

# **PESANTREN TANGGUH AS MODERATE ISLAMIC EDUCATION INSTITUTION DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*The Covid-19 pandemic divides the attitudes of pesantren residents into three categories: very strict, very loose and moderate (tawassut). This moderate attitude is found in Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad in Malang City. This article uses a qualitative approach, then analyzed from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's capital theory. The purpose is to describe how the attitudes, mindset, and residents' behavior of Pesantren Tangguh related to symbolic, cultural, social, and economic modalities, to control the pandemic crisis. The findings of this article are Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad as Pesantren Tangguh are representations of moderate Islamic educational institutions during the Covid-19 pandemic in terms of Bourdieu's capital theory. First, the nationalist-religious; adaptive and inclusive; and philosophical-rational character in terms of symbolic capital. Second, the theological view that combines destiny and endeavors harmoniously; an elastic and comparative view of Islamic law; and Sufistic behavior that combines ritual and social worship in terms of cultural capital. Third, the behaviour of pesantren residents who remain active in carrying out activities at the pesantren but are disciplined in complying with health protocols in terms of social capital. Fourth, the economic independence of the pesantren in fulfilling the needs and social assistance to the peripheral community in terms of economic capital. In summary, the residents of Pesantren Tangguh show moderate character in aspects of attitude, mindset, and behavior related to symbolic, cultural, social, and economic modalities, enabling the pesantren residents to be able to control the Covid-19 pandemic crisis well.*

**Keywords:** Bourdieu's Capital; Covid-19 Pandemic; Moderate Islam; Pesantren Tangguh; Resilient Islamic Boarding School

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Indonesian Writer of the Year 2018, Professor Rhenald Kasali's article on Jawa Pos (April 20, 2020), "*Virus Bermutasi, Manusia Beradaptasi*", adapting Darwin's theory of "survival of the fittest" confirmed that the surviving figure in the midst of Covid-19 is neither the strongest nor the smartest, but the most adaptive one (Kasali, 2020). In Indonesia, adaptive ability during the pandemic period is called *tangguh*

(resilient). Then, the *tangguh* label is attached to institutions and communities that are considered ready and able to adapt new habits or new normal to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. From this thought, some terms emerged, such as *Kampung Tangguh* (resilient village), *Industri Tangguh* (resilient industry), *Pasar Tangguh* (resilient market), *Masjid Tangguh* (resilient mosque), *Sekolah tangguh* (resilient school) and *Pesantren Tangguh* (resilient Islamic boarding school).

In particular, this paper focuses on

*Pesantren Tangguh* due to the following three factors. *First*, the high potential of *pesantren* as clusters for the spread of Covid-19. According to 2019 data, the number of *pesantren* in Indonesia reached 25,938, with the number of students was 3,962,700 (*Jumlah Dan Sebaran Pesantren Di Indonesia*, 2020). There are many potential *pesantren* as clusters for the spread of Covid-19, primarily due to the students (*santri*) from various parts of the region in Indonesia, even from abroad. For example, as many as 43 students from Malaysia and dozens of *santri* from Indonesia at Pesantren Al-Fatah Temboro, Magetan, East Java, have tested positive for Covid-19 (*43 Santri Positif Corona, Malaysia Minta Evakuasi WN Di Jatim*, 2020).

Referring to data from the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion of East Java Province (*Kemenag Jawa Timur*), there are currently around 4,718 *pesantren* and 928,363 *santri* in East Java. The East Java government has distributed anti-Covid-19 medical equipment assistance to 168 *pesantren*. These *pesantren* are projected as *Pesantren Tangguh*. These ones include: Pesantren Lirboyo, Pesantren Al Falah Ploso, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Jombang, Pesantren Darul Ulum Sampang, Pesantren Mahasiswa (Pesma) Al-Hikam Malang and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad Malang (Perdana, 2020). These *pesantren* were inaugurated as *Pesantren Tangguh* because they were considered to meet the standards set by the East Java government.

According to the Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, there are three mandatory criteria at *Pesantren Tangguh*. *First*, Healthiness. By this criterion, *pesantren* must implement health protocols, such as the use of masks, the provision of hand sanitizers or places to wash hands. *Second*, Cleanliness. *Pesantren* seeks to make *santri* accustomed to washing their hands with clean water, increase access to

hand washing, and improve sanitation. *Third*, Medicinal Plants Availability for Pesantren (*Tanaman Obat Pondok Pesantren*). *Pesantren* develops medicinal plants to realize the resilience of *pesantren* residents (Arifin, 2020).

*Second*, the independence of *pesantren*. *Pesantren* is like a small independent kingdom, while the *pesantren* leader (*kiai*) is the absolute power and authority in the *pesantren* (Dhofier, 2011). The implication is the *pesantren* leader determines whether the *pesantren* activities remain active or are closed during the pandemic. For example, Pesantren Modern Al-Madinah in Malang City and Pesantren Hidayatul Mubtadi'in in Malang Regency continue to organize offline learning during the 2020-2022 pandemic actively. On the other hand, *santri* of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad in Malang City adjusted to the conditions. While the Malang City Government implemented PSBB (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*; Large-Scale Social Restrictions) and PPKM (*Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat*; Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities), Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad held online learning. Meanwhile, when there are no policies similar to the PSBB and PPKM models, the two *pesantren* organize offline learning.

