The Development of Pondok Pesantren in Surakarta Region During 1966-1998:
a Historical Study

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ABSTRACT

Pondok Pesantren is the first and the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. However, there is a little to know about the development of pondok pesantren in a certain period of Indonesian history and in a certain area of Indonesia. The aim of this study is then to investigate: 1) the development of pesantren in Surakarta residency during 1966-1998, 2) how do the dynamics of social, cultural and political during that period influence its development, 3) the adjustment or readjustment of pesantren in order to survive and develop during that period.

This study uses historical method which involves four phases of research namely heuristic, critic, interpretation, and historiography. Heuristics is the stage of collecting historical sources systematically and effectively by following the scientific principles. Criticism is the stage of assessing the resources obtained critically. Interpretation is the provision of interpretation or meaning of the sources that have been criticized to discover the link between the source and the other ones. Historiography is the writing stage of history which presents a full picture of what is being studied. The scope of time of this study is during 1966 to 1998 or in the New Order era.

The findings of this study show that: 1) the development of pondok pesantren in Surakarta region during 1966 to 1998 is not significant. It can be seen from the small number of pondok pesantren established or active during that period, 2) Social and cultural dynamics during 1966 to 1998 are the two dominant factors affecting the slow development of pondok pesantren in the region, whereas the political condition, has not significantly influenced its development, 3) the adjustment or readjustment of pondok pesantren in addressing the social, cultural and political dynamics includes three things namely adopting modern management, establishing formal schools and strengthening the competitive advantage that distinct the pesantren from other educational institutions.


A. Introduction

Pondok Pesantren is the first and the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. The beginning of its emergence in Indonesia is still debatable, both to historians and Islamic scholars. However, in one literature is stated that pesantren first established in Indonesia was during the coming of Islam into Java in the 14th century.1 Another suggests that the first

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1 Zamakhsari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai,(Yogyakarta:LP3ES, 1985), hal: 6
establishment of pesantren was during the Islamic Kingdom of Demak in the 16th century. In this context, the establishment of pesantren in Indonesia was at the same time with the spreading of the religion in the Java island (read Central Java or Demak) with its central figures known as “Walisongo” (nine influential Islamic preachers).

Since then, pesantren has grown and developed rapidly, particularly in Java island. According to Ministry of Religious Affairs, The Republic of Indonesia, until 2012 there were about 27,230 pesantrens all over the nation. It is estimated that there were 4,487 pesantrens In Central Java alone in 2015 with 433 among them were in Surakarta region. The existence of pesantren in Indonesia since its early emergence until today is an extra ordinary phenomenon. It is Phenomenal because although pesantren is considered as a traditional educational institution, it has proved that it can survive to existence for very long time. It existence is remarkable in dynamics of social, cultural and political changes in Indonesia.

Pesantren in Indonesia at least has passed several phases or periods. These periods are 1) the period of coming of Islam to Indonesia, 2) the period of development through a process of adaptation, 3) the period of Islamic kingdoms (political process), 4) the Dutch colonial period, 5) the period of Japanese colonization, 6) the period after independence I (Old Order), 7) the period of independence II (New Order), and 8) period of Reformation. In this context, pesantren in Indonesia has come a long way within the Indonesian history itself.

The ability of pesantren to pass through these phases, to survive and even continue to grow until today is very interesting. Its ability is not only because of its power of adjustment or readjustment but also because of the character of existence that is Islamic educational institution which is identical to the meaning of Islam and also implies the authenticity of Indonesia (indegenous). The existence and the role of pesantren in Indonesia with its distinctive identity and a wide range of its potential has certainly been a major contribution to the nation and community. Unfortunately, there are not so many studies, especially the study of history about pesantren in the context of time (scope of time) so that the role and contribution of pesantren in Indonesia's

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2Marwan Saridjo, dkk, Sejarah Pondok Pesantren di Indonesia, (Jakarta : Dharma Bhakti, 1979), hal. 19 - 21
4Jateng.bps.go.id, diakses tanggal 3 April 2016
5Hasbullah, Kapita Selektta Pendidikan Islam (Cet. I: Jakarta:PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), hal. 16
development is not really seen. The studies of pesantren which are found today are more a case by case basis and thus describe a partial picture of pesantren, not the whole picture.

