

Kiai Leadership Strategies for Sustaining the Cultural Resilience of a Salaf Pesantren at Assirojiyyah, Sampang, Madura

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Article history: Received: July 20, 2026 | Revised: August 29, 2026 | Available Online: September 24, 2026

Abstract

This study examines Kiai leadership strategies to sustain the cultural resilience of Pesantren Assirojiyyah amid social change and modernization. Using a qualitative approach and a critical case study design, the study focuses on leadership practices, cultural reproduction, internal regeneration, institutional autonomy, and vulnerabilities associated with institutional isolation. Participants were purposively selected and included pesantren caregivers, administrators, *Agus* teachers, santri, and alumni. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis, and analyzed interactively using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña model through data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data trustworthiness was strengthened through source triangulation, methodological triangulation, member checking, and persistent observation. The findings show that the cultural resilience of Assirojiyyah is built through three mutually reinforcing strategies: humanistic pedagogy, an endogenous cadre system based on *khidmah*, and financial self-reliance. Humanistic pedagogy through *ar-rifq*, *mahabbah*, dialogue, deliberation, and *takrir* transmits *adab*, character, and the scholarly traditions of the *Turāt*. The *Agus* system serves as an internal cadre-regeneration mechanism that sustains the continuity of educators, the scholarly sanad, and *Salaf* identity. Financial self-reliance, supported by pesantren business units and alumni contributions, further strengthens institutional autonomy. Institutional isolation constitutes a source of vulnerability while also encouraging internal capacity building. From Giddens' Structuration perspective, such resilience is produced through the reproduction of structures through agents' practices, rules, and resources. Thus, Assirojiyyah sustains its *Salaf* identity not by rejecting change but by selectively adapting to change in accordance with its internal capacities.

Keywords: Kiai leadership; cultural resilience; *Salaf* pesantren; humanistic pedagogy; *Agus* cadre system.

Introduction

Salaf pesantren face significant pressure to modernize their educational practices while preserving deeply rooted religious and cultural traditions.¹ This tension creates structural and psychological challenges.² It is particularly consequential for teachers with limited autonomy who are vulnerable to external policy pressures that threaten the continuity of traditional values and practices.³ As traditional Islamic boarding schools, *Salaf* pesantren are known for their strong cultural and religious foundations.⁴ As a central authority, the Kiai plays a crucial role in shaping, guiding, and preserving its distinctive cultural identity and institutional resilience.⁵ Amid rapid social change, modernization, and external challenges such as radicalism and a decline in religious-scholarly regeneration, the continuity of pesantren culture is increasingly at risk.⁶ Kiai leadership is therefore important not only for day-to-day management but also for sustaining the pesantren's values, traditions, and educational quality.⁷

Within the contemporary sociology of Islamic education, processes of bureaucratization and national educational standardization continue to exert hegemonic pressure on traditional institutions.⁸ This pull toward bureaucratic rationalism often

¹ A Ahmadi, A Aziz, A Ajahari, et al., "Integrating Mangenta Local Wisdom into Pesantren Leadership: An Empirical Model of Educational Transformation," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 14, no. 1 (2026): 393–412, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v14i1.2382>.

² D Istiyani, A M Wibowo, R Sarasati, et al., "Modernising without Westernising: The Educational Transformation of Pesantren Traditional into KMI Mu'adalah," *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 34, no. 2 (2026): 945–70, <https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.34.2.18>.

³ M Mardia, M Pabbajah, N Ramli, et al., "Teacher Powerlessness in Curriculum Management for Educational Quality at Traditional Islamic Boarding Schools," *Cogent Education* 13, no. 1 (2026), <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2026.2681982>.

⁴ Munir and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, "Characteristics of Preserving *Salafiyah* Islamic Boarding School Traditions: Lessons from Indonesia and Malaysia," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 1 (2021): 67–88, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2021.101.67-88>.

⁵ Nasirudin, Mustopa Mustopa, Nasikhin Nasikhin, et al., "Entrepreneurship Education Strategy at *Salaf* Islamic Boarding School: Case Study at Pesantren Darul Muttaqien Kendal," *Ta'dib* 26, no. 1 (2023): 53, <https://doi.org/10.31958/jt.v26i1.9199>.

⁶ Fathoni, "Typology of 21st Century Islamic Boarding School Education (Pesantren) in Indonesia," *Jurnal Multidisiplin Madani* 3, no. 11 (2023): 2253–61, <https://doi.org/10.55927/mudima.v3i11.6873>.

⁷ M A Ma'arif, M Arif, M Rokhman, et al., "Model of Kiai Leadership Based on Local Wisdom: Preventing Radicalism and Building Education in the Global South," *Kharisma* 5, no. 1 (2026): 17–31, <https://doi.org/10.59373/kharisma.v5i1.149>; Ansori, Heru Setiawan, and Hairul Fauzi, "Local Islamic Traditions and Adaptive Leadership: Arakan Sahur and Ulema Regeneration in Jambi," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 3 (2025): 1941–66, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i3.1894>; H Baharun, P.F.D.M. Thohir, and M A F Sanjani, "The Role of Kiai Leadership and Service Quality in Shaping the Reputation of Pesantren," *Munaddhomah* 6, no. 4 (2025): 695–709, <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v6i4.1785>.

⁸ Abdul Khamid, Badrus Zaman, Yuserizal Bustami, et al., "Transformation and Strategic Role of *Salaf* Al-Manar Islamic Boarding School in Globalization Era," *Ta'dib* 28, no. 1 (2025): 105–20, <https://doi.org/10.31958/jt.v28i1.13780>.

compels *Salaf* pesantren to reconstruct their identities, negotiate compromises through hybrid curricula, or submit to formal legal frameworks to secure social legitimacy from the state.⁹ The kiai plays a central role in sustaining the cultural resilience of *Salaf* pesantren through leadership that integrates role modeling, spiritual values, social harmony, reinforcement of tradition, and institutional transformation.¹⁰ Kiai role modeling provides a foundation for developing santri character through conduct, speech, and policies that reflect *Salaf* values.¹¹ Spiritual and moral values are internalized through Sufi-oriented education, enabling santri to withstand change without losing their pesantren identity.¹² In addition, Kiai leadership embraces inclusion in managing diversity, sustains pesantren traditions and rituals as means of strengthening solidarity, and transforms educational and organizational systems so that they remain responsive to changing times without abandoning the cultural essence and values of the *Salaf* Tradition.¹³

The cultural resilience of *Salaf* Pesantren has become a critical concern as modernization, social diversity, and external ideological influences continually challenge their traditional values and practices.¹⁴ In this context, the kiai is more than an administrator; he functions as a spiritual, moral, and cultural leader whose strategies directly shape the institution's capacity to adapt and endure while preserving its core identity.¹⁵ Understanding the specific leadership strategies deployed — including the integration of traditional rituals, the cultivation of togetherness, and the modeling of

⁹ Sa'adatun Niswah, Nur Asiyah, Nasikhin Nasikhin, et al., "Technology-Based Education Management in *Salaf* Islamic Boarding Schools," *Evaluasi: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 2 (2024): 270–92, <https://doi.org/10.32478/pzx84n77>.