*Third*, the heterogeneity of the views of *pesantren* residents (*warga pesantren*). Broadly speaking, *pesantren* residents have three views regarding the Covid-19 pandemic: a) *Tashaddud* (very strict). That is to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic excessively so that learning activities are closed. For example, Pesantren Zainal Abidin Bungah Gresik closed its *pesantren* activities during PPKM on 3-20 July 2021 (*Bantu Pemerintah Tekan Covid-19, Ponpes Di Gresik Liburkan Santri Selama PPKM Darurat*, 2021); b) *Tasahul* (very loose). That is to respond indifferently to the Covid-19 pandemic so that learning is carried out without

complying with health protocols. For example, Pesantren Modern Al-Madinah in Malang City and Pesantren Hidayatul Muhtadi'in in Malang Regency; c) *Tawassut* (moderate). That means responding to the Covid-19 pandemic moderately so that learning is carried out by complying with health protocols. For example, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad in Malang City.

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that *Pesantren Tangguh* is a representative of moderate Islamic educational institutions in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, this article aims to examine Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad which were officially selected by the East Java government as *Pesantren Tangguh*, among 46 other *pesantren* in Malang City (PDPP), 2021).

The appointment of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad as *Pesantren Tangguh* in Malang supported by a number of their advantages. *First*, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad own strong symbolic and social capital. The symbolic capital of Pesma Al-Hikam comes from the figure of its founder, the late KH. Hasyim Muzadi (1944-2017) as a national even international figure. Meanwhile, the symbolic capital of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is its caregiver, KH. Marzuki Mustamar as a popular figure at both the regional and national levels. Additionally, the social capital of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is the strong network relation between *pesantren* caregivers and local government of Malang City or Jawa Timur as the common cadre of Nahdlatul Ulama mass organization which is identical to *pesantren*.

Furthermore, the current caregiver of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad (KH. Marzuki Mustamar) officially awarded as the International Ambassador of Peace from the Vision of Peace Awards (VPA) because of his continual and active

calls for the spirit of togetherness, tolerance, and respect for diversity. Meanwhile, the founder of Pesma Al-Hikam (KH. Hasyim Muzadi) serving as the President of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). WCRP is an interfaith organization that brings together religious leaders from various parts of the world headquartered at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, United States of America. In short, these two figures actualize moderate Islamic values on a national and even international scale.

*Second*, Both Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad own representative economic and cultural capital to become *Pesantren Tangguh* as clear from quality and quantity of facilities and infrastructure which continually improves. Meanwhile, the cultural capital is reflected from the proficiency in religious insight and science among its residents. On the other hand, special characteristics of *pesantren* such as brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*), mutual help (*ta'awun*), physical struggle (*jihad*), intellectualism (*ijtihad*), spiritualism (*mujahadah*), obedience (*ta'at*) and community service (*khidmah*) support the potency and eligibility of those two *pesantren* to make the *Pesantren Tangguh* program successful.

Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad have their own culture as *pesantren* in general. In this sense, as an Islamic education system, *pesantren* is based on Islamic values or prophetic ethics. For this reason, daily life in *pesantren* always prioritizes the values of worshipping Allah (*ibadah*) and well-association with humans (*muamalah*).

In fact, a number of *ibadah* and *muamalah* activities in Pesantren are closely related to the potential for the spread of Covid-19. For example, in the context of *ibadah*, students are required to pray in a congregation with straight and tight rows; it is *makruh* (disapproved) to wear a

mouth covering like a mask when praying, and shaking hands after the congregational prayer. Meanwhile, in the context of *muamalah*, the students have a hobby of chatting for a long time (*jagongan*) while having coffee or tea together.

The habit of *ibadah* and *muamalah*, as mentioned above, has the potential to cause the spread of Covid-19. Therefore, in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic, students are trained and accustomed to forming a new culture, namely the culture of obeying health protocols, such as washing hands, maintaining cleanliness, physical distancing, and wearing masks.

The new culture in the *pesantren* environment regarding the discipline of complying with health protocols has increased to become a special policy in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, when visiting their children, the parents of *santri* are used to not entering the *pesantren* area and keeping their distance. Likewise, *pesantren* caregivers under certain conditions limit their reception of guests and even do not accept guests. However, this has begun to become an everyday awareness to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak. Researchers even found a *pesantren* that publishes a manual for guardians of *santri* (*wali murid*) and *santri* in the pandemic era.

Therefore, the *pesantren* culture has begun to change, namely having the ability and awareness to adapt in the context of conscious behavior to maintain health in the pandemic era.

*Pesantren Tangguh* such as Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad are examples of *pesantren* that have adequate capacity to adapt to the fluctuating conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, the residents of *Pesantren Tangguh* apply the discipline of health protocols as set by the government. This claim, is proven through the implementation of congregational prayers and Friday prayers with

gap spaced rows, assessed appropriately to the Fiqh Rules, “*Dar’u al-mafasid muqaddam ‘ala jalb al-masalih*” which means denying harm is more prioritized than achieving benefit. In other words, prioritizing security from the risk of Covid-19 transmission through distanced rows, compared to getting the reward for congregational and Friday prayers through tight rows.