Pondok pesantren consists of the word “pondok” which means “lodge” and the word “pesantren” which means “boarding”. The word “pondok” derives from the Arabic word "funduq" which means the hotel or hostel. While the word “pesantren” derives from the word “santri” which means pupil with the prefix "pe" and a suffix “an” which means the place for pupil to live. Both of these words (pondok and pesantren) have the same meaning that is a place for pupil to live and to learn.

According to Wahid in Dhofier⁸, “Pondok pesantren is similar to a military academy or a monastery in the sense that those who are there experience a total condition". The definition of Pondok Pesantren is not limited to one meaning but it contains flexibility of understanding that meets characteristics that provides meaning of pondok pesantren. Basically, there is no a concrete and precise definition of pondok pesantren, because it includes so many elements to define pondok pesantren in a comprehensive way. Thus, according to the dynamics of time, the definition and the perception of pondok pesantren may change or evolve. If at the initial stage, pondok pesantren is defined as a traditional educational institution for its systems and infrastructures, but today pondok pesantren cannot fully be considered as a traditional educational institution anymore.

To call a pondok pesantren, there should be elements that must be met. In the literature there are at least five elements of pondok pesantren⁹. These elements are:

1. Kyai

The term “kyai” is not derived from the Arabic, but it comes from the Javanese language. In the Javanese, the word of kyai is used for three different types of titles, namely: 1) as an honorary title to the goods which are considered sacred; for example, "Kyai Garuda Kencana", it is used to mention golden chariot or carriage in the Kraton of Yogyakarta; 2) The honorary title for old people in general; 3) The title given by the society to the experts of Islam who is a leader of pondok pesantren and teaches classical Islamic books to his students¹¹. In its function in

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⁷M. Ziemek, Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial, diterjemahkan oleh Butche B. Soendjojo (Jakarta: P3M, 1986), hal. 99
⁸Zamakhsari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai,(Yogyakarta:LP3ES, 1985), hal. 6
⁹Zamachsari Dhofier, ibid
¹⁰M. Ziemek, Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial, diterjemahkan oleh Butche B. Soendjojo (Jakarta: P3M, 1986), hal. 130
¹¹Zamachsari Dhofier, ibid, hal. 55
pesantren, kyai usually has two tasks, namely as a leader pesantren and as a teacher who teaches the classical books. Kyai has a very important role in the establishment, growth, development and maintenance of pondok pesantren. This means that kyai is the most essential element in pondok pesantren. As a leader, the character and the success of pondok pesantren relies on the expertise and depth of knowledge, charisma and authority, as well as the ingenuity or skill of kyai in leadership. In this context, the personality of the kyai is crucial because he is the central figure in pondok pesantren.  

2. Mosque

The mosque is the second essential element pondok pesantren. Even, at the beginning of its establishment, the mosque is the first place for kyai to teach his students until then the students or the kyai build a dormitory or funduq. The mosque is derived from the Arabic word “masjid” which derives from the word “sajada” which is “fi'l madhi” (past tense verb), which means “he faced down on earth”, and then get a prefix “ma” that turns into “isim makan” (a spot or a place), then “sajada” turned into “masjidun” (mosque) which means place of prostration. From the description above, a mosque is a place of prostration, which is a place for worship (prayers) to God, either in the form of the obligatory prayers (maktubah) including Friday prayers or sunnah prayers (optional prayers). The relationship between Islamic education and a mosque is very important and close within the tradition of Islam throughout the world. In ancient times, Moslems exploit the mosque as a place to worship as well as to learn Islam. In the context of pondok pesantren, the mosque is the center of activities for the students. The mosque is the most appropriate place to educate the students, a place to learn or review, especially in the practice of praying five times, Friday prayer, sermons and teaching of classical Islamic books. Usually, the first thing to set or build by a kyai who wants to open a pondok pesantren is a mosque. The mosque is typically located near or behind the house of the kyai

3. Santri

“Santri” is a Pupil who learns in pondok pesantren. Santri is also a very important element in the development of pondok pesantren, as the first step of establishing pondok pesantren. To call

