understood as the sciences of Allah, in the context of its application as writing on the symbol of Bahrul Ulum Pesantren.

The affirmation of the name Bahrul Ulum, which was clarified by the verse of the Qur'an, became a big agenda for the caregivers and managers of the pesantren to apply it in all activities, both formal, non-formal, and informal. The big agenda of the caregivers and managers of the pesantren is emphasized in the form of three main objectives of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum. First, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum produces cadres who are knowledgeable and charitable. Second, the charitable activities carried out by the students and alumni are to develop their respective professions. Third, students and alumni must take part in the community. With this goal, they not only gain knowledge but also take part in the community, nation, and state.

The three main objectives of the pesantren are pursued by the students through various activities that take place in the pesantren. From becoming a santri until they become alumni, there are five main teachings of pesantren that are expected to always

be their concern. First, caring for Nahdlatul Ulama. Second, praying in congregation. Third, *istiqamah* reading the Qur'an. Fourth, teaching after graduation. Fifth, reading *Wiridan Huwal Habib*. The five main teachings are expected to be a guide in various scientific and community activities of students and alumni, so that Pesantren Bahrul Ulum is increasingly useful for society as a whole. So important are the five main teachings that they need to be informed to the wider community. Among other things, the writing displayed on the grave area of KH. Abd. Wahab Hasbullah, which is increasingly crowded by the wider community (Observation, 2024).

The objectives and main teachings of the pesantren are applied in the pesantren through various activities carried out through various units and institutions in the pesantren environment. Until now, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum has more than 50 pesantren units cared for by 100s of *kiai* and *bunyai*, 19 formal education units with various types and diverse scientific focuses. The pesantren also organizes 3 universities under the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, namely KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah University (UNWAHA), IAIBAFa (Institut Agama Islam Bani Fatah), and STIKES (College of Health Sciences) (Observation, 2024).

Alumni of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum who continue to the next level of education, pursue education diversely, both in other pesantren, domestic universities and foreign universities. The scientific choices they pursue are also very diverse in various types of science. The alumni are also very many who take part in the community in various activities and professions. There are alumni of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum who became the President of the Republic of Indonesia, became Ministers, Members of Parliament, leaders of social organizations, became entrepreneurs, and various other types of activities and professions (Interview, 2024).

The various professions, activities, and further education goals of the alumni of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum show that the meaning of Bahrul Ulum has been understood and applied dynamically by the entire pesantren community, ranging from caregivers, managers, teachers, *santri*, *santri* guardians, alumni, and even the surrounding community. This pesantren is increasingly attracting the interest of students and the wider community because of the increasingly diverse types of education it develops. Education in this pesantren continues to be developed dynamically and diversely. Likewise, typical pesantren traditions are always preserved and maintained in quality.

Bahtsul Masail activities carried out at Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, both in internal routine activities as well as incidental activities on a wider scale, it is one of the manifestations that the pesantren education tradition has always been preserved despite the complex development of its education (Arrozy et al., 2019). In this context, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum often becomes a place for wide-scale Bahtsul Masail (Sodik & Sujibto, 2023). The most recent activity was the Bahtsul Masail, which was attended by various Islamic boarding schools throughout Java and Madura, facilitated by the Islamic Boarding School Deliberation Forum (FMPP) throughout Java-Madura (Qudsy, 2019).

The development of education in pesantren is always accompanied by efforts to maintain the typical pesantren tradition. These efforts, among others, are carried out through learning activities of various types and scientific focuses that are carried out dynamically (Malik et al., 2019). These activities are carried out through formal education units of various types as well as through other activities that are formal, non-formal, and informal. The hope is that, through these various efforts, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum will increasingly develop and be useful for religion, society, nation, and state, according to its needs and dynamics (Hasanah, 2019).

The development of education has a very long historical context, since the beginning of the pesantren. The efforts of Kiai Abdus Salam, as the founder, in involving his two sons-in-law, Kiai Usman and Kiai Said, in different and complementary roles, showed that this pesantren, from the beginning, was established by organizing the education needed by the community (Syaifuddin et al., 2019). In the third generation, under the stewardship of Kiai Hasbullah, Kiai Said's son, this pesantren united the different educational programs under one stewardship. Two kinds of knowledge, sharia and tarikat, were developed in an integrated manner in their management (Iqbal, 2019).