¹⁰ Nurul Yaqin, Tobroni Tobroni, Syamsurizal Yazid, et al., "The Moderate Islamic Construction of the Al-*Salaf* Al-*Ṣāliḥ* in Akidah at Tunas Santri Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 7, no. 07 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v7-i07-133>.

¹¹ Niswah, Asiyah, Nasikhin, et al., "Technology-Based Education Management in *Salaf* Islamic Boarding Schools."

¹² H. Ali Anwar and Maman Maman, "Kurikulum Dan Sistem Pembelajaran Di Pondok Pesantren *Salaf*," *Jurnal Ilmiah Global Education* 4, no. 2 (2023): 521–31, <https://doi.org/10.55681/jige.v4i2.655>.

¹³ Abdul Khamid, Aida Dwi Rahmawati, and Irhamudin, "*Salaf* Islamic Boarding School Learning Model in Facing New Normal," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam Al-Affan* 1, no. 2 (2021): 122–27, <https://doi.org/10.69775/jpia.v1i2.23>.

¹⁴ Ansori, Setiawan, and Fauzi, "Local Islamic Traditions and Adaptive Leadership: Arakan Sahur and Ulema Regeneration in Jambi"; Ma'arif, Arif, Rokhman, et al., "Model of Kiai Leadership Based on Local Wisdom: Preventing Radicalism and Building Education in the Global South."

¹⁵ Y Supriani, H Basri, and A Suhartini, "Leadership Role in the Formation of Students' Morals," *Munaddhomah* 4, no. 3 (2023): 528–38, <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v4i3.296>; Baharun, Thohir, and Sanjani, "The Role of Kiai Leadership and Service Quality in Shaping the Reputation of Pesantren."

discipline is therefore essential to explain how pesantren sustain their cultural continuity and prepare future generations.¹⁶ Ultimately, the effectiveness of kiai leadership is closely associated with the pesantren's reputation, educational quality, and long-term institutional sustainability.¹⁷

Previous studies on the resilience of *Salaf* pesantren (traditional Islamic boarding schools) in Indonesia have closely examined kiai leadership strategies, in which the kiai serves as a central figure in guiding, preserving, and adapting cultural and educational values within these institutions. Kiai leadership is characterized by several key strategies that support the continuity and cultural resilience of pesantren. Central Moral and Spiritual Leadership: The kiai acts as a moral, spiritual, and social leader and directly oversees and guides the educational process. Their exemplary personal character and conduct serve as models for santri, thereby reinforcing pesantren values and traditions.¹⁸ This central role helps preserve the cultural identity and reputation of the pesantren. Integration of Traditional and Modern Approaches: While upholding traditional values, Kiai also adapts to changing times by integrating modern educational and management strategies. This includes transforming institutional and educational systems to remain relevant without losing their cultural roots.¹⁹ Such adaptability is essential to pesantren resilience in the face of social change. Strategic Management and Community Engagement: Kiai applies strategic management practices, including cultivating togetherness, discipline, and social harmony through rituals and communal activities. These strategies not only strengthen internal cohesion but also empower students, prepare

¹⁶ Dakir and Umiarso, "Kiai Leadership in the Transformation of Pesantren's Educational Systems: Perspective Analysis of Transcendental Structuralism in East Java," *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice* 22, no. 1 (2022): 185–98, <https://doi.org/10.12738/jestp.2022.1.0015>; Supriani, Basri, and Suhartini, "Leadership Role in the Formation of Students' Morals."

¹⁷ A Wafa and M M Said, "Strategic Management of Pesantren Organisational Resilience in a Plural Society Through Multicultural Islamic Education," *Munaddhomah* 7, no. 2 (2026): 260–77, <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v7i2.2299>; Baharun, Thohir, and Sanjani, "The Role of Kiai Leadership and Service Quality in Shaping the Reputation of Pesantren."

¹⁸ Baharun, Thohir, and Sanjani, "The Role of Kiai Leadership and Service Quality in Shaping the Reputation of Pesantren"; Supriani, Basri, and Suhartini, "Leadership Role in the Formation of Students' Morals."

¹⁹ Abdul Wahid Hasyim, "Rethinking the Role of Kiai Leadership in Modernizing Pesantren in Cianjur, West Java," *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 44, no. 2 (2020): 283–312, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v44i2.754>; Dakir and Umiarso, "Kiai Leadership in the Transformation of Pesantren's Educational Systems: Perspective Analysis of Transcendental Structuralism in East Java."

future leaders, and support the continuity of pesantren culture.²⁰ Multicultural and Inclusive Leadership: In managing diversity within pesantren, kiai adopt multicultural leadership models that accommodate different backgrounds and foster harmonious social relations. This approach helps pesantren remain resilient in pluralistic environments and reduce the risk of radicalism.²¹ Character and Value Formation: Within Kiai leadership, character education often integrates spiritual teachings such as Sufism to shape students' morals and ethics. The emphasis on *akhlak* (Islamic character) is fundamental to preserving the cultural ethos of pesantren.²²

Most previous studies tend to position the survival of *Salaf* pesantren as a product of negotiation or compromise with external entities, such as accommodating state-recognized credentials or adopting secular management practices. Previous research has not comprehensively examined the anatomy of resilience in pesantren that categorically reject compromises over state legality, yet can build extensive institutional systems through endogenous self-reliance and a classical theocentric orientation. This is where the novelty of the present study lies: in unpacking a proactive architecture of “cultural resistance” through the reproduction of spiritual capital and a closed cadre-development system, while also examining the socio-ecological vulnerabilities generated by such institutional isolation.

Institutionally, Assirojiyyah's resilience and capacity to navigate various changes are not based solely on economic and political considerations; they are rooted primarily in religious conviction and an orientation toward the hereafter that serves as a foundational principle of the pesantren: *li izalatil jahli wa limardhotillah* (eliminating ignorance and seeking Allah's pleasure). This prophetic orientation is enacted strategically through a comprehensive institutional structure, ranging from the operation of the Education Bureau and the reach of the Da'wah Bureau to the autonomy of the Pesantren-Owned Business Entity (BUMP), all coordinated by an internal alumni

²⁰ Ansori, Setiawan, and Fauzi, “Local Islamic Traditions and Adaptive Leadership: Arakan Sahur and Ulema Regeneration in Jambi”; Wafa and Said, “Strategic Management of Pesantren Organisational Resilience in a Plural Society Through Multicultural Islamic Education.”