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12Hasbullah, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999) hal. 144
13Gazalba, Masjid Pusat Ibadah dan Kebudayaan Islam. (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Husna,tt) hal. 118
14Dhofier, ibid, hal. 149
15Daulay, Sejarah Pertumbuhan Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2009), hal. 15
a pondok pesantren, there should be students who come to a pious man and learn from him. If these students have already settled in the home of the pious man, then he is called a kyai. Then, they start to build other facilities such as dormitories or hostels. santri usually consists of two groups, namely santri who live in the dormitory and those who do not.\textsuperscript{16} Santri who does not live in the dormitory returns to his home after the completion of the lesson in pondok pesantren. They usually come from the near areas of pondok pesantren. So they do not mind to come and go home frequently. Santri who live in the dormitory usually come from distant areas. In the old days, the opportunity to go, live and learn in a distant pondok pesantren is a privilege for many young people, because they must have dreams and passion, they should have enough courage and self-sufficient in meeting the challenges that they will be experience during their life in pondok pesantren.\textsuperscript{17}

4. Pondok (Dormitory)

A simple definition of “pondok” is a place for santri to stay and sleep during their study in pondok pesantren.\textsuperscript{18} In Java, the size of pondok depends on the number of the santri, from a very small pondok pesantren with santri fewer than a hundred to pondok pesantren which has extensive land with santri over two thousand. Regardless of the number of the santri, female santri’s dormitory is separated from male’s dormitory. A complex of pondok pesantren has buildings besides dormitory and kyai’s house, including teacher housing, school building, sports grounds, canteen, agricultural land and / or a farm. Sometimes the pondok is built by the kyai or by the santri and sometimes by villagers who work together to raise funds needed. One of the intentions of the pondok other than those intended as a dormitory of the students is as a training ground for students to develop their independence skills so that they are ready to live independently in the community after graduating from pesantren. Santri have to cook for themselves, wash their own clothes and are given tasks such as maintaining environment. The dormitory system is a hallmark of Islamic tradition that distinguishes pesantren education system with other Islamic educational system such as the education system in the Minangkabau region called surau or systems used in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{19} However, at this time there are pondok pesantrens that provide complete facilities, from dining, laundry (washing clothes), as well as a comfortable bed.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid
\textsuperscript{17}Dhofier, 1985, hal. 52
\textsuperscript{18}Hasbullah, ibid, hal. 142
\textsuperscript{19}Dhofier, ibid
5. The Teaching of Islamic Classical Books

As mentioned earlier, pesantren Salaf is a kind of pondok pesantren that maintains and teaches classical Islamic books as the core studies of their education. They use “sorogan” system and “bandongan” as their method of teaching. The books learned are usually classical Islamic books which are mostly “Korasan” (such as newspapers, without a bound). The books are in general composed by moslem scholars of Arab countries which were written centuries ago and include kinds of knowledge of Islam and the Arabic Language.\footnote{Bruinessen, Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning Pemeliharaan dan Kesinambungan Tradisi Pesantren (Jakarta: Ulumul Qur’an II, 1992), hal. 73} In the world of pesantren in Indonesia, the books are often called “yellow books” because the color of the books’ paper is mostly yellow. In the past, teaching classical Islamic books is the only formal instruction given in pondok pesantren.”\footnote{Dhofier, 1985, hal. 50} However, at this time, most pondok pesantren have applied teaching of general knowledge as a part of their education although classical Islamic books teaching is still given more attention. In general, the lesson begins with simple books, followed by more in-depth books. In this context, the level of pondok pesantren can be known from the types of books that are taught.\footnote{Dhofier, 1985, hal. 50-51} Yellow book in pondok pesantren usually includes not only ulumu al-tafsir, asbabu an-nuzul, hadith, asbabu al wurud, fiqh (qowaidu al fiqhiyyah), tasawwuf, aqidah, nahwu shorof, and balaghah alone. More than that, yellow book also includes mantiq, astronomy, faro'id, hisab, adabu al bahsi wa al munadhoroh (method of discussion), Tibb (medicine), hayatu al hayawan (animal’s life), Islamic history, thabaqot (biography), even there is a catalog or annotation, for example; kasyfu azumam fi asma al kutubi al Fonun. Normally there are eight kinds of fields of knowledge that is often taught in pondok pesantren, namely: 1. Nahwu and shorof (morphology), 2. Fiqh, 3. Usul fiqh, 4. Hadith, 5. Tafsir; 6. Tauhid, 7. Tasawwuf and Akhlak, and 8. Other branches like tarikh and Balaghah.\footnote{Hasbullah, 1999, hal. 144} All books can be classified into groups according to the level of teaching, for example: basic, intermediate and advanced level. The books taught in pesantren in Java are generally the same. Based on those kinds of the books, it can be assumed that the yellow books are the explanation of all knowledge in Islam because besides they discuss instrumental knowledge (nahwu shorof), yellow books also discuss shariah which aims to improve the religious
quality of a Moslem, so he or she is able to have good relationship to his Lord through worship and establish good relationships with human beings and the surrounding environment.