Such religious practices are in line with health protocols as mentioned in the Handbook of Prevention and Control of Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) published by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (*Dokumen Resmi Dan Protokol Penanganan COVID-19, 2020*) and Circular Letter of The Central Board of Rabithah Ma’ahid Islamiyah (RMI) concerning the Protocol to Prevent Covid-19 at *pesantren* (*Protokol Pencegahan Penyebaran Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) Pada Pondok Pesantren, n.d.*).

The adaptive capabilities possessed by *Pesantren Tangguh* are closely related to the functionalization of symbolic, social, cultural, and economic modalities to control the pandemic crisis, or at least not being controlled by the pandemic crisis. Residents of *Pesantren Tangguh* such as Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad evidently remain active in carrying out their offline learning, *ibadah*, and *muamalah* routines; accompanied by discipline to health protocols.

This article limits its study to the moderate character related to the symbolic, social, cultural, and economic modalities of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad as models of *Pesantren Tangguh* appointed by the East Java Government; so that they are able to control the pandemic crisis, not be controlled by the pandemic crisis, as experienced by schools or campuses that stop offline learning activities and switch to online learning activities.



## Literature Review

Based on historical studies, *pesantren* has been always actively giving a contribution to solving any problem that Indonesian state deal with. This is clear from the following five historical phases: a) At the early arrival of Islam in Indonesia, *pesantren* played a role as the firstly appeared Islamic educational institution; b) During the Dutch and Japanese colonialization, *kiai* and *santri* were Independence fighters, especially through the Sabilillah and Hizbullah forces as the forerunners of the Indonesian Armed Forces (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*; TNI); c) At the Old Order, *kiai* and *santri* served as opponents and crushers of Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*; PKI); d) During the New Order, many *pesantren* leaders became national figures either as government officials, such as KH. Mohammad Dachlan as The Minister of Religion or as Indonesian president, such as KH Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur; e) During the reform period, many *pesantren* figures contributed nationally through either political channels, such as Gus Dur as the 4<sup>th</sup> President or non-political channels, such as KH, Hasyim Muzadi as the Chairman of the Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (*Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*; PBNU) (Wahyuddin, 2016).

The historical role as a solution provider for the national problems shown by *pesantren* during this pandemic. The condition of the Covid-19 pandemic has awakened *pesantren* to make efforts to adapt several aspects of managing the education system. The adaption is an effort to design educational institutions so that they can survive during pandemic Covid-19. This condition has a positive impact as the context of efforts to rethink the design and adaptive education programs.

Based on a search through Google Scholar, there is little research on *pesantren* and

Covid-19. Among the relevant studies is research concerning Ma'had Al-Zaytun, Indramayu, West Java, as an example of a *pesantren* that is alert in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, through three strategic steps: a) Physical strategy regarding logistics and housing arrangements, the endurance of the healthy body and environment; b) Spiritual strategies through increasing worship in the month of Ramadan, such as reading the Qur'an, *dhikr*, *salawat*, and *sunnah* prayers; c) Psychological strategies through fostering commendable morals, such as being kind, sincere, patient, grateful, honest and putting trust in Allah or *tawakkal* (Prawoto et al., 2020).

Referring to the research results of (Hanafi et al., 2021), the leadership style of *kiai* (*pesantren*'s leader) has shown success in efforts to protect students and teachers from the dangers of the Covid-19 pandemic. *Kiai* has succeeded in building a shared understanding and commitment about the importance of complying with health protocols, discipline, and rules for interacting during a pandemic. In short, this research focuses more on the *kiai*'s leadership style with a distributive leadership model to create shared awareness to deal with pandemic outbreaks.

Another scholar conducts research on the challenges of character education in Pesantren Modern Assalaam Surakarta during the pandemic. The result of the research is the implementation of character education through various activities (Azizah & Marzuki, 2021).

A number of *pesantren* in Madura have also responded to the pandemic through a structural and cultural approach. Realization of a structural approach through caregiver policies so that *pesantren* residents were disciplined in health protocols. Meanwhile, the realization of a cultural approach through the *da'wah* of *pesantren* caregivers who call on the surrounding community to discipline health protocols (Syarif et al., 2021).

In contrast to the practice of online learning at 42 State Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTsN) in Sidoarjo, Malang, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Aceh and Padang Panjang (Fatra & Maifalinda, 2021), Pesantren Dar El Hikmah Pekanbaru actually implements offline learning or face-to-face meetings with teachers, but with the discipline of health protocols (Moenada & S, 2020). On the other hand, there is *pesantren* that choose to apply online learning. For example, Pesantren Darullughah Wadda'wah Bangil emphasizes students "stay safe", "stay home" and "stay learn" through online learning via Dalwa TV according to schedule (Hana et al., 2021).

The analysis gap between this article and previous articles is the focus of the study that highlights *Pesantren Tangguh* as a representation of moderate Islamic education in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis. This moderate character can be found in the modalities of *Pesantren Tangguh*, in the form of symbolic, cultural, social, and economic modalities. Therefore, the theoretical perspective used in this article is the Capital Theory initiated by Pierre Bourdieu.

So, the purpose of using Bourdieu capital theory is to help researchers to describe how the attitudes, mindset, and behavior of the *Pesantren Tangguh* residents related to symbolic, cultural, social, and economic modalities, to control the pandemic crisis, or at least not be controlled by the pandemic crisis.

Theoretically, Bourdieu's Capital theory excels at analyzing individuals. However, the researcher assumes that Bourdieu's Capital theory is still relevant for analyzing pesantren residents, because they have a homogeneous character, so they are similar to individuals. This homogeneous attribute is because the *pesantren* residents are identical with the obedient (*sami'na wa ata'na*) to the *pesantren* leader, both in terms

of attitude, mindset, and behavior.