²¹ S Futaqi and S Mashuri, “Multicultural Leadership of Kiai for Managing Diversity in Indonesian Context: Spiritual, Intellectual, and Social Integration,” *Cultural Management: Science and Education* 6, no. 2 (2022): 57–73, <https://doi.org/10.30819/cmse.6-2.04>; Ma'arif, Arif, Rokhman, et al., “Model of Kiai Leadership Based on Local Wisdom: Preventing Radicalism and Building Education in the Global South.”

²² Armyn Hasibuan, Nadhif Muhammad Mumtaz, Khairul Anwar, et al., “Sufistic Approach of Character Education in an Indonesian Islamic Boarding School,” *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 49, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i1.1332>.

consortium without intervention from external technocrats. This eschatological vision is reinforced by a curricular architecture that combines the flexibility of traditional pedagogy with a precise classical system. Scholarly transmission is supported by *sorogan* and *wetonan*, which are systematically integrated into progressive madrasah levels consisting of *Tahdiri* (preparatory), *Sanawi* (6 years), *Nidhomiyah* (4 years), and culminating in *Khususiyah* (post-*Nidhomiyah*), specifically designed to incubate future teaching cadres. This learning ecosystem operates rigorously over a 24-hour cycle through the orchestration of *halaqah*, *bahtsul masail*, and *sanatul lughoh*.

Based on this research gap, the present study addresses the following research question: How does Kiai leadership, through humanistic pedagogy and the endogenous “*Agus*” cadre system, shape and sustain the *Salaf* identity of Pesantren Assirojiyyah? How are the unpaid endogenous cadre system and financial self-reliance constructed as mechanisms of institutional resilience at Pesantren Assirojiyyah amid demands for change and contemporary disruption? How do institutional isolation and segregation generate socio-ecological vulnerabilities, and how does Pesantren Assirojiyyah respond to these vulnerabilities while sustaining its cultural resilience? Accordingly, these three research questions constitute the analytical focus for unpacking the cultural-resilience architecture of Pesantren Assirojiyyah through the relationships among kiai leadership, humanistic pedagogy, endogenous cadre development, financial self-reliance, and socio-ecological vulnerability.

One important factor supporting the resilience of this pesantren is a teacher recruitment system that draws exclusively from the pesantren's internal environment (with no external teaching staff). Educators who emerge from within the institution are referred to as “*Agus*” or the Temporary Teacher Cohort. Pesantren tradition is deeply rooted in the Islamic scholarly tradition (*Turāt*), which functions as an organizing epistemic structure. This tradition is reproduced through textual study, pedagogy, and institutional regulations that actively govern the validity and transmission of knowledge.²³ Beyond this premise, the “*Agus*” system at Assirojiyyah exemplifies *khidmah* as a cultural practice of service. These young teachers devote themselves to guiding younger santri without any financial compensation (salary); instead, they are

²³ S A Widodo, M N Mubin, and T Pransiska, “Reproducing Islamic Knowledge in Indonesian Pesantren: *Turāt*, Textual Tradition, and Epistemic Continuity,” *British Journal of Religious Education*, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2026.2659837>.

motivated by an ascetic intention expressed through *tirakat* in pursuit of the blessings of knowledge. Accordingly, this study develops a contemporary inquiry into how the dialectic among humanistic pedagogy, unpaid endogenous cadre development, and financial self-reliance can sustain *Salaf* identity amid contemporary disruption, while also mapping the socio-ecological frictions arising from institutional segregation.

Research Methods

This study employed a qualitative approach with a critical case study design to examine in depth the kiai leadership strategies used to sustain the cultural resilience of Pesantren Assirojiyyah amid social change, modernization, and external environmental constraints. A case study design was selected because the research centers on a single case with distinctive institutional and cultural characteristics, and a critical perspective was used to identify tensions among the preservation of tradition, demands for change, and limited access to external resources.²⁴ The research paradigm was situated within an interpretivist-constructivist framework, viewing cultural resilience as a social process shaped by the practices, experiences, interactions, rules, and resources that unfold within pesantren life. Anthony Giddens' Structuration perspective was used as an interpretive framework to explain the relationship between agency and structure, particularly how kiai leadership practices, pedagogy, cadre development, and resource mobilization repeatedly reproduce the pesantren's identity and institutional structures.²⁵ This design was appropriate for research questions concerned with how and why rather than with frequency or statistical relationships.

The research was conducted at Pesantren Assirojiyyah, Sampang, Madura, from March to July 2026. The site was selected purposively because Assirojiyyah possesses characteristics directly relevant to the research focus: preserving *Salaf* traditions, developing an internal teacher-cadre system through *Agus*, practicing *khidmah*, developing internal economic resources, and maintaining limited interaction with external resources. Participants were purposively selected for their direct involvement in leadership, education, cadre development, santri life, and the pesantren's institutional continuity. Thirteen informants participated in the study: 1 caregiver/kiai, 2

²⁴ L Pretorius, "Demystifying Research Paradigms: Navigating Ontology, Epistemology, and Axiology in Research," *The Qualitative Report*, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2024.7632>.

²⁵ Y Park, L Konge, and A Artino, "The Positivism Paradigm of Research," *Academic Medicine* 95 (2019): 690–94, <https://doi.org/10.1097/acm.0000000000003093>.

administrators, 3 *Agus*/alumni teachers, 4 santri, and 3 alumni. This range of participants provided perspectives from across institutional positions. It enabled comparison of information on leadership strategies, humanistic pedagogy, the *Agus* system, *khidmah*, the transmission of tradition, alumni support, financial self-reliance, and institutional isolation. Data collection continued until the information obtained demonstrated adequacy and revealed recurring patterns across the study's major themes.

