



The Evolution of Pesantren Education: Continuity and Change in Curriculum and Management amid Modernization

Ahmad Thoyib Mas'udi,^{1*}

¹Universitas Qomaruddin Gresik, Indonesia

¹ahmadthoyyib288@gmail.com

Received: 10-10-2024

Revised: 16-12-2024

Accepted: 30-12-2024

Abstract

Pesantren, Indonesia's oldest Islamic educational institutions, have played a significant role in religious, social, and intellectual life for centuries. However, modernization and globalization have challenged their traditional frameworks. This study examines the evolution of pesantren education, focusing on continuity and change in curriculum and management while analyzing how pesantren adapt to contemporary demands without compromising their core values. Using a qualitative approach, the research employs historical analysis and field observations based on primary and secondary data. The findings reveal that pesantren have retained their emphasis on kitab kuning while integrating general and vocational subjects since the mid-20th century. Management practices have also shifted from centralized, kiai-led models to more participatory approaches. These changes are driven by community demands, government policies, and technological advancements. Although limited to a specific subset of pesantren, this study highlights their ability to balance tradition and innovation, demonstrating their potential as dynamic institutions capable of addressing contemporary educational and societal challenges.

Keywords: Curriculum Evolution; Islamic Education; Management Practices.

Abstrak

Pesantren, sebagai lembaga pendidikan Islam tertua di Indonesia, telah memainkan peran penting dalam kehidupan religius, sosial, dan intelektual selama berabad-abad. Namun, modernisasi dan globalisasi menantang kerangka tradisionalnya. Penelitian ini mengkaji evolusi pendidikan pesantren dengan fokus pada kontinuitas dan perubahan dalam kurikulum serta manajemen, menganalisis bagaimana pesantren menyesuaikan diri dengan tuntutan kontemporer sambil mempertahankan nilai-nilai dasar. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif, penelitian ini menggunakan analisis historis dan observasi lapangan berdasarkan data primer dan sekunder. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa pesantren tetap mempertahankan fokus pada kitab kuning sambil mengintegrasikan mata pelajaran umum dan kejuruan sejak pertengahan abad ke-20. Praktik manajemen juga berubah dari model terpusat ke pendekatan partisipatif. Perubahan ini didorong oleh tuntutan masyarakat, kebijakan pemerintah, dan kemajuan teknologi. Meski terbatas pada subset tertentu, penelitian ini menyoroti kemampuan pesantren untuk menyeimbangkan tradisi dan inovasi, menunjukkan potensinya sebagai institusi dinamis dalam menghadapi tantangan pendidikan dan sosial kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: Evolusi Kurikulum; Manajemen, Modernisasi; Pendidikan Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) represent one of the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia,¹ playing a pivotal role in shaping the character, morality, and

¹ Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner, "Chapter 8. Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia," in *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, ed. Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton University Press, 2010), 172–98, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400837458.172>; M. Falikul Isbah, "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 1 (June 22, 2020): 65–106, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629>.

knowledge of Muslim generations since the 14th century.² Throughout its history, pesantren has undergone complex developmental dynamics influenced by various social, political, and economic factors. The transformations in pesantren management and curriculum reflect their efforts to adapt to changing times while maintaining their traditional roots.

In their early stages, pesantren functioned as centers of learning focused on classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning* or *turāth*), emphasizing religious sciences such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tamhid* (Islamic theology), and *tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism). This educational model flourished significantly between the 18th and 19th centuries, with the number of pesantren in Java and beyond reaching over 1,800 by 1905.³ During this period, pesantren management was highly traditional, with the *kiai* (Islamic scholar) holding sole authority over curriculum, teaching methods, and the daily lives of students.⁴

Significant changes began to emerge in the early 20th century, particularly following the Dutch Ethical Policy, which provided indigenous communities access to formal education. Pesantren began incorporating formal curricula by adding general subjects such as mathematics, geography, and Dutch. By the 1930s, major pesantren like Tebuireng in Jombang had integrated formal education with traditional curricula.⁵ This marked a critical milestone in the modernization of pesantren.