The findings of this article are important when referring to the characteristics of the *pesantren* education system which in general always prioritizes a moderate attitude. This moderate attitude is needed in responding to the Covid-19 pandemic, so as not to be trapped in extreme attitudes. Either the right extreme which is too much in giving rise to reckless and careless behavior; as well as the extreme left which is lacking in giving rise to passive and pessimistic behavior.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Basically, *pesantren* have sufficient capital to deal with problems during the Covid-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, the capital owned by *pesantren* can be classified based on Bourdieu's Capital theory into symbolic, cultural, social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2011). Examples of symbolic capital are all forms of accumulated prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy. Examples of cultural capital are intellectual qualifications that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance. Examples of social capital are all kind of social network. Examples of economic capital are the means of production and funds (Adib, 2012).

The relevance of Bourdieu's capital theory to the theme of *Pesantren Tangguh* as a moderate Islamic educational institution during the Covid-19 pandemic can be observed in the following review:

The symbolic capital of *pesantren* consists of historical, educative, and figurative roles which make it proper and qualified to be a role model to handle Covid-19 for Indonesian people with Moslem as the majority. *First* is a historical role. *Pesantren* has been always actively giving a contribution to solving any problem that both the Indonesian nation and state deal with

(Wahyuddin, 2016). *Second* is the educative role. Since its very early beginning until now, *pesantren* has been consistent as a non-formal Islamic educational institution particularly in the transmission of Islamic teaching, maintenance of Islamic traditions, and regeneration of Muslim scholars with scientific knowledge and work skills (Azra, 2012). This educational role really supports the readiness of *pesantren* to become *Pesantren Tangguh*. A little example is the education of hygiene (*taharah*) that *santri* get and practice in their daily lives. *The third* is a figurative role. As caregiver of *pesantren*, *kiai*, is a central figure whom *pesantren* residents obey to, including in the context of handling Covid-19.

*Pesantren's* cultural capital consisting of religious insight, rational thinking, and mastery of science and technology among its academic community enables it to be ready and qualified in fulfilling a variety of official protocols regarding the handling of Covid-19. *First* is religious insight. *Pesantren* generally equips its *santri* with an abundance of religious insight to support their mental and spiritual maturity. *Second* is rational thinking in responding to the danger of Covid-19. *Third* is science and technology mastery. This mastery enables *santri* to actively use social media and operate *pesantren's* official account in handling with the Covid-19.

Social capital of *pesantren* consists of relational network, social characteristic, and social-religious function which makes it possible for *pesantren* to bridge between government and people's interest regarding Covid-19. *First* is a relational network. *Pesantren* closely relates to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a popular adage mentions that *pesantren* is a miniature of NU. *Second* is social characteristics. The typical social character of *pesantren* plays a major role in making the *Pesantren Tangguh* program successful. *Third* is a social-religious function. The function of *pesantren* as a socio-religious

institution means that *pesantren* is a source of values and morality; sources of internalization and teaching of religious values; controlling and filtering changes in morality and spiritual life; and source of life praxis blueprint (Syam, 2005).

*Pesantren's* economic capital comes from values of autonomy, cooperation, and physical or financial aid which enables it to fulfill the need for facilities and infrastructure in coping with Covid-19. *First* is autonomy. Some *pesantren* have been successful in becoming good examples when serving as an economic center by improving coop, agribusiness, farming, fishing, mineral water, and the likes. *Second* is cooperation. In this context, there occurs cooperation between *pesantren* and government in coping with Covid-19. *Third* is financial aid. Generally, *pesantrens* are financially supported by either permanent or temporary donors from the community.

Furthermore, the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital and the *pesantren* is contextualized with Islamic moderate values applied by Pema Al-Hikam and *Pesantren Sabilurrosyad* in their capacity as *Pesantren Tangguh* in Malang Raya, to control the Covid-19 pandemic crisis well.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research applied a qualitative approach since the object of this research is behavior (Moleong, 2002). The type of this research is descriptive-analytic because it aims to describe the object in detail in accordance with the formulation of the problem posed (Nazir, 1988).

In terms of sources, this is a field research with a case study design. The research was conducted from June to August 2021. So, the data collection technique of this study was documentation, interviews and observation (Arikunto, 2002).

Documentation method is directed at collecting data from Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad in the form of *pesantren* archives and digital data on official or trusted websites. Interviews were addressed to the Pesma Al-Hikam Caregiver (KH. Muhammad Nafi') and the Board of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad (Ustad Imam); as well as a number of relevant students (*santri*) to serve as purposive interview partners. Observations are aimed at the details of the data needed as primary and secondary data, such as photo documentation.

As a complement, the researchers used secondary data sources that were relevant to the research topic in the form of books, scientific journals and other digital sources.