Table 1.
Composition and Information Focus of Study Informants

No.	Informant Group	Information Focus	Number
1	Caregiver/Kiai	Leadership strategies, humanistic pedagogy, cadre development, <i>Salafi</i> identity	1
2	Administrators	<i>Agus</i> system, educational management, cadre development, institutional matters	2
3	<i>Agus</i> /Alumni Teachers	<i>Khidmah</i> practices, teaching experience, internalization of <i>Salaf</i> values	3
4	Santri	Learning experiences, role modeling, interactions with <i>Agus</i> /kiai	4
5	Alumni	Alumni ties, financial support, pesantren development, and continuity	3
Total			13

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis. Interviews used a semi-structured format to maintain the study's focus while allowing informants to explain their experiences and practices in context. Interview questions addressed Kiai leadership strategies, *ar-rifq*, *mahabbah*, dialogue, role modeling, the *Agus* system, *khidmah*, *riyāḍah*, transmission of the *Turāṭ* and scholarly sanad, financial self-reliance, alumni networks, and the pesantren's responses to change. Observation was used to obtain direct information about ongoing practices, particularly learning processes and interactions between kiai/teachers and santri, as well as *sorogan*, *wetonan*, *takrir*, *halaqah*, *bahtsul masail*, *Agus* cadre development, alumni activities, and pesantren economic activities. Document analysis was used to complement and verify interview and observation data through institutional structures, educational programs, activity schedules, *Agus* records, cadre-development documents, alumni data, development document analysis, and available documents concerning pesantren business units. The use of these three techniques made it possible to compare data on each phenomenon across different sources and methods.

Table 2.
Data Collection and Verification Matrix

Finding	Interviews	Observation	Document Analysis
Teachers come from internal alumni.	The caregiver and administrators explained that educators come from the alumni.	Observed teaching activities conducted by alumni teachers	Educator structure and teacher list
<i>Agus</i> performs <i>khidmah</i>	<i>Agus</i> teachers described teaching as a form of <i>khidmah</i>	Observed <i>Agus</i> involvement in learning and santri mentoring	Teaching schedule/task structure for <i>Agus</i>
<i>Agus</i> functions as a cadre-development mechanism.	Administrators explained that senior santri are given opportunities to teach.	Observed <i>Agus</i> involvement in the learning process	<i>Agus</i> records, teaching schedules, or cadre-development documents
Humanistic pedagogy is implemented.	The kiai explained <i>mahabbah</i> , <i>ar-rifq</i> , dialogue, and role modeling	Observed interactions between kiai/teachers and santri	Lesson plans/modules, rules, or educational guidelines, if available
<i>Salaf</i> values are transmitted.	<i>Agus</i> 's teachers and santri described habituation, <i>adab</i> , <i>takrir</i> , and teacher-santri relationships.	Observed religious study, learning, and habituation activities	Study schedules, books, and educational programs
Alumni support the pesantren.	Alumni described contributions of labor, funds, and ideas	Observed alumni participation in activities/development	Alumni data, development document analysis, activity reports
Financial self-reliance	Administrators/managers described pesantren enterprises	Observed cooperative/business activities	BUMP financial reports, cooperative records, mineral-water business records, if available
Construction of the West Kalimantan dormitory	Alumni/committee members explained the reasons for and forms of contribution.	Observed dormitory facilities	Development document analysis, construction reports, and

			dormitory-use data
Institutional isolation	Administrators and santri described the dominance of internal resources	Observed activity patterns centered within the pesantren environment	Institutional structure and educator data

Data were analyzed interactively using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña model, which includes data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.²⁶ The first stage involved data condensation through sorting, grouping, coding, and focusing the data on its relevance to the research questions. Initial codes included kiai leadership, *mahabbah*, *ar-rifq*, role modeling, *takrir*, *Agus*, *khidmah*, *riyāḍah*, *Turāt*, sanad, *Salaf* identity, alumni, financial self-reliance, isolation, segregation, vulnerability, adaptation, and resilience. These codes were then grouped into more conceptual categories, such as humanistic pedagogy, endogenous cadre development, cultural reproduction, transmission of *Salaf* identity, resource mobilization, financial self-reliance, institutional isolation, and institutional resilience. The second stage was data display through matrices, category tables, and mapping of relationships among themes to identify patterns linking leadership practices, cadre development, resources, and resilience. The third stage involved drawing and verifying conclusions by comparing patterns across sources and data-collection techniques and checking their consistency with the empirical evidence. Final interpretation drew on Giddens' Structuration theory to explain how agents mobilize rules and resources to reproduce pesantren structures. At the same time, the concept of organizational resilience was used to understand the institution's capacity to preserve its functions and identity under external pressure.

Table 3.
Data Categorization Flow

No.	Core Data/Excerpt	Code	Category	Theme
1	Education is conducted through <i>mahabbah</i> , <i>ar-rifq</i> , patience, dialogue, and role modeling.	<i>Mahabbah</i> ; <i>ar-rifq</i> ; role modeling	Humanistic pedagogy	Kiai leadership and humanistic pedagogy
2	Santri are habituated to reviewing lessons through <i>takrir</i>	<i>Takrir</i> ; habituation	<i>Salaf</i> learning practices	Reproduction of <i>Salaf</i> values

²⁶ Niroj Dahal, "Qualitative Data Analysis: Reflections, Procedures, and Some Points for Consideration," *Frontiers in Research Metrics and Analytics* 10 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.3389/frma.2025.1669578>.

3	Teachers come from internal pesantren alumni	Endogenous recruitment	Internal cadre development	Endogenous “ <i>Agus</i> ” cadre system
4	Santri considered capable are given opportunities to teach	Teacher regeneration	Cadre development	Endogenous “ <i>Agus</i> ” cadre system
5	Teaching is understood as <i>khidmah</i> , <i>riyāḍah</i> , and <i>tirakat</i>	<i>Khidmah</i> ; <i>riyāḍah</i> ; <i>tirakat</i>	Nonmaterial orientation	<i>Khidmah</i> ethos in cadre development
6	<i>Agus</i> teachers understand Assirojiyyah traditions and culture because they come from the pesantren itself.	Cultural internalization	Cultural reproduction	Reproduction of <i>Salaf</i> identity
7	<i>Turāt</i> values, scholarly sanad, and <i>adab</i> are transmitted through alumni teachers.	<i>Turāt</i> ; sanad; <i>adab</i>	Cultural transmission	Reproduction of <i>Salaf</i> identity
8	Educational interaction occurs predominantly within the internal pesantren environment.	Internal space	Isolation	Institutional isolation and segregation
9	Limited external staffing leads the pesantren to develop internal resources.	Internal adaptation	Resource mobilization	Institutional resilience
10	Computer training, arts, workshops, and alumni activities are conducted as capacity development.	Capacity development	Internal adaptation	Institutional resilience
11	Alumni contribute to the development of pesantren facilities	Alumni support	Social capital	Self-reliance and social networks
12	Alumni contribute to the construction of the West Kalimantan santri dormitory.	Alumni solidarity	Alumni network	Self-reliance and social networks
13	The pesantren develops a cooperative and a mineral-water business	Pesantren enterprises	Financial self-reliance	Financial self-reliance
14	Internal resources are used to address external constraints	Resource mobilization	Organizational resilience	Cultural resilience of <i>Salaf</i> Pesantren

The study adhered to qualitative research ethics by explaining the research purpose, interview and observation procedures, and the intended use of the data to informants before data collection. Participation was voluntary, and the information

obtained was used for academic purposes. Informants' identities and personal information were protected as necessary to safeguard participants, particularly where information could reveal their identities or internal institutional conditions. Research data were used only for academic analysis and presented proportionately to avoid harming either informants or the institution under study.