There are many types of pondok pesantren in Indonesia. Each type has specific and distinctive characteristics. Pondok pesantren can be classified based on the number of its students, facilities, and educational or teaching and learning system.

Pondok pesantren seen from the number of its students can be categorized into three types, namely a large, an average, and a small pesantren. This theory is relevant with what Dhofier has stated that pondok pesantren can be classified into three types, namely: 1) Pondok Pesantren that has more than 2000 students belongs to a large pesantren. Examples of such pesantren are Pesantren of Lirboyo and Ploso in Kediri, Modern Pesantren of Gontor in Ponorogo, Pesantren of Tebuireng and Denanyar in Jombang (all in East Java), Pesantren of As-Syafi’iyah in Jakarta, etc. This kind of pesantren is generally a national scale. It means that santri or students who live and study in this pesantren usually come from various provinces or cities in Indonesia. There is even a pesantren in this category that has students who come from overseas such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei that is Modern Pesantren of Gontor Ponorogo. 2) Pondok Pesantren that has between 1000 and 2000 students belongs to an average (a medium size) pesantren. An Example of such pesantren is Pesantren of Maslakul Huda Kajen in Pati, Central Java. In general, Pondok Pesantren in this category is a regional scale where santri or students who live and study in this pesantren come from areas or towns that are still in one region. 3) Pondok Pesantren that has fewer than 1000 students belongs to a small pesantren. Examples of such pesantren are Pesantren of Tegalsari in Salatiga Central Java, Pesantren of Kencong and Jampes in Kediri East Java. This kind of pesantren is usually a local scale. It means that santri or students live or study in this pesantren usually come from within the same town, although some students may come from other areas or regions.24

Next is the type of pesantren which is seen through its educational or teaching and learning system. In a line with its rapid growth and development, pondok pesantren can be classified into 3 types, namely: (1) traditional pesantren (salafiyah), (2) modern pesantren (kalafiyah), and (3) a combination or comprehensive pesantren (pesantren that applies traditional and modern system).25

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24Dhofier, 1985
25ibid
The first is a traditional pesantren (salafiyah) that is a pesantren that retains its original form by teaching Arabic classic books written by Moslem scholars of the 15th century. The system of learning used is what is called as "halaqah", that is a discussion to comprehend the contents of the books. The discussion here is not to question the truth or falsity of something that is taught in the book, but rather to understand what is the actual content being taught. In this context, students are fully certained and believe that the kyai would not teach something that is incorrect, and they do believe that the contents of the books being studied are absolutely right.

The curriculum or learning materials used in the pesantren in this category is entirely depends on the kyai. Some of its santri live in the boarding and some others do not. The madrasa system (schooling) is applied only to facilitate “sorogan” system used in the institutions without introducing general subjects (non-religious subjects). Anoter teaching method used besides sorogang is “bandongan”. Examples of such pesantrens include Pesantren of Lirboyo and Ploso in Kediri, Pesantren of Tremas in Pacitan, Pesantern of Maslahul Huda in Pati, Pesantren of An-Nur in Sewon Bantul Yogyakarta, Pesantren of Mukhtajul Mukhtaj in the middle Mojo Wonosobo.