The data analysis technique of this research was content analysis (Suryabrata, 2002). Technically, the data which has been obtained through documentation, interview, and observation techniques is reduced to produce the necessary information to present. Furthermore, this important information is analyzed from the perspective of Bourdieu's Capital theory, to find the actualization of moderate Islam (*tawassut*) in *Pesantren Tangguh* at Pesma Al-Hikam and *Pesantren Sabilurrosyad* in terms of symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capital.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Profile of Pesma Al-Hikam Malang as *Pesantren Tangguh***

Pesantren Mahasiswa or Pesma Al-Hikam is located on Jl. Cengger Ayam, No. 25, Tulusrejo Village, Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java Province. Pesma Al-Hikam was founded by KH. Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan 1413 H, which coincided with March 21, 1992 AD. As a pioneer of college students *pesantren*, Pesma Al-Hikam aims to combine the positive dimensions of universities that

emphasize science and technology with the positive dimensions of *pesantren* which are places for forging personality and noble characters (*akhlaq al-karimah*).

With this integrative education model, Pesma Al-Hikam wants the realization of complete integration between science, technology, and religion, without dichotomy. Thus, religious beliefs have a scientific-rational based; and science is always shaded by religious values. Since 2003, Pesma Al-Hikam has accommodated *santri* from *pesantren* graduates from all corners of the country to be educated at the STAI Ma'had Aly Al-Hikam. So, there are two categories of Pesma Al-Hikam. *First*, students who are college students outside the *pesantren*, such as Brawijaya University (UB), Malang State University (UM), The State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim of Malang (UIN Maliki) and University of Islam Malang (UNISMA). *Second*, students who have the status of tertiary students in that *pesantren*, namely STAI Ma'had Aly Al-Hikam. With this effort, it is hoped that communication between religious knowledge, and science and technology will be realized in a 'learning society' created in the midst of Pesma Al-Hikam (Administrator, 2021).

### **Profile of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad as *Pesantren Tangguh***

Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is located at Jalan Candi 6C, No. 303, Karangbesuki Village, Sukun District, Malang City, East Java Province. It was founded on March 23, 1989 by a number of figures, namely KH. Dahlan Tamrin, H. Moh. Anwar, H. Mahmudi Zainuri and M. Rifa'i Chaliq. Meanwhile, the current ranks of the caretakers are KH. Marzuki Mustamar, KH. Abdul Aziz Husein and KH. Murtadlo Amin (Budi, 2018).

Before the establishment of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad, the average residents around



were non-Muslims. Even in that area, the process of Christianization has developed. Therefore, the purpose of establishing that pesantren is to defend the religion of Islam and fortify the Muslim community from the influence of Christianization. Currently, Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is mostly filled with college students from various universities in Malang, such as UB, UM, UIN and UNISMA. Moreover, Pesantren Sabilurrosyad develops formal education such as TK Plus (kindergarten), SD Plus (elementary school), SMP Plus (Junior High school) and SMK Plus (high school) (Budi, 2018).

The brief profile above shows some of the common ground and points of separation between the two pesantren. *First*, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad are both inhabited by students who are students at leading universities in Malang, such as UB, UM, UIN Maliki, and UNISMA. *Second*, the *santri* of Pesma Al-Hikam interact socially in the *pesantren* environment with the internal students of STAI Ma'had Aly Al-Hikam, so that their status is the same, that is, they are all adults. Meanwhile, the *santri* of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad interact socially in the *pesantren* environment with students of elementary and secondary education levels, so that their status is different, namely *santri* who are adults interacting with students who are children and adolescents.

### ***Pesantren Tangguh in term of Bourdieu's Symbolic Capital Theory***

In terms of symbolic capital, the actualization of moderate Islam at *Pesantren Tangguh* is found in the nationalist-religious; the adaptive and inclusive; and philosophical-rational character.

*First*, both Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad are affiliated with the mass organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). So, it is natural that they have the distinctive character of

NU residents, namely nationalist-religious. Based on the research results of the Indonesian Survey Circle (*Lingkaran Survei Indonesia*; LSI) Denny JA on February 18-25, 2019, NU was known to be the largest mass organization in Indonesia with a percentage of 49.5%. If the current total population of Indonesia is approximately 250 million, with a Muslim population of around 87%, the 49.5% percentage is estimated to be equivalent to 108 million people (Mihrob, 2020). On the other hand, NU is closely related to *pesantren*. In fact, there is a jargon emerged, "*Pesantren is a miniature of NU*". In this term, KH. Nafi' commented: "*Generically, pesantren is NU, or at least, is closely and identical with it and with the figures who oversee it*" (Nafi', 2021)

In fact, this NU background became the meeting point between the founder of Pesma Al-Hikam and the caregiver of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad. KH. Hasyim Muzadi as the founder of Pesma Al-Hikam, served as Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (*Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*; PBNU) for the 1999-2010 period; while KH. Marzuki Mustamar as caregiver of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad, serves as Chair of the East Java Nahdlatul Ulama Regional Management (*Pengurus Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama*; PWNU) for the 2018-2023 Period.

This same affiliation background of NU organizations affects the strength of the relationship between the two parties, as stated by KH. Nafi': "*Strong relationships are built on the awareness of the same goal. Several things behind the establishment of a close relationship are the common perception, organization and culture*" (Nafi', 2021)

The nationalist-religious character of the *pesantren* that affiliated with NU was emphasized by KH. Nafi': "*The pesantren culture is easy to adapt (sami'na wa ata'na) to anything. Brotherhood, cooperation, sincere service,*

especially *jihād*, are referred to as triggers for the success of the program (*Pesantren Tangguh*)” (Nafi’, 2021). In line with that, Ustadz Imam (teacher at Pesantren Sabilurrosyad), commented, “*We are ready to become Pesantren Tangguh. We will continue to carry out Friday recitations and prayers, while still trying to carry out the health protocols recommended by the government*” (Imam, 2021).