This pesantren began to lay the foundation of its educational development phenomenally under the care of Kiai Wahab, as the fourth generation, who was assisted by several other kiai, consisting of his brothers and nephews. During this period, there was a balanced division of tasks among several kiai in organizing and developing pesantren education. Three aspects became the main concern at that time, namely the organization of recitation in pesantren, which had become its educational tradition, the organization of formal classical education, and the strengthening of pesantren networks with the government and the wider community. These three aspects were developed in a balanced manner to respond to the needs and developments of the wider community (Alam, 2018).

The togetherness of the kiai and bunyai at Pesantren Bahrul Ulum is always maintained and strengthened in order to organize and develop pesantren education optimally (Ritonga et al., 2019). In its development until now there are 19 formal education units and more than 50 pesantren units cared for by 100 kiai and bunyai. Each educational unit and pesantren has autonomy in its management. Nevertheless, institutionally, all of them are within the scope of the administration of the foundation and the caregiver assembly.

The educational development of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, fundamentally, has the same pattern as the development of pesantren education in general. First, the development of pesantren education is carried out dynamically by kiai and bunyai, as caregivers, to respond to the needs and developments of society. Second, the development is carried out while still paying attention to the balance between aspects of maintaining pesantren traditions and social change. Third, in developing pesantren education, kiai and bunyai do not act individually, but always interact dynamically with other kiai and bunyai in the wider internal scope of the pesantren and together with other managers who are given responsibility by them (Tajuddin, 2018).

Using Anthony Giddens' duality social change perspective, the development of pesantren education takes place dynamically without eliminating its traditions. Likewise, on the contrary, the preservation of pesantren traditions that have been going on so far does not hinder the development of education, because it is needed to respond to the needs and development of an increasingly dynamic and complex society. As a social practice, the organization of education on the one hand seeks to preserve its traditions that have been going on since the beginning. This is due to the practical awareness of kiai and other managers. On the other hand, the organization of education is always trying to make changes, because of the discursive awareness they have (Munir, 2019).

The duality of educational development occurs because of the efforts made by *kiai* and *bunyai*, as agents, in order to respond to government regulations, needs, and community development, as a structure, in duality as well. Kiai does not solely determine the development of pesantren education freely according to his own wishes. Likewise, he does not solely follow the needs and changes that exist outside the pesantren. Between kiai and bunyai, as agents, and the development of society, as a structure, are always related in a dualistic and dialectical relationship.

In particular, there are differences in the explanation related to the agent-structure duality in determining the development of pesantren education with the explanation given by Anthony Giddens. Although he describes in more detail the reflexivity of monitoring of action owned by individual agents that can develop into institutional reflexivity, he does not explain the important role of interaction between one agent and another. As a kind of holding institution, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum is not managed only by a kiai and bunyai, but there are many kiai and bunyai who autonomously manage their respective pesantren units. Likewise, there are managers of formal education units who have autonomy, although more limited. Under these conditions, the agent-structure duality is not individualized, but there are dynamic interactions between various agents, with structures, in determining the development of pesantren education.

DISCUSSION

Pesantren Education in a Socio-Historical Context

The education developed by pesantren existed long before the introduction of the modern education system by the Dutch colonizers (Turmudi, 2006). Along with Hindu-Buddhist boarding schools, pesantren are recognized as the only institutionalized education system (Ziemek, 1986, p. 249), and is an integrated education system taken over from the monastery and dormitory system used by priests and monks (Asrohah, 2011). Based on the background of these socio-historical conditions, the pesantren education system is considered to be older than the birth of Islam itself (Darumurti, 2023).

In its later development, the pesantren has always made continuous efforts to stay away from syncretism and renew its traditions by referring to its most important sources, namely the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (Anita et al., 2022). The more

intensive development of the pesantren education system carried out by Indonesian scholars after their return from studying in the Middle East in the 19th and 20th centuries made the *zawiyah* and *halaqah* systems that had been implemented at the Grand Mosque and the *Shaulatiah* and *Darul Ulum* Madrasahs in Mecca as important models (Hidayatulloh et al., 2023).

Regarding the birth of the pesantren education system, there are several other different perspectives (Silfiana, 2020). Bruinessen, for example, states that pesantren educational institutions in their current form only existed in the 18th century. The famous pesantren during this period, among others, were Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo, which was founded in 1742 (Bruinessen, 2012, pp. 92–93). According to other perspectives, pesantren educational institutions have existed since the 15th century during the *Walisongo* period, which was first pioneered in 1399 (Rosidin & Arfan, 2024) by Maulana Malik Ibrahim as the "spiritual father" and developed by Sunan Ampel, who became the teacher of some other *walisongo*. This also reinforces the existence of a third theory about the origin of Islam in Indonesia, namely the Chinese theory (Rusydi et al., 2023). Before the preaching of the *Wali Songo* (Ricklefs, 2001), Islam was not yet a religion embraced by the indigenous population (Azis et al., 2021).