The second is modern pesantren (Khalafiyah). Modern pesantren is a pesantren that integrate the classical system and schooling into the pesantren. The learning of classical texts is no longer the priority, and to some pesantrens, it is only a complementary. It has turned into subjects or fields of study. The development of such pesantrens is very interesting to observe as these changes may affect the whole system of Islamic tradition such its social system, religion and a way of life. Cultural homogeneity and religious studies will slowly eradicated by the diversity and complexity of the development of society in modern Indonesia. Nevertheless, it is interesting that it seems that kyais are ready to face the challenges. Although the curriculum of modern pesantren (Khalafiyah) includes general knowledge, it is still associated with religious teachings. An example of such pesantrens is a modern pesantren of Gontor Ponorogo, its branches, and alumni pesantrens.

The third is a comprehensive or a combination pesantren. It is a pesantren that combines traditional education or learning system with modern education or learning system. These pesantrens continue to carry out the learning of yellow books or texts with conventional methods such as sorogang, bandongan and wetonan but at the same time also apply modern education and learning system on a regular basis that is a classical learning system with levels, curriculum and evaluation standards. In other words, these pesantrens not only teach Islamic classic texts with the
conventional methods but also teach general subjects (non-religious subjects) with madrasa or schooling system.

B. Method of Study

This study uses historical method which involves four phases of research namely heuristic, critic, interpretation, and histography. Heuristics is the phase of collecting historical sources systematically and effectively by following scientific principles. Criticism is the phase of assessing the resources obtained critically. Next is Interpretation phase. It is a phase of provision of interpretation or meaning of the sources that have been criticized for people to discover the link between one source and the other ones. And finally histrography. It is a phase of writing the history which presents a full picture of the principal problems that is being studied.

The scope of time (temporal scope) of this study is between the years 1966 to 1998 or in the New Order era. The rationale for taking this period of time is that during that period, the changes were extra ordinary, in term of social, cultural, as well as political dynamics in which the government system was an authoritarian. The new order era is an important phase in the history of the Republic of Indonesia. The policies were issued at that time might have had a large impact on the development of Islamic education institution including pondok pesantren.

The research design developed is a descriptive explorative which means that this study is to search for archival sources and literature that might find historical data whether they are primary, secondary, or tessier. Besides, interviews are conducted as well as examining the oral traditions within pesantren to fill the gap of written sources. Through multidimensional approach, the concept of social science especially anthropology and sociology is used to understand the sources obtained.

C. Findings and Discussion

In general, the growth and development of pondok pesantren in the former Surakarta residency during 1966 to 1998 period is not really significant. It can be seen from the number of pesantrens that were established and active during that period. Pesantrens that were established in

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28See Lictmjan, 1978
that period is only a few. For 32 years, there have been only about 113 pondok pesantrens in six districts and one municipality in the region of the former Surakarta residency.

It also can be seen from the growth of students number who learn, teachers who teach, and facilities or infrastructures that are built and so on. In reference to the classification of pesantrens based on the number of students, it can be said that most pesantrens in the former Surakarta residency belong to a small pesantren category. Only a few belong to a medium or a large category. There is only one pesantren in this residency that belong to a large category or pesantren that has more than 2000 students that is Modern Pesantren of Assalam in Sukoharjo. Other pesantrens belong to a medium category or pesantren that has more than 1,000 students, but fewer than 2000 students, an example of this category is Pesantren of Al Mukmin Ngruki in Sukoharjo.

Of the six districts and one municipality in the region of former Surakarta Residency, Wonogiri is the least significant growth and development of pesantren. During the period of 32 years, there were only 3 pesantrens that are established or active in the district. On the other hand, Sragen is the most significant growth and development of pesantren. There were about 42 pesantrens established and active in the district in the same period. Other areas, the growth and development of pesantren are not very significant. There were no more than 20 pesantrens established or active during a period of 32 years.

The slow growth and development of pesantrens in Surakarta residency is predominantly influenced by the social and cultural conditions of the communities in the Surakarta residency itself. Geographically, most of the areas in the region are rural areas that are socially and economically less advantaged than urban communities. Religious understanding and awareness of the people of those areas at that time are relatively low. This is the very dominant factor affecting the growth and development of pesantrens in the region.