Data trustworthiness was assessed using the criteria proposed by Lincoln and Guba:²⁷ credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility was strengthened through source triangulation, methodological triangulation, member checking, and persistent observation.²⁸ Source triangulation involved comparing information from the caregiver/kiai, administrators, *Agus*, santri, and alumni, while methodological triangulation involved comparing findings from interviews, observations, and document analysis. Member checking was used to ensure that the researcher's interpretations corresponded with the meanings intended by the informants. Transferability was strengthened by providing contextual descriptions of Pesantren Assirojiyyah's characteristics, leadership practices, the *Agus* system, and its institutional environment, enabling readers to assess the applicability of the findings to other contexts. Dependability was maintained by documenting the research process, coding decisions, category development, and analytical stages as an audit trail. Confirmability was strengthened by comparing interpretations with empirical evidence from multiple sources and reflecting on the researcher's positionality throughout data collection and analysis. Through these procedures, findings concerning humanistic pedagogy, *Agus* cadre development, *khidmah*, financial self-reliance, alum networks, and institutional isolation were traced back to the available empirical evidence.

Results

Kiai leadership strategies through humanistic pedagogy and the endogenous “*Agus*” cadre system shape and sustain the *Salaf* identity of Pesantren Assirojiyyah

The findings show that Kiai leadership at Pesantren Assirojiyyah builds the cultural resilience of the *Salaf* Pesantren through three principal strategies: humanistic pedagogy, *khidmah*-based endogenous cadre development, and financial self-reliance.

²⁷ Yvonna Lincoln and Egon G Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage publications, 1985).

²⁸ L Vila-Henninger, C Dupuy, Virginie Van Ingelgom, et al., “Abductive Coding: Theory Building and Qualitative (Re)Analysis,” *Sociological Methods & Research* 53 (2022): 968–1001, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241211067508>.

These three strategies are mutually integrated to sustain *Salaf* values without disregarding the dynamics of social change. The finding is consistent with Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, which explains institutional continuity through the dialectical relationship between agency and structure.²⁹ As an agent, the kiai draws on the pesantren's rules and resources to reproduce *Salaf* values. At the same time, leadership practices simultaneously reinforce the pesantren's cultural structure, keeping it adaptive to social change without losing its identity. As stated by the caregiver in an interview:

“For us, maintaining a *Salaf* pesantren does not simply mean preserving existing forms or habits; it means ensuring that *Salaf* values remain alive in everyday education. For that reason, santri should be approached through *mahabbah*, *ar-rifq*, patience, and role modeling. Santri must be educated with compassion, invited into dialogue, and involved in deliberation when problems arise; they should also be accustomed to reviewing lessons through *takrir*. In this way, knowledge is not merely conveyed to santri; *adab* and character are also formed.” (Caregiver, Pesantren Assirojiyyah, March 24, 2026)

The unpaid endogenous cadre system and financial self-reliance are constructed as mechanisms of institutional resilience at Pesantren Assirojiyyah amid demands for change and contemporary disruption

Pesantren Assirojiyyah implements an endogenous teacher recruitment system, with a policy of not recruiting teachers from outside the pesantren. All educators are drawn from internal alumni who the pesantren's educational system has shaped. The caregiver explained:

“What supports us greatly is that we do not import teachers from outside; our teachers come from within. Yes, this is very supportive. We develop our own graduates. As a result, the teachers understand Assirojiyyah. No one can truly know Assirojiyyah except someone who has come from Assirojiyyah itself.” (Caregiver, March 24, 2026)

Thus, *khidmah* is not merely a practice of service; it is also a mechanism for reproducing the *Turāt* cultural tradition within pesantren life, as explained by one of the *Agus* teachers.

“For me, the most important thing is not the salary. Teaching is part of *riyāḍah* and *tirakat*. We learn sincerity, patience, and responsibility. God willing, there is blessing in the knowledge we put into practice. So, while carrying out *khidmah*, we do not measure it only in material terms.” (*Agus*, April-July 2026)

This was reinforced by an administrator who stated:

²⁹ Mary Ann R. Hardcastle, Kim J. Usher, and Colin A. Holmes, “An Overview of Structuration Theory and Its Usefulness for Nursing Research.,” *Nursing Philosophy : An International Journal for Healthcare Professionals* 6, no. 4 (2005): 223–34, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1466-769X.2005.00230.x>; U Röttger, “Structuration Theory: The Constitution of Society – by Anthony Giddens (1984),” in *Key Works: Theories in Communication Studies*, 2026, 319–28, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-50422-9_23.

“*Agus* can be understood as a form of internal cadre development. Santri who are considered capable are allowed to teach. They learn to become educators while also learning responsibility. Through this process, people will eventually emerge who can continue the pesantren's mission and educational work.” (Administrator, April 29, 2026)

The *Agus* system also functions as an internal cadre-development instrument, in which all educators are drawn from the pesantren's own alumni. This pattern enables *Turāṭ* values, the scholarly sanad tradition, respect for teachers, and pesantren culture to be transmitted continuously, as the teachers themselves have been educated within the same cultural environment. Knowledge transmission, therefore, occurs not only through the transfer of information but also through the inheritance of the ethos, values, and institutional identity of the *Salaf* pesantren. From a Giddensian perspective, internal cadre development is a process of social reproduction in which alumni carry forward institutional structures as agents who simultaneously draw upon and reproduce the pesantren's rules, traditions, and values.³⁰ The transmission of *Turāṭ* occurs through repeated social interactions, thereby sustaining institutional identity across generations.

Institutional isolation and segregation generate socio-ecological vulnerabilities, and Pesantren Assirojiyyah responds to these vulnerabilities in sustaining its cultural resilience.

The findings show that the isolation of Pesantren Assirojiyyah is not only part of the educational pattern of a *Salaf* Pesantren but also generates several vulnerabilities in institutional life. Isolation is evident in the limited involvement of educators from outside the pesantren, the strength of internal rules, and a pattern of santri life that takes place largely within the pesantren environment. These conditions make education, pastoral care, and institutional development highly dependent on resources available within the pesantren.