The spectacular success of their *da'wah* is at least motivated by two main factors, namely the right momentum and the right strategy (Sunyoto, 2017, pp. 94–96). Among the *da'wah* strategies developed by the *walisongo* are, first, building Islamic boarding schools (Sunyoto, 2017, p. 128). Through this pesantren, Sunan Ampel prepared strong cadres to preach Islam with methods that were easily accepted by the community. Second, conducting a *da'wah* movement towards the Javanese common people with a cultural approach (Sen, 2017, pp. 352–353). This approach is an application of the tradition of *neo-Sufism*, developed since the 13th century (Hakim et al., 2020). Although since the 19th century, the tradition of *fiqh* and its auxiliary sciences has greatly strengthened, its *Sufistic* aspects have never been abandoned (Saifuddin et al., 2023). This approach is in line with the education developed in the pesantren tradition, which can combine the cultural needs of the community with the Middle Eastern scientific tradition, especially Mecca and Medina (Bosra et al., 2020).

Pesantren education always undergoes development to meet the needs of the community and is highly dependent on the religious thoughts of *kiai* and *bunyai* as its caregivers. In the 15th and 16th centuries in Barus (North Sumatra), Hamzah Fansuri and his student Nurullah appeared. In that century the *walisongo* also appeared in Java. Furthermore, in the 18th century in Tegalsari Ponorogo, East Java, *Kyai Ageng Hasan Besari* emerged who succeeded in educating great figures such as Pakubuwono II, Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito (a very famous Javanese poet) and H.O.S. Cokroaminoto (a National Movement figure) (Sunyoto, 2017, p. 128).

As a continuation of Pesantren Tegalsari, a very famous modern pesantren education developed in the 20th century, namely Pesantren Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo (As'ad, 1996). The pesantren was founded by three brothers, KH Ahmad Sahal, KH Zainuddin Fanani and KH Imam Zarkasyi (Nurani et al., 2022). Their father,

Raden Santosa Anom Besari, was the caretaker of Pondok Gontor Lama, which was founded by his grandfather, R.M. Sulaiman Jamaluddin, the son-in-law of Kiai Hasan Besari, the founder of Pesantren Tegalsari (A. M. Sabila et al., 2024).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, international figures of the pesantren education tradition emerged, such as Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani and Sheikh Mahfudh al-Tirmisi, who are known as intellectual teachers of the pesantren tradition (Ihsan et al., 2024). At the national level, figures such as Kiai Khalil Bangkalan, Kiai Asnawi Kudus, and Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari were recognized as strategic leaders of pesantren (Fatih, 2024). Kiai Wahid Hasyim, who became a major figure in the 20th-century pesantren tradition and a builder of modern Indonesian civilization, played a crucial role in shaping the development of pesantren education (Asroni, 2020). The pesantren's acceptance of the educational curriculum that has been developed by Islamic educational institutions, as well as modern education since the beginning of the 20th century, cannot be separated from the role it played.

The Development of Pesantren Education in the Dynamics of Society

Pesantren education developed from a very simple form of activity in the form of learning (recitation) of the Qur'an (Amin, 2019). After being able to read the Qur'an properly and correctly, some students continue their education in the form of yellow book recitation. This second type of learning has some different characteristics from Quranic learning (Steenbrink, 1986, pp. 12-13). Santris can move from one boarding school to another, as traveling santris (Astuti, 2017), to deepen certain knowledge that is of interest to them.

Some of those who have studied at the pesantren then continue their education in the Middle East (Khuluq, 1998), especially Mecca and Medina, to study with international scholars. After their studies, they established pesantren (Fadli & Sudrajat, 2020), continued the leadership of the pesantren that had been pioneered by their predecessors, or settled there as internationally recognized scholars. The scholars who stay in Mecca become intellectual teachers of the pesantren tradition, while those who return and develop the pesantren are known as pesantren strategists (Nurhidayat, 2024). They have a very important role in determining the development of pesantren education.