During the New Order era (1966–1998), pesantren modernization gained momentum. The government, through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, introduced integrated education programs, such as Madrasah Diniyah and formal schools within pesantren. Statistics from the Ministry of Religious Affairs show that the number of pesantren offering integrated education increased from 4,195 in 1977 to 9,388 in 1997. Additionally, the mandatory adoption of the national curriculum presented new challenges for pesantren management.⁶

Entering the 21st century, technological advancements and globalization brought new challenges to pesantren. Many pesantren began adopting information technology for learning and management, such as using online applications for administration and e-learning. According to data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (2022), more than 20% of pesantren in Indonesia have utilized digital platforms in their educational processes. These developments demonstrate that pesantren are no longer merely traditional educational institutions but dynamic actors capable of adapting to contemporary changes.⁷

Using historical and qualitative analyses, this study aims to explore the evolution of pesantren management and curriculum, focusing on how these institutions respond to the

² Teguh Budiharso, Syamsul Bakri, and Sujito Sujito, "Transformation of Education System of the Pesantren in Indonesia from the Dutch Colony to Democratic Era," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 14, no. 4 (December 22, 2023): 179–206.

³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Mizan, 1995).

⁴ M. Falikul Isbah, "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 1 (June 22, 2020): 65–106, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629>; Farid Wajdi et al., "The Pattern of Leadership of Kiai in Managing Learning Pesantren," *Nidbomul Haq: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (March 20, 2022): 15–30, <https://doi.org/10.31538/ndh.v7i1.1832>.

⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "Indonesian Islam, Mainstream Muslims and Politics" (Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project, Taipei, 2006).

⁶ Admin Kemenag, "Pendidikan Islam Kemenag," <https://pendis.kemenag.go.id>, 2024, <https://pendis.kemenag.go.id>.

⁷ Admin Kemenag, "Kemenag: Pesantren Harus Manfaatkan Teknologi untuk Dakwah dan Kemaslahatan," <https://kemenag.go.id>, Oktober 2024, <https://kemenag.go.id/nasional/kemenag-pesantren-harus-manfaatkan-teknologi-untuk-dakwah-dan-kemaslahatan-ks23j>.

challenges of modernization and globalization. The study highlights key periods in the history of pesantren, identifies drivers of change, and analyzes their implications for the future of Islamic education in Indonesia.

The fusion of tradition and modernity is also evident in the management of pesantren. Historically, the *kyai* (Islamic scholar) held absolute authority over all aspects of pesantren life, from curriculum design to daily operations. While this hierarchical structure remains central, many pesantren have adopted more participatory management practices, involving stakeholders such as alumni, community members, and government agencies. This collaborative approach ensures that pesantren remain responsive to the needs of their communities while maintaining their identity as centers of Islamic learning.⁸

The importance of pesantren's adaptation to changing times is evident in the growing societal demand for education that not only emphasizes religious teachings but also academic abilities and skills relevant to the workforce.⁹ Previous studies, such as by Dhofier (2011), have shown that the transformation of pesantren in terms of management and curriculum has become part of broader social dynamics, where pesantren act as agents of social change within traditional communities.¹⁰ In the context of modernization, pesantren have begun to integrate general subjects such as mathematics, science, and technology into their curriculum. Several studies highlight the importance of this modernization to ensure the relevance of pesantren in the era of globalization.¹¹

Previous studies show ongoing debates about how much pesantren can and should adapt to the demands of modernization. Lukens-Bull (2000), for example, argues that modernization in pesantren creates challenges in maintaining the traditional Islamic identity that characterizes these institutions.¹² On the other hand, Azra (2006) emphasizes that changes in management and curriculum are efforts to address contemporary needs while preserving the traditional teachings of pesantren.¹³ Based on institutional adaptation theory, the changes occurring within pesantren can be seen as the result of interactions between internal factors (such as student and leadership demands) and external factors (such as government policies and technological advancements).

This research is situated within the broader debate on the modernization of pesantren education. On one hand, this study aligns with previous research that emphasizes the importance of adapting pesantren management and curriculum to meet the challenges of globalization. However, this research introduces a new perspective by highlighting how pesantren maintain traditional values throughout their transformation. The findings provide a fresh dimension to previous studies, focusing on how pesantren manage these changes

⁸ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren: studi pandangan hidup kyai dan visinya mengenai masa depan Indonesia* (LP3ES, 2015), 45.