Institutional segregation is also evident in the pesantren's efforts to preserve its *Salaf* educational system and traditions from external influence. On the one hand, this stance helps protect the pesantren's identity, values, and traditions; on the other hand, it limits interaction with developments in education beyond the pesantren. This limitation can become problematic when the pesantren confronts social change, technological

³⁰ U Rottger, “Structuration Theory: The Constitution of Society – by Anthony Giddens (1984),” in *Key Works: Theories in Communication Studies*, 2026, 319–28, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-50422-9_23.

developments, educational and administrative demands, and new competency requirements that are not all available from within its own environment. From the perspective of Organizational Resilience Theory, this condition reflects a trade-off between identity stability and adaptive capacity.³¹ Restricting external influence can serve as a protective mechanism for organizational values and identity. Still, overly restrictive measures may also reduce the organization's ability to acquire new knowledge, technologies, and competencies.³² Assirojiyyah, therefore, occupies an interesting position: it maintains strong institutional boundaries while simultaneously facing a continually changing social environment. Under such conditions, resilience does not mean eliminating boundaries with the surrounding environment; rather, it means preserving core institutional functions while managing pressures for change originating from outside.

Nevertheless, the study found that Assirojiyyah does not respond to these conditions by abandoning its *Salaf* character. Instead, the pesantren uses internal resources as a source of strength for institutional continuity. One form of this is teacher cadre development through the “*Agus*” system, painting workshops, ikapasma (Ikatan Alumni Pesantren Assirojiyyah Sampang) study sessions for alumni, wayang art performances, computer training, and the development of Radio Salsabila Sampang. Santri who possess sufficient scholarly ability and experience are subsequently entrusted with teaching and mentoring younger santri. This system enables the pesantren to meet its teaching staff needs from within its own environment while maintaining continuity with its established scholarly tradition and educational pattern. The findings on the “*Agus*” system demonstrate a form of internal adaptation within organizational resilience. When access to external educators is limited, the pesantren does not immediately alter its educational system; instead, it develops capacity from within the organization. Santri who were previously recipients of education are prepared to assume educational functions for

³¹ Julia Hillmann and Edeltraud Guenther, “Organizational Resilience: A Valuable Construct for Management Research?,” *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12239>; Manuel Hepfer and T Lawrence, “The Heterogeneity of Organizational Resilience: Exploring Functional, Operational and Strategic Resilience,” *Organization Theory* 3 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1177/26317877221074701>.

³² Ruijun Chen, Yaping Xie, and Yingqi Liu, “Defining, Conceptualizing, and Measuring Organizational Resilience: A Multiple Case Study,” *Sustainability*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13052517>; Albert Munoz, J Billsberry, and V Ambrosini, “Resilience, Robustness, and Antifragility: Towards an Appreciation of Distinct Organizational Responses to Adversity,” *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12289>.

the next generation. This mechanism maintains continuity in human resources while ensuring that *Salaf* values and traditions are transmitted. Thus, the “*Agus*” system functions not only as a mechanism for meeting teaching-staff needs but also as an instrument of institutional reproduction that strengthens the pesantren's capacity to endure under conditions of constraint.

Resilience is also strengthened through relationships among the kiai, alumni, santri, and the surrounding community. Alumni support and pesantren enterprises provide funding that helps reduce dependence on external parties. In this way, constraints associated with isolation are not viewed solely as barriers; they can also be addressed by strengthening internal resources and social networks that have developed throughout the pesantren's growth. These include the construction of pesantren facilities, classrooms, dormitories, as well as cooperative and mineral-water businesses. The findings reinforce the view that organizational resilience is closely related to an organization's capacity to develop and mobilize available resources in response to environmental pressures. In the case of Assirojiyyah, these resources are not limited to material resources but also include social resources arising from relationships among the kiai, santri, alumni, and community. Alumni support and pesantren enterprises indicate the presence of internal mechanisms to sustain financial continuity. Financial self-reliance is therefore not merely an economic matter; it is part of the resilience strategy, as it enables the pesantren to maintain its institutional decisions without excessive dependence on external resources.

The findings reveal two sides of Assirojiyyah's isolation. On the one hand, isolation and segregation can restrict access to resources, knowledge, and developments from outside the pesantren. On the other hand, these conditions can strengthen internal solidarity, self-reliance, and continuity of the *Salaf* tradition. Ultimately, Assirojiyyah's cultural resilience is not built on unrestricted openness but on the pesantren's capacity to select, preserve, and develop internal resources that align with its institutional values and identity.

Interviews with the caregiver indicate that the continuity of Pesantren Assirojiyyah is also supported by an alum network that contributes to funding, facility development, and pesantren activities. This support does not end after graduation; rather, it continues through a sense of belonging and responsibility toward the pesantren. One manifestation is the construction of a dedicated dormitory for santri from West

Kalimantan, demonstrating the strength of the alumni network and the expansion of the pesantren's services beyond Madura.

An interview with one of the committee members involved in the construction and management of the West Kalimantan santri dormitory showed that participation was motivated by a sense of belonging to the pesantren and a desire to assist santri from their home region. The committee member explained:

“We help because we feel that this pesantren has given us so much. We studied here in the past and gained knowledge, so now that there is a need to build a dormitory for children from West Kalimantan, we feel that we should contribute. It is not only about money, but also about our time and ideas. We want the younger santri from Kalimantan who study here to feel comfortable and have a proper place to live.” (Alumnus, 1)

Another committee member also explained that their involvement was not simply a matter of obligation as alumni, but was driven more by a sense of family and a desire to give back to the pesantren:

“There is no coercion. We participate because we feel that we have a relationship with the pesantren. When the pesantren needs something, and we can help, we help. Especially for santri from West Kalimantan, who are far from home, we believe that they need a dedicated place where they can live and study more comfortably.” (Alumnus 2, March 22, 2026)

Discussion

Humanistic Pedagogy and The Endogenous “*Agus*” Cadre System Shape And Sustain the *Salaf* Identity of Pesantren Assirojiyyah

Humanistic pedagogy at Assirojiyyah takes the form of compassion-based education (*ar-rifq* and *mahabbah*), in which the kiai emphasizes restorative approaches rather than physical punishment. Santri are positioned as subjects of education and guided through dialogue, deliberation, and *takrir*, creating a learning environment conducive to the internalization of *adab*, character formation, and deeper engagement with *Turāṭ* studies. This approach produces santri who are intellectually and emotionally mature while strengthening the pesantren's scholarly tradition. Read through Giddens' structuration lens, humanistic pedagogy operates as a recurring social practice in which cultural structures are continuously reproduced through kiai–santri interactions.³³ Dialogue, deliberation, and *takrir* function as mechanisms of value reproduction that shape santri practical awareness, allowing the scholarly tradition and character of the pesantren to be continually transmitted through repeated educational processes.