After the Dutch colonial government organized Western-style education for all Indonesians in the framework of ethical politics since the beginning of the 20th century (Yamaguchi, 2016), pesantren education began to evolve from its original tradition. Some pesantren organize education using the madrasah system, which has been going on since the early 20th century (Alkatiri & Karim Hayaze, 2022). Furthermore, more and more pesantren are organizing madrasas and schools (Febrina, 2024). Challenges experienced by pesantren, especially from the Dutch colonial government (Dhofier, 2011, p. xxiii), have not dampened its development. The organization has been able to preserve its traditions while creatively expanding its role (Suparta, 2014). In the 1930s, for example, pesantren education even experienced rapid development (Aprilianto et

al., 2022). Since Indonesia's independence, the number of pesantren has experienced a downward trend, but after the 1970s, the number of pesantren grew very rapidly (Dhofier, 2011, p. 163).

In general, developments have always taken place in pesantren (Abdullah et al., 2024), especially in the aspect of the increasing number and variety of education organized (Muslih, 2021a). From this, the terms traditional, modern, and integrated pesantren were born (Nafi et al., 2021). The classification is, for example, mentioned by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ridlwan Nasir (Azizah, 2022), than Manfred Ziemek (Tazid et al., 2024), and several other authors. Traditional pesantren, in general, are based on the NU religious organization, while modern pesantren are based on the Muhammadiyah religious organization. However, Gontor Modern Pesantren attempts to bridge the gap between the two different groups (Latifah, 2024).

Lukens-Bull added that there is a new type of pesantren, especially since 2007s, namely salafi pesantren. Pesantren that develop salafi (wahabi) teachings, which comes from the work of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (founder of the Wahabi sect) (Rasyidi & Jailani, 2024), This adds a new variant of the three types of pesantren that have developed previously. Among the various types of pesantren, traditional pesantren have the largest number (Witriani et al., 2024). In traditional pesantren, education includes two aspects, namely *ngaji* (religious education) and experience (value education). In modern pesantren, the education includes four aspects, namely *ngaji*, experience, school (general education) and courses (skills). These differences tend to be at the conceptual level, because in reality pesantren education develops more complex, dynamic, and flexible, depending on the religious understanding of the kyai, who is the leader in the pesantren (Muwaffiqillah, 2023).

The various types of pesantren have pursued their educational development in various ways (Andoni & Yulia, 2024). This development gave birth to new variants with their characteristics. Pesantren are always evolving, and most of them lead to an integrated type (Nur, 2023). The development of various types and variants of pesantren cannot be separated from the indoctrination efforts carried out by various religious sects in Islam through educational institutions developed by them (Wathani, 2022). Traditionally, pesantren have at least three main functions. First, as a center for the dissemination of religious knowledge. Second, as a guardian of Islamic tradition. Third, as a center for the reproduction of *ulama* (Sudarsana et al., 2024). The development of this function is highly dependent on the religious understanding of the kyai and the pesantren. In addition, pesantren also has two main roles, namely preservation (continuity) and promoting social change (El-Zastrouw, 2020).

The role of preservation is carried out in two main ways, namely through intellectual and spiritual aspects, so that the kyai has a role as a teacher and at the same time as a *Sufi* (Nugraha & Subaidi, 2022). Meanwhile, the role of promoting social change, among others, is carried out through modernizing the system of education. This role is carried out as a creative adaptation to social change (D. Sabila & Rezki, 2024). This second role gave birth to various enormous challenges. Among them are the weakening

of santri mastery of religious sciences and reduced competence in understanding the contents of the classical yellow books, which are the main literature of pesantren education.

Facing these challenges, pesantren education seeks to strengthen the role of preservation and improvement in the field of tafaqquh fiddin in its development. Pesantren education always strives to preserve the classical books dynamically and contextually, or develop *dirasah Islamiyah* with a muallimin approach (Hidayat et al., 2021). This effort is supported by its position as an educational institution with its unique characteristics and as a subculture that will always be maintained by pesantren (Istanto et al., 2022). This effort found its momentum with the issuance of Law Number 20/2003 on the National Education System and its various derivative regulations on pesantren (Sukamtono, 2022). These regulations were strengthened by the enactment of the law on pesantren (Aprilia et al., 2022). With the existence of these laws and regulations, pesantren receive enormous support to strengthen their main role in the field of preservation and tafaqquh fiddin to produce graduates who are experts in Islamic sciences.