⁹ M. Mujab, "The Role of Pesantren in the Development Islamic Science in Indonesia," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 37, no. 2 (April 14, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v37i2.90>; Hanun Asrohah, "The Dynamics of Pesantren: Responses toward Modernity and Mechanism in Organizing Transformation," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIA ISLAM* 5, no. 1 (June 1, 2011): 66–90, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.1.66-90>.

¹⁰ Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren*, 67.

¹¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global Dan Lokal* (Bandung: Mizan, 2006), 120.

¹² Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, "Between Text and Practice: Considerations in the Anthropological Study of Islam," *Marburg Journal of Religion* 4, no. 2 (1999): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.17192/mjr.1999.4.3763>.

¹³ Azra, *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global Dan Lokal*, 121.

without losing their original identity. This contrasts with views that tend to see the modernization of pesantren as a threat to the authenticity of Islamic tradition.¹⁴

METHODS

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach to explore changes in the management and curriculum of pesantren over time. Descriptive qualitative research allows the researcher to provide detailed depictions of real-world phenomena without interference. As Sandelowski explains, descriptive qualitative research is well-suited for studies aiming to deliver a thorough description of events or phenomena, such as the evolving dynamics within pesantren.¹⁵

The research involved two pesantren in Gresik, East Java, each with distinct characteristics regarding size, management, and curriculum implementation. These pesantren were selected through purposive sampling, based on their history of curriculum and management transformation over the past two decades. The study's participants included pesantren leaders (*kyai*), teachers, and senior students (*santri*), who provided insights through in-depth interviews.

Data were collected using three primary methods: in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis. Data were analyzed descriptively through a thematic approach, following Braun and Clarke's stages of familiarizing with the data, coding, identifying key themes, and interpreting the data.¹⁶ The identified themes focused on changes in management, curriculum adjustments, modernization challenges, and pesantren efforts to maintain traditional values. Each theme was analyzed for its relevance to Islamic education theory and compared with previous research findings. To ensure data validity, triangulation was conducted by comparing the results of interviews, observations, and document analysis. This triangulation process is essential for minimizing researcher bias and enhancing the accuracy of the findings, as recommended by Denzin's method triangulation approach.¹⁷

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on interviews, observations, and document analysis, this study identifies several significant changes in the management and curriculum of pesantren over time. The following are the key findings identified from the two pesantren in Gresik, East Java.

Changes in Pesantren Management

Over the past two decades, pesantren have begun adopting more structured management systems. This includes the establishment of modern administrative units, such as curriculum, finance, and human resources development divisions. Figure 1 below shows the changes in the management structure of pesantren from a traditional model led solely by the *kyai* to a more team-based management model.

¹⁴ Lukens-Bull, "Between Text and Practice."

¹⁵ Margarete Sandelowski, "Whatever Happened to Qualitative Description?," *Research in Nursing & Health* 23, no. 4 (2000): 334–40, [https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-240X\(200008\)23:4<334::AID-NUR9>3.0.CO;2-G](https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-240X(200008)23:4<334::AID-NUR9>3.0.CO;2-G).

¹⁶ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (January 1, 2006): 77–101, <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.

¹⁷ Norman K. Denzin, *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 310–13, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134543>.

Table 1. Traditional and Modern Pesantren Management Structures

Traditional Pesantren	Modern Pesantren
Leadership: Kyai	Leadership: Kyai
No formal divisions	Curriculum Division
Informal finance	Finance Division
	Human Resources Division

Table 1 illustrates the differences in traditional and modern pesantren management structures. The most different aspect is the existence of a more structured human resources, finance, and curriculum division with professional management. The pesantren observed showed a similar pattern in adopting modern management, while still maintaining the *kyai's* authority as the spiritual leader and primary decision-maker.

Changes in Pesantren Curriculum

The second finding highlights the modernization of the pesantren curriculum, with the incorporation of general subjects such as science, technology, and foreign languages into the existing religious curriculum. For instance, Table 1 compares the pesantren curriculum in the 1990s and post-2010, showing the addition of science and technology subjects.