During that time, the practices of superstition and heresy were very widespread, the local people’s awareness of the teachings of Islam was still low as well. This subsequently led to low awareness of religious study. Because of this, not many parents wanted to send their children to Islamic religious schools such as madrasa or pesantren. Nevertheless, madrasa and pesantren were still rare in rural areas during that time. It is also apparent to the existence of pesantren in Surakarta residency which mostly located in urban areas, only a few were in rural areas.

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29 See Dhofier, 1985
In reference to the term by Greezt that the Javanese community can be classified into three groups, namely the Priyayi, Santri, and Abangan. Greezt’s Classification might be relevant to the condition or situation of communities in Surakarta residency at the time. The low religious understanding and awareness of the people in this residency as refers to Greezt as “abangan” might be appropriate to describe the condition of that time.

Another factor that might contribute to the growth and development of pesantren in Surakarta residency is the geographical condition. Wonogiri, for example, is a very wide area and hilly. Wonogiri is an area that is far away from the center of the development of Islam itself. It is not an area that Islamic preachers visited in old times. It is reasonable then the development of Islam, including the development of pesantren in this area is very slow.

On the other hand, Certain areas have more favorable geographic conditions, such as near to the center of the development of Islam itself, as closed to the old Islamic kingdom such as the kingdom of Demak or the old Islamic kingdom of Mataram, or the old Islamic Kingdom of Pajang. The geographical proximity of a region with other regions that have a strong Islamic culture can also contribute to the development of pesantren in the area. This might apply in Surakarta, Sukoharjo or Sragen.

Sragen is an area that is directly bordered to East Java Province that is Ngawi. Culturally, people of Ngawi have a strong Islamic tradition as well as pesantren tradition. It might be that the culture of Sragen people in the border areas and the culture of Ngawi people have something in common, so that it might influence the growth and development of pesantren in Sragen. This might be true as pesantrens that are existed in Sragen are mostly located in the districts that are bordered or closed to Ngawi, such as sub-district of Sragen and sub-district of Sambung Macam.

However, this theory is still arguable. Is it true that the geographic location, in this case, the closeness of one region to another has an impact on the development of pesantren. If it is true as the case of Sragen Central Java and Ngawi East Java, why the same thing does not apply in Wonogiri which is also bordered to the province of East Java that is Pacitan and Ponorogo that culturally also have strong pesantren tradition.

Another factor that might influence the development of pesantren in Surakarta residency is the culture of the community of those areas. In general, the culture of the communities in these areas is similar and in some places is identical. People in these areas do not have the strong culture of pesantren like other areas in central Java like in the areas of North Bay (Pantura such as Tegal,
Pekalongan, Cirebon, etc) or other areas in East Java. This has led to the slow growth and development of pesantren in the residency.

Culturally, communities in Surakarta residency are the base of Muhammadiyah, a large Islamic organization in Indonesia, which traditionally does not have a pesantren tradition like in East Java which is the birthplace of the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia that is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). East Java is the basis area of NU which has traditionally had a strong pesantren tradition for so long. This is also very instrumental to the growth and development of pesantren in Surakarta residency areas. Communities in Surakarta residency during that period did not or at least had not have yet pesantren tradition as it has today, particularly after the reformation era.

The most interesting finding revealed in this study is that the political dynamic of that time in those areas which is known as authoritarian, repressive and discriminatory towards Islamic education in general and pesantren in particular had no significant impact on the growth and development of pesantren in Surakarta residency. Although the education policies were not favorable for the Moslems, in fact, it did not influence it significantly. Although it is admitted that the lack of government attention to Islamic education has more less and directly impact on the growth and development of pesantren in the areas.

Apart from the slow growth and development of pesantren in the areas of Surakarta residency during the period 1966 to 1998, it is still grateful that pesantrens in these areas are still existed to date. Although most pesantrens do not grow and develop significantly, even many of them are dying it is still interesting to study. The ability of these pesantrens to exist to the present time is certainly not easy. The interesting thing to investigate here is their ability to adapt and readapt to the changing time.