*Second*, the adaptive and inclusive character. This adaptive and inclusive character is one of the characteristics of *Arek Malang* (People of Malang) or Malangan’s culture.

In general, East Java has three subcultures: *Mataraman*, *Tapal Kuda* and *Arek’an*. Great Malang (*Malang Raya*) area belongs to the *Arek’an* subculture or *Malangan* culture which has the characteristics of being open-minded (inclusive), rational and adaptive to new situations. Therefore, the attitude of the people of Malang Raya represents adaptive, moderate-progressive and more inclusive thinking (Cholil, 2017).

The distinctive character of *Malangan’s* culture is evident in the policies of the leadership of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad which are adaptive to the fluctuations of Covid-19. For example, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad hold online learning via Zoom Meetings when Malang City is in the red or orange zone or is implementing PSBB or PPKM. On the other hand, when Malang City is in the yellow or green zone, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad organize offline learning in class (face to face with teacher).

*Third*, the philosophical-rational character. According to Hilmy, Muslim reasoning for the Covid-19 pandemic is divided into two categories: a) inductive scientific reasoning held by communally authoritative institutions, such as NU, Muhammadiyah and MUI (*Majelis*

*Ulama Indonesia*; Indonesian Ulema Council) organizations, which tend to adhere to health protocols; b) deductive textual reasoning held by individual clergy, such as *da’i* or *ustadh* (Islamic preacher), who tend to ignore health protocols (Hilmy & Niam, 2020).

In this context, residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad demonstrate inductive scientific reasoning, so they tend to be disciplined in obeying health protocols. This is reinforced by the statement of KH. Nafi’ following: “*Obviously, there is a new awareness to adapt to the situation that needs to be handled carefully.*” (Nafi’, 2021).

The residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad, which have dual status, namely as *santri* (*pesantren* student) and *mahasiswa* (college student), has adequate rational reasoning to respond to the dangers of Covid-19. For example, they apply health protocols consciously, not just joining in, when participating in congregational prayer rituals at mosques and recitation activities at *pesantren*. The results of the researchers’ observations during the Friday prayers at Al-Ghazali Mosque and Nur Ahmad Mosque showed that *santri* of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad consistently wore masks; entering the disinfectant booth before entering the mosque area; use hand sanitizer or wash hands with soap and running water before entering the mosque and keep a distance during the Friday prayer ritual.

The following is the appearance of Pesma Al-Hikam students while attending general lessons or recitations held at Al-Ghozali Mosque of Al-Hikam:

**Figure 1**

Learning Activities at Pesma Al-Hikam Malang during the Covid-19 Pandemic



Source: Personal Documents

The combination of religious character with philosophical-rationalist reasoning shown by the residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is in line with the main role of *pesantren* as a centre for transmitting Islamic knowledge, maintaining Islamic traditions and reproducing Islamic scholars (*ulama*); equipped with general knowledge and work skills (Azra, 2012).

### ***Pesantren Tangguh* in term of Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory**

In terms of cultural capital, the actualization of moderate Islam at *Pesantren Tangguh* is found in the theological view that combines destiny (*taqdir*) and endeavours (*ikhtiar*) harmoniously; an elastic and comparative view of Islamic law (*muqarin*); and Sufistic behaviour that combines ritual worship and social worship.

*First*, moderate theological view, based on the understanding of the faith held by the residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad, namely Sunni Ash'ariyyah and Maturidiyyah. Its implementation is to combine belief in divine destiny (*taqdir*), with maximum efforts made by humans (*ikhtiar*). This reality is carried out by Pesma Al-Hikam residents as stated by KH. Nafi': "For the preparation of the *santri*

*before returning to the pesantren, they must have carried out a self-examination and have carried out self-quarantine in accordance with the health protocol, it's still at home, right. They are not allowed to use public transportation, except for those from outside the island, so they must go to the pesantren in good health.*" (Redaksi Nusadaily, 2020).

A similar statement was also made by the Caregiver of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad, KH. Marzuki Mustamar: "We will also continue to apply the health protocols recommended by the government." The form is that students who have just arrived must have their health checked, and are asked to wash their hands or use a hand sanitiser. They must keep wearing masks and always keep their distance every time they do activities in *pesantren*, such as praying or teaching and learning. In addition, there was socialization on the dangers and prevention of Covid-19 involving the East Java NU Covid-19 Task Force (*Satuan Tugas*; Satgas), so that students understand virus prevention according to the health protocols set by the government (Arifin, 2020).

*Second*, an elastic view of Islamic law related to Islamic jurisprudence issues in the midst of pandemic. The elastic understanding of Islamic law also reflects a maturity in thinking and acting. In this context, KH. Nafi' commented: "Although there is no guarantee that a person's academic status will make him or her a little more mature in demeanor; but not for college students who are also *santri*. The college students become conditioned when becoming *santri*, both in behavior and thoughts" (Nafi', 2021)

For example, residents of Pesma Al-Hikam refer to the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Number 31 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Friday Prayers and Congregations to Prevent the Transmission of



the Covid-19 Outbreak. It is stated in the Legal Provisions regarding Stretching of *saf* (prayer rows) during Congregation at point 3, “To prevent the transmission of the COVID-19 outbreak, the application of physical distancing during congregational prayers by stretching the rows is legally permissible, the prayer is valid and does not lose the virtue of being in congregation because this condition is a shari’ah need” (Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia Nomor 31 Tahun 2020 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Shalat Jum’at Dan Jamaah Untuk Mencegah Penularan Wabah Covid-19, 2020).