Table 2. Comparison of Pesantren Curriculum in the 1990s and Post-2010

1990s Curriculum	Post-2010 Curriculum
Fiqh, Tauhid, Tafsir	Fiqh, Tauhid, Tafsir
Arabic Language	Arabic Language, English
No science/technology subjects	Mathematics, Science, Technology

Table 2 shows a comparison of the 1990 and post-2010 curricula. The new aspect lies in integrating science, including English, mathematics, science, and technology subjects. This modernization was initiated to respond to the challenges of modernization and enhance the competitiveness of pesantren graduates in the workforce. This aligns with Dhofier's research, which notes that pesantren are striving to accommodate the needs of modern society without losing their traditional identity.¹⁸

Discussion

The results of this study demonstrate significant changes in the management and curriculum of pesantren, which can be understood through institutional adaptation theory. According to this theory, social institutions adapt to changes in their environment to maintain their relevance and sustainability. The changes in management and curriculum within pesantren represent their efforts to adapt to modernization, including globalization, technological advancements, and the increasingly competitive job market.

In terms of management, pesantren that were once managed traditionally by a single *kyai* have adopted more structured and professional models of management. This aligns with institutional management theory, which emphasizes the importance of formal structures in maintaining organizational efficiency and effectiveness. The findings of this study reveal that while pesantren management has become more modern, the institutions still retain traditional characteristics, with the *kyai* maintaining dominant authority. This finding is consistent with

¹⁸ Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren*, 165.

Wahid's study, which asserts that the *kyai* plays a key role in preserving traditional values in pesantren, even as they undergo transformation.¹⁹

Additionally, the modernization of pesantren curricula, including the integration of general knowledge such as science and technology, can be explained by contemporary Islamic education theories that emphasize the importance of balancing religious and worldly knowledge. According to Al-Attas, Islamic education ideally includes both religious knowledge (*ukhrawi*) and practical worldly knowledge that is beneficial in daily life.²⁰ This curriculum integration allows pesantren to produce graduates who are not only well-versed in religious teachings but also possess skills relevant to contemporary developments. This is further supported by Azra's research, which found that pesantren have evolved into more inclusive educational institutions that adapt to the needs of modern society.²¹

The findings of this study align with previous research that also identified changes in pesantren management and curriculum systems. Steenbrink's research found that changes in pesantren curricula resulted from the need to align with the broader national education system.²² However, this study offers more specific findings regarding how these changes have been implemented in different contexts, while still maintaining the *kyai's* central authority.

On the other hand, this study also contrasts with previous research that emphasized pesantren's resistance to modernization. For instance, Madjid's research argued that most pesantren tend to be conservative and reluctant to change their structure and curriculum.²³ However, this study shows that many pesantren have successfully adapted to modernization, particularly in terms of curriculum, although this is done without completely abandoning traditional values.

Thus, this study offers a novel contribution by showing that pesantren can maintain their traditional identity while adapting to modernization demands. It underscores the importance of institutional flexibility in facing contemporary challenges without losing cultural and spiritual roots.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to address two primary research questions: how has the management of pesantren evolved over time, and how has the curriculum been reformed to adapt to modern educational demands? The research findings demonstrate that pesantren have experienced a significant shift in their management systems. From traditionally being led by the sole authority of a *kyai*, many pesantren have now adopted more modern, structured management frameworks that include specialized divisions for curriculum, finance, and human resources. Despite this modernization, the *kyai* continues to hold central leadership in spiritual and decision-making matters, preserving the traditional role while integrating new management practices. This hybrid model of management reflects the institution's ability to adapt to contemporary needs without losing its core identity.

¹⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-Esai Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), 76.

²⁰ Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC-IIUM), 1999), 45.

²¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2006), 89.

²² Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, madrasah, sekolah: pendidikan Islam dalam kurun moderen* (Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1986), 115.

²³ Nurcholish Majid, *Bilik-bilik pesantren: sebuah potret perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 134.

The curriculum of pesantren has also undergone substantial transformation. In response to modernization and the demand for more well-rounded graduates, pesantren have integrated general subjects such as science, technology, and foreign languages into their religious curriculum. This development indicates a shift toward a more holistic educational approach, enabling pesantren graduates to compete in both religious and secular domains. The curriculum reform signifies an effort to balance religious education with practical skills for modern life, while still adhering to Islamic values. The key findings of this research reveal that pesantren have successfully balanced tradition with modernization.