There are some pesantrens which have failed to adapt or readapt with the changes of time, but many of them have succeeded. There are several adaptations or readaptations that are made by pesantrens as an effort to continue to exist and grow, namely:

1. Applying a Modern Management System

One strategy for pesantren to exist, grow and develop is by applying a modern management system. This is what pesantrens in Surakarta residency have done. Most pesantrens that usually apply modern management system are modern pesantrens. Pesantren management is adaptive to the demands and the needs of customers which is relevant to the time. All activities of the pesantrens are done through planning as well as creating organizational structures for the program
implementation. And more importantly, they perform quality control and evaluation and do a good marketing strategy. An example of pesantren that apply modern management system is modern pesantren of As Salam in Sukoharjo.

2. Opening Formal Education (madrasas or schools)

Another effort for pesantrens to exist and continue to grow and develop is to do a breakthrough. A new breakthrough that is in accordance with the time and the needs and demands of the people. In order not to be abandoned or left by communities, pesantrens have to consider the needs and demands of the community. One breakthrough is by opening formal education such as madrasa and schools. Some pesantrens open formal education such Madrasa Tsanawiyah (Junior Islamic Secondary School) or Madrasa Aliyah (Senior Islamic Secondary School), Junior Secondary schools, Senior Secondary Schools, or even Vocational schools. Pesantrens which open formal education not only belong to modern pesantrens but also traditional pesantrens. Examples of pesantrens which open formal education are pesantren of Al Muayyad in Surakarta and Al Mukmin Ngruki in Sukoharjo.

3. Strengthening Competitive Advantages

Each pesantren has its own and distinct advantages. Modern pesantrens are famed with their excellence in foreign language mastery such as Arabic and English. Traditional Pesantrens, on the other hand, are known for their mastery of yellow text or book comprehension. In this context, pesantrens in Surakarta residency seeks to reinforce and strengthen their competitive advantages as an effort to exist and to compete with other educational institutions. Pesantren of Ta’mirul Islam in Solo, for example, with its typical modern pesantren that apply KMI (kulliyatul Muallimin al Islamiyya) try to sustain its ability to enhance Arabic and English for their students. Arabic and English are the “trademark” of modern pesantrens in general. Unlike modern pesantren of Ta’mirul Islam, Pesantren of Yaumika in Kalijambe Sragen remains consistent in promoting the yellow books or texts as their “trademark” as traditional pesantren. This is also what Pesantren of Popongan in Klaten does. Besides, it carries out “Tahfiz program” (Qur’an Memorization) in addition to their teaching of yellows or texts.

D. Conclusion
From the discussion in the previous chapters, it can be concluded that the growth and development of pesantren in Surakarta residency in the period of 1966 to 1998 are generally not significant and likely slow. It can be seen from the small number of pesantrens which were established or active in that period. It can also be seen from the small number of students who were studying in the pesantrens in the areas of Surakarta residency during that period as well.

There are many factors affecting the slow progress of the development of pesantren in Surakarta residency areas. However, there are two main factors affecting its slow progress. The first is the social dynamic of the community in Surakarta residency. The social factor is related to religious understanding and awareness of the society of that time. The second is related to cultural factor. Culturally, the people of Surakarta residency at that time did not have pesantren tradition like in other areas in Central Java or even in East Java. Especially, the areas are the home for the organization of Muhammadiyah which traditionally have no pesantren tradition. While political condition that is those related to educational policies did not significantly influence the growth and development of pesantren in those areas during that period of time.

The existence and development of pesantren in Surakarta residency can be seen from how the pesantrens in the region adapt or readapt with the dynamics of social, cultural and even political condition. There were at least three things that pesantrens did in relation to the process of adaptation or readaptation. It includes the implementation of modern management system into the management of pesantrens, opening or holding formal education such as madrasa or schools, and the last is to enhance the competitive advantages that characterize the pesantren from other institutions.

For that reason, pesantren should continue to improve their quality of education by paying attention to changes occur in the soceity as well as the advancement of education and information and communication technology. Besides, both central and regional office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs should continue to pay attention and help pesantrens in order to exist, grow and develop.

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