³³ Rebecca Tipton, “Structuration Theory,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2019, 545–49, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315678627-116>; Röttger, “Structuration Theory: The Constitution of Society – by Anthony Giddens (1984).”

The kiai's leadership also materializes in an unpaid endogenous cadre track — the Agus system, which recruits educators exclusively from pesantren alumni. Agus teachers work without financial compensation because they understand teaching as a form of *khidmah*, *tirakat*, and an effort to attain the *barokah* of knowledge. The system ensures continuity of the scholarly sanad, preserves the integrity of *Turāt* values, and continuously reproduces institutional identity through the internal regeneration of teachers. The Agus system foregrounds what Giddens terms the duality of structure: the pesantren order not only constrains action but also provides the resources that enable alumni to reproduce pesantren culture.³⁴ The Agus system demonstrates that internal regeneration functions as a mechanism of social reproduction, maintaining continuity in the scholarly sanad, the tradition of *khidmah*, and institutional identity through service practices transmitted across generations.

Financial self-reliance provides the material foundation for this autonomy. The kiai cultivates it through the Pesantren-Owned Business Entity (BUMP), support from alumni and sympathizers, and *syahriyah* contributions. This self-reliance reduces dependence on external assistance, giving the pesantren greater latitude to maintain its vision, traditions, and educational policies in accordance with the *Salaf Khittah* without outside intervention. Alumni solidarity also reinforces institutional commitment through financial support and involvement in monitoring the direction of pesantren development. Sources of pesantren economic activity include the Navaka mineral water business, Radio Salsabila Sampang, and pesantren cooperatives. In structurationist terms, this self-reliance mobilizes what Giddens calls allocative resources, material capacities that enable institutional structures to sustain their autonomy.³⁵ Economic resource management by the kiai together with alumni not only supports organizational continuity but also strengthens the pesantren's capacity to reproduce its values, traditions, and institutional authority over time. Thus, the cultural resilience of the pesantren is built through the

³⁴ M Saint-Pierre and A Sévigny, "An Individual and Collective Approach to the Continuity of Care," *Sante Publique* 21, no. 3 (2009): 241–51, <https://doi.org/10.3917/spub.093.0241>; Ira Chatterjee, Jagat Kunwar, and Frank Den Hond, "Anthony Giddens and Structuration Theory," in *Management, Organizations and Contemporary Social Theory*, 2019, 60–79, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429279591-4>.

³⁵ B B Haslett, "Structuration Theory," in *The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication*, 2015, 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118540190.wbeic013>; R Stones, "Structuration Theory," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, 2017, 1–3, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0377>; Rottger, "Structuration Theory: The Constitution of Society – by Anthony Giddens (1984)."

synergy among leadership, value reproduction, and control over resources, which mutually reinforce one another in responding to social change.

Unpaid Endogenous Cadre Development and Financial Self-Reliance Are Constructed as Mechanisms of Institutional Resilience at Pesantren Assirojiyyah Amid Demands for Change and Contemporary Disruption

The findings show that the tradition of *khidmah* practiced by *Agus* educators is not regarded merely as a voluntary activity in the absence of formal compensation; rather, it functions as a mechanism for reproducing *Turāt* values that integrate service, transmission of the scholarly sanad, and spiritual character formation. Teaching without financial compensation is understood as a form of *riyāḍah* and *tirakat* undertaken to attain the blessings of knowledge, so that the orientation of education does not shift toward material interests but remains grounded in sincerity and devotion to the pesantren. This pattern illustrates Giddens' central claim that social structures endure only insofar as they are reproduced through practices repeatedly enacted by actors.³⁶ The tradition of *khidmah* serves as a guiding principle for the conduct of *Agus* teachers. At the same time, sincerity, *tirakat*, and the pursuit of *barokah* constitute normative (authoritative) resources that sustain the continuity of pesantren culture.

Another finding is that the tradition of *khidmah* generates strong institutional loyalty. *Agus* cadres view teaching as a form of service to the kiai and pesantren rather than as a professional employment relationship. This is reflected in the caregiver's statement that knowledge acquired through pesantren education should be devoted again to younger santri as an expression of service to the pesantren. This pattern strengthens the continuity of teacher regeneration, preserves the integrity of the institutional vision, and sustains *Salaf* identity amid educational modernization. Such loyalty exemplifies the duality of structure at the heart of Giddens' framework: agency and structure standing in a reciprocal, mutually constitutive relationship.³⁷ Pesantren values do not merely shape *Agus* teachers; they are also actors who actively reproduce those values through service practices. Accordingly, the tradition of *khidmah* functions as an institutional strategy for maintaining the continuity of the scholarly sanad, strengthening *Salaf* identity, and enhancing the cultural resilience of the pesantren amid modernization.

³⁶ Tipton, "Structuration Theory."

³⁷ Wang Li, "Brief Introduction of Giddens' Structuration Theory and Its Analysis Route," 2008; Chatterjee, Kunwar, and Den Hond, "Anthony Giddens and Structuration Theory"; Tipton, "Structuration Theory."

Institutional isolation and segregation generate socio-ecological vulnerabilities, and Pesantren Assirojiyyah responds to these vulnerabilities in sustaining its cultural resilience.

These findings can be analyzed through the perspective of Organizational Resilience Theory, which views resilience not simply as an organization's capacity to survive but also as its ability to manage disruption and resource constraints so that core functions can continue.³⁸ In the context of Assirojiyyah, isolation constitutes a source of vulnerability because the pesantren has relatively limited access to external resources. Dependence on internal resources indicates that the pesantren's capacity to endure is strongly determined by its ability to manage and preserve its resources. Thus, isolation should be understood not only as a cultural characteristic of the pesantren but also as a structural condition that can pose risks to institutional continuity.

Viewed through the lens of Organizational Resilience Theory, the findings indicate that Pesantren Assirojiyyah's resilience is shaped by its capacity to preserve identity, mobilize internal resources, and adapt without compromising core institutional functions and values. Isolation, which initially posed a vulnerability, is transformed into a source of strength through internal cadre development, financial self-reliance, and strengthened social networks. Assirojiyyah's resilience is therefore not a form of absolute rejection of change but an ability to filter change and adopt only those elements considered compatible with *Salaf* identity. The findings show that pesantren continuity is determined not solely by openness to the external environment but also by the internal capacity to manage constraints and sustain institutional identity.