Anthony Giddens' Duality of Social Change Perspective

To explain the development of pesantren education, Anthony Giddens' duality theory of social change is one interesting perspective to use (Giddens, 1984). In explaining social change more broadly, Anthony Giddens consistently rests on the theory of structuration that he has formulated (Z. Arif et al., 2020). There are two main topics developed through the theory, namely the agent-structure duality and the time-space centrality (Walikrom, 2023). This agent-structure "duality" relationship was intended by Giddens to correct the "dualism" relationship that had previously developed very strongly among social scientists (Nandasari & Jatningsih, 2021).

If the dualism relationship shows the opposition between the actor and the social structure, then the duality relationship shows the mutual presupposition between the actor and the social structure (Zainuddin, 2021). The social structure is not merely constraining the actor, but also empowering (enabling) (Bourdieu, 1995). Social structure is both an outcome and a medium for social practice. Social structure is both the rules that shape and the resources that are formed from the iteration of social practices (Aprillia et al., 2023).

The duality of agents (actors) with social structures takes place in patterned social practices and across time and space. Therefore, according to Giddens, the study of social science is not human action as an individual actor, nor social structure or social facts, but social practices. "The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time," he said (Saputra, 2023).

Social practices that are patterned and repeated regularly will develop into social structures. This can happen because of "practical consciousness". This consciousness is

distinguished from discursive consciousness. If discursive consciousness is intended as the ability to reflect and provide detailed and explicit explanations (and usually verbally using words) for actions taken, then, in contrast, practical consciousness is the knowledge possessed about how one can exist in social life (Aprilia & Munifah, 2022).

In addition to practical and discursive awareness that is classified as rationalization of action, other major factors arise from social interaction, namely, reflexive monitoring of action and unconscious motives. Initially, a person monitors (observes) his actions together with other people in his physical and social environment. From the results of this monitoring he can provide a detailed explanation of the action. Furthermore, he will perform actions (practically) without explaining the action, because it is more based on intuition (Bakhrudin, 2021).

The results of these repeated and patterned practical actions will form social reproduction through unconscious motives, and produce the same social structure as before. However, this social practice will also give birth to social change. This happens when discursive consciousness arises from practical consciousness that seems to move statically (Lathifa & Ghianovan, 2024). The dynamics of the relationship between these two types of consciousness also give birth to the dynamics of the relationship between the reproduction of social structures and social change. Moreover, the boundary between these two consciousnesses is very thin, in contrast to the boundary between discursive consciousness and unconscious motivation. According to Anthony Giddens (Sani, 2021).

In addition to the "permeable" boundary between discursive consciousness and practical consciousness, the ability of agents to reflectively monitor their actions (reflexive monitoring of action) is also important has a very important role in determining social change. This ability gets the main attention in Giddens' overall idea of social change. With this "monitoring" ability, humans always try to understand, organize and change their lives (Sari, 2020).

Therefore, the reflexivity of monitoring of action individually when it has developed widely will give birth to routinization so that there is obsolescence (obsolescence) of the structure, and then a new structure that is by the social practice that has been updated will emerge. This adjustment of structure to social practice takes place dynamically. The result is social change that moves dynamically as well. There is no single explanation or cause for change. Therefore, in social change, there is always a dialectic between change and the preservation of tradition (Shalihin et al., 2024).

CONCLUSIONS

The development of Bahrul Ulum pesantren education is both dynamic and complex. Formal units have expanded across the full educational spectrum from early childhood to higher education while the pesantren as a non-formal, residential institution has also grown. Each unit exercises a high degree of managerial autonomy, yet remains administratively linked to the foundation and the caregivers' assembly. This growth reflects the pesantren's dual functions: conserving religious traditions and

responding to social change. Applying Anthony Giddens' theory the study finds that development is neither solely the result of individual agency (kiai and bunyai) nor simply structural forces (community change, regulations). Rather, it emerges from their interaction. Important structural influences include government regulation, Islamic education reform, and religious values. Notably, Bahrul Ulum's organizational form modifies the usual account of individual reflexivity: leaders act reflexively but do so through internal negotiation and coordination across multiple units rather than in isolation. Practically, this study implies that foundations and policymakers should recognise and support the pesantren's mixed autonomy design governance mechanisms that preserve tradition while enabling innovation. Capacity building for kiai and bunyai in collaborative leadership and regulatory literacy will strengthen adaptive responses to community needs. Future policy and research should attend to governance models that balance internal autonomy with coordinated oversight.

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