The discussion also highlights the flexibility and adaptability of pesantren as educational institutions. Although some researchers have noted resistance to modernization in certain pesantren, this study reveals that many pesantren are evolving to meet new societal and economic demands. The curriculum and management reforms demonstrate that pesantren can play an important role in both religious and secular education, making them relevant in the modern educational landscape.

Based on the findings, several recommendations are proposed. First, pesantren should continue developing their management systems by incorporating modern organizational practices without diminishing the role of the *kyai*. This could involve offering training programs for administrators, encouraging knowledge sharing with other educational institutions, and investing in capacity-building initiatives for staff. Second, pesantren are encouraged to strengthen their collaboration with national education systems to align with national educational standards while preserving their unique Islamic identity. This will enable graduates to pursue higher education or careers in both religious and secular fields. As society continues to evolve, pesantren must remain open to ongoing adaptation, particularly in responding to technological advancements and the changing demands of the global economy. This adaptability will be crucial in ensuring the sustainability and relevance of pesantren in the future.

REFERENCES

- Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. *The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education*. Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC-IIUM), 1999.
- Asrohah, Hanun. "The Dynamics of Pesantren: Responses toward Modernity and Mechanism in Organizing Transformation." *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 5, no. 1 (June 1, 2011): 66–90. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.1.66-90>.
- Azra, Azyumardi. "Indonesian Islam, Mainstream Muslims and Politics." Presented at the Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project, Taipei, 2006.
- . *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation*. Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2006.
- . *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global Dan Lokal*. Bandung: Mizan, 2006.
- Azra, Azyumardi, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner. "Chapter 8. Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia." In *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, edited by Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 172–98. Princeton University Press, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400837458.172>.

- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (January 1, 2006): 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Mizan, 1995.
- Budiharso, Teguh, Syamsul Bakri, and Sujito Sujito. "Transformation of Education System of the Pesantren in Indonesia from the Dutch Colony to Democratic Era." *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 14, no. 4 (December 22, 2023): 179–206.
- Denzin, Norman K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. New York: Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134543>.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi pesantren: studi pandangan hidup kyai dan visinya mengenai masa depan Indonesia*. LP3ES, 2015.
- Isbah, M. Falikul. "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments." *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 1 (June 22, 2020): 65–106. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629>.
- . "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments." *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 1 (June 22, 2020): 65–106. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629>.
- Kemenag, Admin. "Kemenag: Pesantren Harus Manfaatkan Teknologi untuk Dakwah dan Kemaslahatan." <https://kemenag.go.id>, Oktober 2024. <https://kemenag.go.id/nasional/kemenag-pesantren-harus-manfaatkan-teknologi-untuk-dakwah-dan-kemaslahatan-ks23j>.
- . "Pendidikan Islam Kemenag." <https://pendis.kemenag.go.id>, 2024. <https://pendis.kemenag.go.id>.
- Lukens-Bull, Ronald A. "Between Text and Practice: Considerations in the Anthropological Study of Islam." *Marburg Journal of Religion* 4, no. 2 (1999): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.17192/mjr.1999.4.3763>.
- Majid, Nurcholish. *Bilik-bilik pesantren: sebuah potret perjalanan*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997.
- Mujab, M. "The Role of Pesantren in the Development Islamic Science in Indonesia." *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 37, no. 2 (April 14, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v37i2.90>.
- Sandelowski, Margarete. "Whatever Happened to Qualitative Description?" *Research in Nursing & Health* 23, no. 4 (2000): 334–40. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-240X\(200008\)23:4<334::AID-NUR9>3.0.CO;2-G](https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-240X(200008)23:4<334::AID-NUR9>3.0.CO;2-G).
- Steenbrink, Karel A. *Pesantren, madrasah, sekolah: pendidikan Islam dalam kurun moderen*. Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1986.
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-Esai Pesantren*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001.
- Wajdi, Farid, Achmad Sanusi, Dedi Mulyasana, Sofyan Sauri, Ahmad Khori, and Saepuloh Saepuloh. "The Pattern of Leadership of Kiai in Managing Learning Pesantren." *Nidbomul Haq: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (March 20, 2022): 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.31538/ndh.v7i1.1832>.