Theoretical Contribution

Theoretically, this study extends Giddens' Structuration Theory and Organizational Resilience Theory. More specifically, it extends Structuration Theory by demonstrating that humanistic pedagogy, *khidmah*-based *Agus* cadre development, and the transmission of *Turāt* and the scholarly sanad constitute repeated practices that reproduce *Salaf* identity together with the institutional structure of the pesantren. The study also extends Organizational Resilience Theory by showing that isolation and limited access to external

³⁸ C A Lengnick-Hall, T E Beck, and M L Lengnick-Hall, "Developing a Capacity for Organizational Resilience through Strategic Human Resource Management," *Human Resource Management Review* 21, no. 3 (2011): 243–55, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2010.07.001>; S Ducheck, "Organizational Resilience: A Capability-Based Conceptualization," *Business Research* 13, no. 1 (2020): 215–46, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40685-019-0085-7>.

resources can be addressed through internal cadre development, alumni networks, and financial self-reliance. The study's principal contribution lies in explaining how the cultural resilience of *Salaf* pesantren emerges from the interrelationships among identity reproduction, leadership practices, endogenous cadre development, and internal resource mobilization.

Research Limitations

First, this study uses a qualitative case study of a single pesantren with purposively selected informants; therefore, the findings are not intended to be statistically generalized to all *Salaf* pesantren. Second, the study focuses on the perspectives of the kiai, administrators, *Agus*, santri, and alumni, making the experiences of external stakeholders less visible and potentially limiting the interpretation of the pesantren's relationship with its social environment. Third, the study was conducted from March to July 2026 and therefore cannot yet capture long-term changes in leadership, cadre development, and resilience. These limitations do not diminish the validity of the findings in the Assirojiyyah context, but they should be considered when applying them to other settings. Future studies could employ multisite research across *Salaf* pesantren in different regions to compare patterns of endogenous cadre development, resource self-reliance, and cultural resilience, and use longitudinal designs to examine how these mechanisms evolve.

Conclusion

Based on the findings, the cultural resilience of Pesantren Assirojiyyah is built through kiai leadership that sustains *Salaf* values while managing change and environmental constraints. This resilience rests not only on the strength of tradition but is reinforced through three mutually integrated strategies: humanistic pedagogy, *khidmah*-based endogenous cadre development, and financial self-reliance. First, humanistic pedagogy through *ar-rifq*, *mahabbah*, dialogue, deliberation, and *takrir* serves as a means of transmitting *adab*, character, and the scholarly traditions of *Turāt*. Second, the *Agus* system serves as an internal cadre-development mechanism that ensures continuity in educators, the scholarly sanad, and the culture of *khidmah*. Alumni are not merely members of the teaching staff; they become agents who transmit pesantren values and traditions to the next generation. Third, financial self-reliance through BUMP, business units, syhriyah contributions, and alumni support provides resources that enable the

pesantren to maintain institutional autonomy. Alumni support is also manifested in facility development, including a dedicated dormitory for santri from West Kalimantan.

Institutional isolation and segregation are indeed sources of vulnerability, particularly because they limit the pesantren's access to educators, knowledge, technology, and external resources. Assirojiyyah nevertheless addresses these vulnerabilities by strengthening internal capacity through cadre and skills development, pesantren enterprises, and alumni social networks. The pesantren also continues to provide space for santri who wish to pursue formal education outside the pesantren without altering the *Salaf* system that constitutes its primary identity. Assirojiyyah's resilience is thus not a rejection of change but a selective filtering of change through established transmission processes. Values, traditions, the scholarly sanad, and *Salaf* identity are maintained as foundational elements. At the same time, knowledge, skills, formal education, technology, and economic development are accommodated insofar as they support the pesantren's continuity. From Giddens' perspective, this condition demonstrates a reciprocal relationship among agency, structure, rules, and resources in sustaining institutional life. From the perspective of organizational resilience, Assirojiyyah demonstrates the capacity to transform internal constraints into strengths through resource self-reliance, alum solidarity, and internal regeneration.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank all parties who provided support and contributions to the conduct of this study. Special thanks are extended to the respondents or participants who generously contributed their time to provide the information and experiences needed throughout the research process. The authors also appreciate the leaders and personnel of the institution where the research was conducted for granting permission and providing support and facilitation during data collection. Appreciation is further extended to collaborative partners, those who provided substantive input into the development of the study, and all parties who offered technical and administrative support that enabled the research to be completed successfully. The authors gratefully acknowledge all assistance and contributions that supported the completion of this study.

Ethics Statement

This study was conducted in accordance with research ethics principles applicable to social and educational research. Institutional permission and research clearance were

granted by the Postgraduate Program of Universitas Islam Negeri Madura through official letter No. B-134/Un.31/PPs/PP.00.9/05/2025. As the study involved no clinical intervention and posed minimal risk to participants, a separate review by a biomedical ethics committee was not required under the institution's applicable guidelines. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and identifying information has been anonymized to protect participants and the institution.

Conflict Of Interest Statement

The authors declare no conflicts of interest that could affect the objectivity of the research, the analysis process, or the interpretation of the data. The study was not influenced by financial interests, institutional affiliations, personal relationships, or commercial interests that could affect the findings. All research processes were conducted independently and in accordance with the principles of scientific integrity and objectivity.

Funding

This study received no external funding. All research activities, from preparation and data collection to data analysis and preparation of the research report, were conducted independently by the researchers without financial support from government agencies, educational institutions, organizations, or other external parties.

Author Contributions

Khairunnafi, as the first author, made the primary contribution to formulating the research idea and focus, developing the research design, collecting and analyzing field data, interpreting the findings, and preparing the initial draft and subsequent revisions of the manuscript. Ali Nurhadi, as the second author, and Saiful Hadi, as the third author, served as academic supervisors who provided academic and methodological guidance from the formulation of the research problem and development of the conceptual framework through the selection and application of the research approach and the analysis and interpretation of data. Both supervisors also provided critical input on the manuscript's substance, organization, argumentation, and academic quality. They reviewed and revised successive drafts until the article reached a final form suitable for publication. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript and accept responsibility for the integrity and accuracy of the study's content within their respective areas of contribution.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-Assisted Technologies in the Writing Process

During the preparation of this manuscript, the authors used generative AI tools (Claude, developed by Anthropic) solely to assist with language editing, grammar checking, and improving the readability of the English text. The tools were not used to generate scientific content, formulate research questions, design the methodology, analyze data, interpret findings, produce citations or references, or draft substantive sections of the argument. After using these tools, the authors carefully reviewed and edited every portion of the text and take full responsibility for the accuracy, integrity, and originality of the content of this publication.

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