The following is the appearance of Pesma Al-Hikam students while attending congregational prayers held at the Al-Ghozali Mosque of Al-Hikam:

**Figure 2**

Congregational Prayer Activities at Al-Ghozali Mosque of Al-Hikam during the Covid-19 Pandemic



Source: Personal Documents

*Third*, Sufistic behaviour that combines ritual and social worship. In this context, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad teach books (*kitab*) with Sufistic content. For example, KH. Nafi’ teaches the book *al-Murshid al-Amin*, that is a summary of the book of *Ihya' Ulumiddin* by Imam al-Ghazali. While KH. Marzuki directly teaches *Ihya' Ulumiddin* by Imam al-Ghazali. Both books contain discussion material on Sufistic values, especially in the dimensions of

worship, customs, removal of despicable morals and decoration of noble morals. Through the study of these books, the residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad have the provision of Sufistic insights in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, such as the importance of cleansing (*taharah*) body, clothes, and places; obligations of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* related to health protocols set by the government; avoiding a stingy attitude that does not care about the circumstances of others; and be patient, full of hope (*raja'*) and trust in Allah SWT (Al-Ghazali, 2004).

As the actualization of Sufistic values in ritual worship, the residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad organize *dzikr* and prayer activities actively. For instance, Pesma Al-Hikam holds regular *istighathah* (Beseeching for Allah’s Help) every Wednesday night, followed offline by residents inside and online by residents outside *pesantren*, such as at their respective homes.

As an actualization of Sufistic values in social worship, the residents of Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad utilize various digital media actively to disseminate the handling of Covid-19 to the community. For example, Pesma Al-Hikam through the Postgraduate Program of STAI Ma’had Aly Al-Hikam Malang held an international webinar with the theme “Improving Human Resources in the New Normal Life Era” by inviting speakers from the Indonesian Ambassador to Turkey and students graduating from the Doctoral Program at the University of Sheffield UK to share experiences related to handling Covid-19 abroad. Likewise, Pesantren Sabilurrosyad is holding various socialization programs actively for handling Covid-19 by involving the East Java NU Covid-19 Task Force (SATGAS) (NU Online Jatim, 2020).

The actualization of the ritual and social



worship above is in line with the function of the *pesantren* as a socio-religious institution, that is the source of values and morality; deepening of religious values and teachings; controller and filter for the development of morality and spiritual life; as well as a source of praxis in life (Syam, 2005).

### ***Pesantren Tangguh in term of Bourdieu's Social Capital Theory***

In terms of social capital, the actualization of moderate Islam at *Pesantren Tangguh* is found in the behaviour of the *pesantren* residents who remain active in carrying out academic and non-academic activities at the *pesantren*. Besides, they are disciplined in complying with health protocols by implementing a clean, healthy and safe lifestyle.

Regarding a clean lifestyle in *pesantren*, KH. Nafi' commented: *"What is clear is that maximum cleanliness is maintained. The cottage and mosque areas are regularly cleaned in such a way. Because consciously, it is acknowledged that Covid-19 has attacked the weak points of pesantren. The weak point is around managerial and hygiene"* (Nafi', 2021). Meanwhile, according to Ustadh Imam, *santri* are encouraged to always maintain cleanliness and purity, especially through ablution (*wudu*), before attending worship such as congregational prayers, as well as learning activities, such as recitations (Imam, 2021).

Maintaining personal and environmental hygiene is one of the important factors in handling Covid-19, as stated in the Handbook for the Prevention and Control of Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, n.d.), and Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah (RMI) Center regarding the Protocol to Prevent the Spread of Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) at *Pesantren* (NU, 2020).

Regarding a healthy and safe lifestyle, Pesma Al-Hikam contributes through the Al-Hikam Pharmacy which provides medical equipment and medicines needed by the community to the handling of Covid-19; and *Poskestren* (*Pos Kesehatan Pesantren*) that are ready to treat or refer residents of Pesma Al-Hikam who need medical treatment. In addition, residents of Pesma Al-Hikam became a role model for the community by their participation in the Rapid Test held by the East Java Government at Pesma Al-Hikam on June 18, 2020 (Sofya, 2020).

### **Figure 3**

Free Rapid Test by the Government of East Java at Pesma Al-Hikam Malang



Source: [suryamalang.tribunnews.com](http://suryamalang.tribunnews.com)

In addition, *santri* routinely prepare the necessary infrastructure so that the implementation of Friday prayers at Al-Ghazali Mosque of Pesma Al-Hikam and Nur Ahmad Mosque of Pesantren Sabilurrosyad meets the protocols set by the government, such as cleaning the mosque area with disinfectant liquid; preparation of a disinfectant booth before the congregation enters the mosque area; provision of hand-washing facilities with soap and water; preparing hand sanitizers at mosque doors; rows that are arranged at a distance for the sake of physical distancing; and the abolition of the habit of shaking hands after prayer.

## ***Pesantren Tangguh* in term of Bourdieu's Economic Capital Theory**

In terms of economic capital, the actualization of moderate Islam in *Pesantren Tangguh* is found in economic independence and social care activities.

The economic independence of *pesantren* comes from internal business which later develops into the economic centre of the community. For example, Pesantren Al-Ittifaq in Bandung develops agribusiness (Haedari, 2006). Meanwhile, Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan is developing Baitul Maal wa Tamwil (BMT) which has a turnover of 66 trillion per the year 2019 (Dzulfiqar, 2019).

Economic independence is also demonstrated by Pesma Al-Hikam through its various business units, such as Smescomart, Pharmacies, Photocopying Center, Hajj Guidance Groups (*Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Haji* or KBIH) and other business units (Administrator, 2021). Meanwhile, Pesantren Sabilurrosyad has a number of business units, such as Developer's Sabros which houses two business entities, namely WISNU (*Wirausaha Santri NU* or Santri NU Entrepreneurs), MSN (*Media Santri NU* or Santri NU Media), and PSG Cooperation (Zulfa, 2015).

The economic independence of *pesantren* also comes from external efforts in the form of assistance and donations, both from the government and the private sector. In general, through the National Economic Recovery (*Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional*; PEN) program, the Ministry of Finance has allocated funds for the Adaptation of New Habits (new normal) of Rp 2.6 trillion. This fund allocation consists of Education Operational Assistance (*Bantuan Operasional Pendidikan*; BOP) for *Pesantren*, Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliyah (MDT) or Al-Qur'an Educational Institutions (*Lembaga*

*Pendidikan Al-Qur'an* or LPA) of Rp 2.38 trillion, as well as online learning assistance for *pesantren* for three months amounting to Rp. 211.7 billion (Anjaeni, 2020).

In particular, Pesma Al-Hikam received assistance from the East Java government regarding its position as a *Pesantren Tangguh*. This was confirmed by KH. Nafi': "*Designated Pesantren are directed to become a model of Pesantren Tangguh with the facilities and assistance provided for granted. It was preceded by several surveys conducted by the police and the Babinsa (Village Trustees)*" (Nafi', 2021).

The assistance is provided in the form of facilities and infrastructure. KH. Nafi' commented: "*Symbolically, the banner is installed (not the pesantren that installs it). Likewise, the help of hand washing water reservoirs is installed. Disinfectant spray booths were prepared, hazmat clothes were seen to be worn by students, even though it seemed just ceremonial*" (Nafi', 2021).

When it was inaugurated as a *Pesantren Tangguh*, Malang City Police Chief together with Dandim 0833 Malang City handed over assistance to Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad in the form of 500 kg of rice, 5 boxes of instant noodles, 100 masks, 15 face shields, 2 booth shoes, 15 hazmat, and 4 boxes of handscoons (Ardiansyah, 2020).

Besides, Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad received donations from private parties, either institutions or individuals; especially those with emotional connections (such as alumni) or partnerships (such as bank). The donors are regular or incidental.

Furthermore, the economic independence of the *pesantren* is followed up by providing social assistance to the surrounding community. For instance, Pesantren Sabilurrosyad received assistance from the government such as the

East Java Police Chief who gave 1 ton of rice and 1000 masks (*Kapolda Jatim Silaturahmi Dan Berbagi Bantuan Ke Ponpes Sabilurrosyad Malang*, 2020); as well as from private parties such as PT Musim Mas who gave 2,500 kg of rice, 1,000 litres of cooking oil, 1000 boxes of tea bags containing 25 sachets, 1,000 kg of granulated sugar and 125 boxes of instant noodles containing 40 packs (Syaifuddin, 2021). Then, the assistance was distributed by Pesantren Sabilurrosyad to local residents, especially those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic.

**Figure 4**

Social Assistance from the East Java Regional Police Chief which is then distributed by *Pesantren Sabilurrosyad* to the Surrounding Communities



Source: memorandum.co.id

The combination of internal economic independence and external assistance has also been applied by Syaykh Al-Zaytun who provides a concrete example in preventing COVID-19 seriously and comprehensively in the Ma'had Al-Zaytun environment through internal strategies within the *pesantren* and externally to the community outside the *pesantren*. This policy is implemented by the entire *pesantren* residents at Ma'had Al-Zaytun (Prawoto et al., 2020).

## CONCLUSION

This article claims that moderate Islam can be actualized as an alternative solution to various actual problems of Muslims, such as how to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic.

*Pesantren Tangguh* is a representation of moderate Islamic educational institutions in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, as shown by Pesma Al-Hikam and Pesantren Sabilurrosyad Malang in terms of Bourdieu's capital theory: a) the nationalist-religious; adaptive and inclusive; and philosophical-rational character in terms of symbolic capital; b) the theological view that combines destiny and endeavors harmoniously; an elastic and comparative view of Islamic law; and Sufistic behavior that combines ritual and social worship in terms of cultural capital; c) the behaviour of *pesantren* residents who remain active in carrying out activities at the *pesantren*, but are disciplined in complying with health protocols in terms of social capital; d) the economic independence of the *pesantren* in fulfilling the needs and social assistance to the peripheral community in terms of economic capital.

In summary, the residents of *Pesantren Tangguh* show moderate character in aspects of attitude, mindset, and behavior related to symbolic, cultural, social, and economic modalities, enabling the *pesantren* residents to be able to control the Covid-19 pandemic crisis well.

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